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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *The Coran.*

2. *Sîrat Hishâmi: the Biography of Mahomet, by Ibn Hishâm.*

3. *Sîrat Wâckidi.*

4. *Sîrat Tabari.*

THE light in which we view the stories of former times, varies with the medium through which they have been handed down to us. The exploits of Hercules carry less conviction than the feats of the heroes of Troy; while the wanderings of Ulysses and the adventures of the early founders of Rome, again, are regarded with incomparably more distrust than the history of the Peloponnesian war, or the fortunes of Julius Cæsar. Thus there are three great divisions of ancient narrative. Legendary tales are based upon the most evanescent materials, and it is often doubtful whether they shadow forth abstract principles or real facts. Tradition and the rhapsodies of bards, have, for their object, actual or supposed events; but the impression of these events is liable to become distorted, from the imperfection of the vehicle which conveys them to posterity. It is to the contemporary historian alone, or to history deriving its facts from contemporary records, that the mind accords a reliance, which, proportioned to the means and the fidelity of the writer, may rise even to certainty.

The narrative which we now possess, of the origin of Islam, does not belong exclusively to any one of these three classes. It is *legendary*, for it contains multitudes of wild myths, such as the "Light of Mahomet," and the cleansing of his heart. It is *traditional*, since the main material of the story is oral tradition, not recorded until Islam had attained to its full growth. But it possesses also some of the elements of *history*, because there are contemporary records, of undoubted authority, to which we can still refer. The Moslem traditions, too, are of a peculiar and systematic character, and in some respects have an authority not claimable by common tradition.

From this mixture of apparently heterogeneous and incoherent materials, it might be supposed difficult, if not sometimes

impossible, to extract a uniform and consistent account of the Arabian prophet, the various points of which shall be supported by sufficient evidence or probability. It is our object, in the present paper, to elucidate this topic; to enquire into the available sources for such a history, and the degree of credit to which they are entitled.

There are but two main sources, from which it is possible to draw materials for tracing the life of Mahomet and the rise of Islam. These are the CORAN, and the TRADITIONS of his followers. Two minor sources may be added, namely, contemporary documents, and the verses of Arab poets; but these have been, for the most part, transmitted by tradition, and may with propriety be treated as coming under the same head.

What dependence, then, can be placed on these sources—what is their individual merit as historical documents, and what their comparative value, in relation to each other? To the solution of these questions, we propose now to address ourselves.

The *Coran* consists exclusively of the revelations or commands, which Mahomet professed, from time to time, to receive through Gabriel as a message direct from God himself, and which, under an alleged divine direction, he delivered to all with whom he came in contact.* Shortly after its reception, each pretended revelation was recited by Mahomet, and in general was committed to writing by some one of his followers,† upon leather, palm-leaves, stones, or such other rude materials

* This is strictly the Mahometan doctrine; but is not improbable, that those portions of the *Coran*, in a wild and rhapsodical style, were originally composed without that exclusive dress of a message from the Most High, which characterizes all but some of the earliest Suras (as the xci., c., cii., ciii.). When Mahomet's die was cast of assuming that great name as the Speaker, in his pretended revelations (the turning point in his career), then the earlier Suras would be regarded as emanating in the same manner directly from the Deity. Hence we find that Mahometans rigidly include every word of the *Coran* in the *Cal allâhu*, or "thus saith the Lord;" and it is one of their arguments against our Scriptures, that they are not entirely cast in the same mould.

† In the latter part of his career, the prophet had many Arabic amanuenses, some of them occasional, as Ali and Othmân, others official, as Zeid ibn Thâbit (who also learned Hebrew expressly to conduct Mahomet's business at Medina.) In Wâckidy's collection of despatches, the writers are mentioned, and they amount to fourteen. Some say there were four-and-twenty of his followers whom he used more or less as scribes; others, as many as forty-two (*Weil's Mohamed*, p. 350.) In his early Meccan life, he could not have had these facilities; but even then his wife, Khadija, (who could read the sacred Scriptures) might have recorded his revelations; or Waraca, Ali, or Abu Bacr. At Medina, Obey ibn Kab is mentioned as one who used to record the inspired recitations of Mahomet (*Wâckidi*, p. 277.) Abdallah ibn Sad, another, was excepted from the Meccan amnesty, because he had falsified the revelation dictated to him by the Prophet (*Weil's Mohamed*, p. 348.) It is also evident that the revelations were recorded, because they are called frequently throughout the *Coran* itself, *Kitâb*, "the writing"—"Scriptures."

as conveniently came to hand. These divine messages continued throughout the three-and-twenty years of his prophetic life, so that the last portion did not appear till the year of his death. The canon was then closed, but the contents were never, during the Prophet's life-time, systematically arranged, or even collected together. We have no certain knowledge as to how the originals were preserved. That there was no special depository for their preservation, is evident from the mode in which the various fragments had to be sought for, after Mahomet's death. Much of the Coran possessed but a temporary interest, arising out of circumstances which soon ceased to be important; and it seems to be doubtful, whether the prophet intended such passages for public worship, or even for eventual currency.* If this be true, it is little likely that he would take any pains to preserve these portions. Whether he retained under his own eye and custody the more important parts, we have no indication; perhaps he regarded them as sufficiently safe in the current copies, guarded by the almost miraculous tenacity of the Arab memory. The later, and the more necessary, revelations were probably left with the scribes who recorded them, or laid up in the habitation of some one of his wives.† However this may have been, it is very certain that, when Mahomet died,

* Weil holds the opinion, that Mahomet rather destroyed or gave away these parts of his revelations (*Mohamed*, p. 349, note 549), and that great portions have thus been lost (p. 351). He farther holds, that Mahomet did not intend the *abrogated* passages to be inserted in the Coran (*Einleitung*, p. 46.) But this cannot be admitted as a general rule, for Mahomet lost no opportunity of impressing on his people, that the *whole* of his revelation was a direct message from God, to be reverentially preserved and repeated; and as the cancelled passages are so frequent, and inwrought into the very substance of the Coran, we cannot doubt that it was repeated by Mahomet and by his followers during his life-time, with the abrogated passages included as at present. Had he excluded them in his recitation, we may be sure that his followers also would have done so. We must remember that Mahomet, who always led the public devotions, repeated a portion of the Coran at each celebration of them.

† The later revelations are much more uniform, and their connection less broken and fragmentary, than in the case of the earlier Suras; and this may have resulted in part from the greater care taken of them, as supposed in the text, though no doubt in part also from their actual composition being more sober and less rhapsodical.

There is a tradition that Abdallah ibn Mas'ud wrote down a verse from Mahomet's mouth, and next morning found it erased from his paper, which the Prophet explained by saying it had been recalled to heaven (*Maracci II. 42.*—*Weil's Mohamed*, p. 383). The presumption from this is, that the leaves remained with Mahomet. In later traditions, the incident is told with the miraculous addition that it occurred simultaneously in the copies of a number of Mahomet's followers (*Weil's Geschichte der Chalifen*, I. 168). This, however, is absurd, and we prefer the explanation (if there be any truth in the tradition at all), that the erasure occurred in the original whilst in Mahomet's own keeping.

If the originals were retained by Mahomet, they must needs have been in the custody of one of his wives; as at Medina, the prophet had no special house of his own, but dwelt by turns in the abodes of each of his wives. As Omar committed his exemplar to the keeping of Haphsa, may it not have been in imitation of Mahomet's own practice? The statement made by Sale (*Prelim. disc.*, p. 77), that the fragmentary revelations were cast promiscuously into a chest, does not seem borne out by any good authority.

there was nowhere any complete deposit of the original transcripts, and it seems doubtful whether they were then even generally in existence.

But the preservation of the Coran during Mahomet's life was not dependent on any such uncertain archives. The Coran was the corner-stone of Islam. The recital of a portion formed an essential part of every celebration of public worship; and its private perusal and repetition was enforced as a duty, and a privilege fraught with the richest religious merit. This is the universal voice of early tradition, and may be gathered from the Coran itself. It was accordingly committed to memory, more or less, by every adherent of Islam, and the extent of this knowledge was reckoned one of the chief distinctions of nobility.* The habits of Arabia favored this task. Passionately fond of poetry, yet possessed of but limited means and skill in committing to writing the previous effusions of their bards, the Arabs were wont to imprint them on the living tablets of their hearts: the recollective faculty was thus cultivated to the highest pitch, and it was applied, with all the ardour of an awakened Arab spirit, to the Coran. Such was the tenacity of their memory, and so great their powers of application, that, according to early tradition, several of Mahomet's followers could even, during his life-time, repeat his entire revelations with the most scrupulous accuracy.†

We are not, however, to assume, that the entire Coran was at that period repeated in a fixed order. The present compilation, indeed, is held by the Moslems to follow the arrangement prescribed by Mahomet; and early tradition might also appear to imply some known sequence.‡ But this is incredible; for

* Thus he who had been the most versed in the Coran, among a heap of martial martyrs, was honored with the first burial. The same distinction entitled its possessor to the post of *Imâm*, or conductor of the public prayers (a post closely connected with that of Government,) and to pecuniary rewards. Thus, after the usual distribution of the spoils taken on the field of Cadesia, A. H. 14, the residue was divided among those who knew most of the Coran. (*Caussin de Perc. Hist. des Arabes III., p. 486.*)

† Wäckidi mentions four or five such persons, and likewise several others, who wanted but little of being able to repeat the entire revelation before Mahomet's death. (*Pp. 172, 270.*)

When, according to Mahometan idiom, we speak of "the entire revelation," we mean of course, that which was preserved and current in Mahomet's later days, exclusive of that which may possibly have been lost or destroyed or become obsolete.

‡ Thus Wäckidi mentions a few of the companions, who could repeat the whole Coran in a given time, which would seem to imply some usual connection of the parts, but the original tradition may have referred to those portions only which were commonly used by Mahomet in public worship, and these may have been placed, both in the copies and memory, in some understood order; or more likely the tradition refers to a later period, after the order had been fixed by Omar's compilation, and by a common error referred to an earlier date. There was no fixed order observed (as in the Christian "Lessons,") in the portions of the Coran recited at the public prayers.

any fixed order been observed or sanctioned by the Prophet, it would unquestionably have been preserved in the subsequent collection. Now the Coran, as we have it, follows in the disposition of its several parts no intelligible arrangement whatever, either of subject or time; and it is inconceivable that Mahomet should have enjoined its recital invariably in this concatenation. We must even doubt whether the number of the Suras, or chapters, was determined by Mahomet as we now have it,* and as to the *internal* sequence and disposition of each Sura, it cannot, in most cases, have been that enforced by the Prophet. The chaotic mingling of subjects, ever and anon disjoined, as well by chronology as by the sense—a portion produced at Medina often preceding its context revealed long before at Mecca—sometimes an early command placed after a later one that cancels it, or an argument suddenly disturbed by the interjection of a sentence utterly foreign to its purport: all this forbids us to believe that the present, or indeed any complete arrangement, was in use during Mahomet's life-time.

On the other hand, there does not appear reason to doubt that several at least of the Suras are precisely the same, both in matter and order, as Mahomet left them; † and that the remainder, though often resembling a Mosaic of various materi-

The choice of passage was fortuitous. Thus Abu Hureira one day took credit to himself for remembering which Sura the Prophet had read the day before. (*Wâkidi*, p. 173½.) On urgent occasions (as on that of Omar's assassination), a short Sura used to be read. It is only in *private* recitals that the *whole*, or large portions, are said to have been recited consecutively.

The common idea of the Mahometans, that the Coran was fixed by Mahomet, as we have it now, originates in the tradition which says that Gabriel had an annual recitation of the whole with their Prophet, as well as in the desire to augment the authority of their present edition.

* But there is reason to believe that the chief of these, and the passages in most common use, were so fixed. Some of them are spoken of in early and well-authenticated traditions, as referred to by Mahomet himself. Thus he recalled the adjutors at the discomfiture of Honein by shouting to them as "the men of the *Sura Baer*" ("the cow.")

Several persons are stated in the traditions as having learnt by heart a certain number of Suras in Mahomet's life-time. Thus Abdallah ibn Mas'ud learned seventy Suras from the Prophet's own mouth, (*Wâkidi*, p. 169½); and Mahomet on his death-bed repeated seventy Suras, "among which were the seven long ones" (*Id.*, p. 142½.) These appear to be good traditions, and signify a recognized division of at least a part of the revelation into Suras, if not a usual order in repeating the Suras themselves.

Weil has a learned note (*Mohammed*, p. 361) on the meaning of the word "Sura," as used by Mahomet; it was probably at first employed to designate any portion of his revelation, or a string of verses; but it soon afterwards, even during Mahomet's life-time, acquired its present technical meaning.

† Where whole Suras were revealed at once, this would naturally be the case; but short passages in dribblets, and often single verses, were given forth at a time as occasion required, and with regard to these, it is asserted in some traditions that Mahomet used to direct his amanuensis to enter them in such and such a Sura, or rather "in

في سورة التي يذكر فيها كذا" the Sura which treated of such and such a subject,

als, rudely dove-tailed together, is yet composed of genuine fragments, some of considerable size, and for the most part, following the connection in which they were recited at the public prayers, and committed to memory or to paper by the earliest Moslems.* The irregular interjection, and disorderly concatenation of the smaller fragments, has indeed very frequently destroyed the sequence, and produced the chaotic confusion we now find. Still the fact remains, that the fragments themselves were Mahomet's own composition, and were committed to memory or writing under his instructions; and this fact stamps the Coran, not merely as formed out of the Prophet's *words and sentences*, but in the main as his in relation to the *context* likewise.

However retentive the Arab memory, we should still have regarded with distrust a transcript made entirely from that source. But there is good reason for believing, that many fragmentary copies of the whole Coran, or of nearly the whole of it, were made by Mahomet's followers during his life. Even if we admit that writing had been but lately introduced into Mecca,† it was without doubt generally known there long

(*Mishcat I.*, p. 526—See also the *Persian Commentary*). This, if an authentic tradition (and it may be founded on fact), would indicate that Mahomet wished the Coran to be arranged according to its matter, and not chronologically.

The traditions given above, as to the *number* of Suras some of the companions could repeat, and which Mahomet himself repeated on his death-bed, would seem to point to the existence of such Suras in a complete and finished form.

* Anecdotes are told of some who used, in recitation, especially when tired, to pass over passages from the similar termination of the verses, and of others who, having done so, could spontaneously correct themselves. Such *homoioteleuta* are of very frequent recurrence, from the rhythm of the verses being formed by common-place repetitions, as suffixes of God's attributes, &c. The anecdotes certainly suppose a settled order of the parts repeated; and though the period referred to is subsequent to Mahomet's death, yet the power of such connected repetition was most likely obtained during his life-time, and before the collection into one volume.

† Messrs. De Sacy and Caussin de Perceval concur in fixing the date of the introduction of Arabic writing into Mecca at A. D. 560. (*Mém. de l'Acad.*, vol. *L.*, p. 306—*C. de Perc. I.*, p. 294.) The chief authority is contained in a tradition given by Ibn Khallicân. According to this, the Arabic system was invented by Morâmîr at Anbar, whence it spread to Hira. It was thence introduced, shortly after its invention, into Mecca by Harb, the father of Abû Sofîân, Mahomet's great opponent (*Ibn Khallicân*, by Slane, vol. *II.*, p. 284 [480].) Other traditions give a later date, but C. de Perceval reconciles the discrepancy by referring them rather to the advent of a zealous and successful teacher, than to the first introduction of the system. (*Vol. I.*, p. 295.)

Either the above traditions are erroneous, or some other sort of writing than the Arabic, was known long before the date specified, i. e. A. D. 560. Thus Abd al Muttalib is described as *writing* from Mecca, to his maternal relatives at Medina, for help in his younger days, i. e. about A. D. 520, or so. And still farther back, in the middle of the fifth century, Cussei addressed a *written* demand of a similar tenor, to his brother in Arabia Petrea. *Wâkidi*, 114.—*Tabari*, 18 & 28.)

The Himyar or *Masnal* writing is said, by Ibn Khallicân, not to have been allowed out of Yemen (*I.*, p. 295); but the verses quoted by C. de Perceval (*vol. I.*, p. 295) would seem to imply that it had been known and used by the Meccans, and was, in fact

before Mahomet assumed his prophetic office. Very many of his followers are expressly mentioned, as occasionally employed by the Prophet at Medina, in writing his letters or despatches. And, though himself delighting in the title of the "Illiterate Prophet," and abstaining, by necessity or design, from the use of penmanship, he was by no means adverse to the art. The poorest of the Meccan captives, taken at Badr, were offered their release on condition that they should first teach a certain number of the ignorant people of Medina to write.* And although the inhabitants of Medina were not so generally educated as the Meccans, yet many of them are distinctly noticed by Wäckidi as having been able to write before Islam.†

The ability being thus possessed, it may safely be inferred, that what was so indefatigably committed to memory, would be committed to writing also. We find likewise, that when a tribe joined Islam, Mahomet deputed one or more of his followers to teach them the Coran and the requirements of his religion; we know that they frequently carried *written* instructions with them on the latter point, and it is natural to conclude that they would provide themselves with transcripts of the more important parts of the revelation also, especially of those upon which the ceremonies of Islam were founded, and of such as were usually recited at the public prayers.‡ Besides the references made in the Coran itself to its own ex-

supplanted by the Arabic. The Syriac and Hebrew were also known, and probably used extensively in Medina and the northern parts of Arabia from a remote period.

Whatever, in fine, the system employed may have been, it is evident that writing of some sort was known and practised at Mecca long before A. D. 560. And at all events, the frequent notices of written papers leave us no room to doubt that Arabic writing was well known and not uncommonly practised there in Mahomet's early days. We cannot think with Weil, that any great "want of writing materials" could have been felt, even "by the poorer Moslems in the early days of Islam." (*Mohammed*, p. 350.) Reeds and palm-leaves would never be wanting.

* Thus Wäckidi, p. 101½, relates :—"Now the people of Mecca were able to write, but those of Medina were unaccustomed to the art. When, therefore, the captives could not pay any ransom, the Prophet made over to each of them ten of the lads of Medina, and when these lads became expert in writing, that stood for the ransom of the captives."

† Thus to cite one of a score of instances, "Abu Abas used to write Arabic before the rise of Islam, while as yet writing was rare among the Arabs." (*Wäckidi*, p. 269.)

‡ A curious illustration of this is given in the case of the despatch and embassy to the Himyarites; the ambassador, Harith ibn Abi Rabla, among other things was told to direct them to "translate," (perhaps "explain"—ترجموا) the Coran

when they recited it in a foreign tongue or dialect. (*Wäckidi*, p. 55.)

Abdallah ibn Abbäs is mentioned as a good "translator" (perhaps "explainer") of the Coran. (*Id.*, p. 174.)

istence in a written form,* we have express mention made, in Omar's conversion, of a copy of Sura XX. used by his sister's family for their private devotional reading. This refers to a period preceding, by three or four years, the emigration to Medina. If transcripts of the revelation were made, and in common use, at that early time, when the followers of Islam were few and oppressed, it seems a sure deduction that they must have multiplied exceedingly when the Prophet came to power, and his book formed the law of the greater part of Arabia.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to add, that the limitations already applied to the Coran, as committed to memory, must be equally understood here. The transcripts were mere fragmentary copies, compiled, if at all, with little or no reference to concatenation of subject and date. The Suras chiefly used in public worship, or the most favourite and meritorious for private perusal and recitation, would be those of which the greatest number of copies existed. Transcripts of the earlier Suras, and of those of evanescent interest, if extant at all, would be few in number.†

Such was the condition of the text of the Coran during Mahomet's life, and such it remained for about a year after his death, imprinted upon the hearts of his people, and fragmentary copies of it increasing daily. These sources would correspond closely with each other; for the Coran, even in the Prophet's life-time, was regarded with superstitious awe, as containing the very words of God himself, so that any variations would be reconciled by a direct reference to Mahomet, ‡ and after his death, to the originals where they existed, or to the transcripts, and to the memory of the Prophet's confidential friends and amanuenses.

It was not till the overthrow of Moseilama, that a fearful

* We have before alluded to the evidence conveyed by the name "Kitâb." Other passages involve the existence of copies in common use thus—"The Coran.....nouse shall touch the same, excepting those who are clean" (Sura LVI. 80.) This is an early Meccan Sura, and the passage is referred to by Omar's sister, when he desired, before his conversion, to take her copy of Sura XX. into his hands. Such passages are moreover evidence of the extreme care, if not awe, with which all transcripts of the Coran would be treated, and they served as an additional safeguard against corruption.

† Those revelations, however, must be excepted, which related to individuals. Such passages as praised or excupated certain parties, would be most carefully treasured up by those to whom they referred, and by their families, however little interest they might possess for any one else, *e. g.* the verses in Sura XXIV., regarding Ayesha! Sura IX. 120, respecting Kab ibn Mâlik, and others, who were pardoned for not accompanying the Tabûk expedition.

‡ See instances of such references made to Mahomet by Omar, Abdallah ibn Mas'ud, and Obeiy ibn Kab, at pp. 521 & 522, vol. I. of the *Mishcat, Eng. Translation.*

carnage having taken place amongst the Moslems at Yemâma,* and great numbers of the best Coran-reciters having been slain, the idea appears first to have occurred to Omar, that difficulties would be experienced regarding the Coran, when all those who had it in their memories should have passed away. "I fear," said he, addressing the Caliph Abu Bacr, "that the slaughter may again wax hot amongst the readers of the Coran, in other fields of battle; and that much may be lost from the Coran.† I think, therefore, that thou shouldst give orders for the collection of the Coran." Abu Bacr, coinciding in this view, thus made known his wishes to Zeid ibn Thâbit.—"Thou art a young and wise man, against whom none amongst us can cast any imputation, and thou usedst to write down the inspiration of the Prophet of the Lord. Do thou, therefore, search out the Coran, and bring it together." So new and unexpected was the enterprise, that Zeid at first shrank from the task, and doubted the propriety of attempting that which Mahomet himself had never done. He yielded at last to the joint entreaties of Abu Bacr and of Omar, and seeking out the fragments of the Coran from every quarter, "gathered it together, from date-leaves and tablets of white-stone, and from the breasts of men."‡ By the labours of Zeid, these scattered and disorderly fragments were reduced to the order and pseudo-sequence in which we

* The exact date of the battle of Yemâma is uncertain. Wäckidi makes it to fall in Rabi I., A. H. 12, or one year after Mahomet's death, and Abu Mashâr follows him. Tabari mentions the 11th year of the Hegira, and others give the *end* of that year. The latter opinion is the likeliest, as Khalid set out for Irâk after the battle, and in the beginning of A. H. 12. Weil would place it in Shabân of A. H. 11, or only about five months after Mahomet's death, which apparently leaves too little time for the intervening transactions. (*Weil's Gesch. der Chalifen* I., p. 27—*Wäckidi*, p. 195, *et passim*.)

† فيذهب كثير من القرآن (*vide Mishcat*, vol. I. p. 524, *Eng. Translation—Bk. VIII., ch. iii., pt. 3.*)

* فكتبت القرآن اجمعه من العشب واللخاف وصدور الرجال †

عشب signifies branches of the date-tree, on which there are no leaves; it appears, however, here to mean date-leaves. لخاف signifies thin white stones. The commentary on this passage of the *Mishcat* adds traditions to the effect that Zeid gathered the Coran also from fragments of parchment or paper (الرقاع) and pieces of leather, (قطع الاديم) and the shoulder and the rib bones of camels and goats (الاكتاف والاضلاع) (*Mishcat*, as above.) Leather was frequently used for writing; many of Mahomet's treaties and letters are mentioned as recorded on it, sometimes red leather is specified. (*Wäckidi*, p. 59.) There is a curious tradition regarding a man who used a leather letter received from Mahomet, for the purpose of mending his bucket, and whose family were thence called the *Bani Rakh*—"children of the mender," or "cobbler." (*Wäckidi*, p. 54.)

now find them, and in which it is pretended that Zeid was wont to repeat the Coran before Mahomet. The original copy, prepared by Zeid, appears to have been kept by Abu Bacr during the short remainder of his reign; it then came into Omar's possession, and was by him committed to the custody of his daughter Haphsa, one of the Prophet's widows. Thus the authorized text continued during the ten years' caliphate of Omar.*

But various readings, either at first existed, or soon crept into the copies of this edition. These began to scandalize the Moslems: the Coran sent down by the Lord was ONE, but if there were several varying Corans, what became of its unity? Hodzeifa had warred both in Armenia and Adzerbâijan, and observed the different coranic readings of the Syrians and of the men of Irâk; alarmed at the variations, he warned Othmân, and called upon him to interpose and "stop the people, before ' they should differ regarding their scriptures, as did the Jews ' and Christians."† To remedy the evil, the Caliph had recourse again to Zeid, with whom he associated three Coreishites of Mecca.‡ The previous original was obtained from Haphsa's depository, and a careful recension of the whole set on foot. In case of difference between Zeid and his coadjutors, the voice of the latter, as demonstrative of the Coreishite idiom, was to preponderate; and thus was the new collation assimilated to the Meccan dialect, in which the Prophet had given utterance to his inspiration.§ Transcripts were multiplied and forwarded to the chief cities in the empire, and all the previously existing copies were, by the Caliph's command, com-

* This consistent account is derived from the traditions in the *Mishcat*. The authorities in *Wâchidi* vary. Abu Bacr is said to have been "the first who collected the Coran into one book." (P. 216.) "He died before he had collected the Coran," (probably it is meant "finished the collection.") (P. 219½.) "Omar was the first to collect the Coran into one volume." (P. 234½.) But at P. 237 we read, that "he died before he had collected the Coran." This may probably be a loose mode of intimating that his was not the final collection.

ادرك هذا الامة قبل ان يختلفوا في الكتاب اختلاف اليهود والنصارى

† Zeid, it will be remembered, was an *adjutor*, and native of Medina.

§ It is one of the maxims of the Moslem world, (supported, perhaps, by the revelation itself) (see Sura XI. 2), that the Coran is incorruptible, and preserved from error, and variety of reading, by the miraculous interposition of God himself. In order therefore, to escape the scandal of the transaction here detailed, they hold that the Coran, as to its external dress, was revealed in seven dialects of the Arabic tongue. (See *Traditions* at p. 520, vol. I. of the *Mishcat*—*Weil's Mohammed*, p. 349, note 561.) It is not improbable, that Mahomet himself may have originated or countenanced some idea of this kind to avoid the embarrassment of differing versions of the same revelation (See also *Weil's Einleitung*, p. 48.)

mitted to the flames.* The old original was returned to Haphsa's custody.

The recension of Othmân has been handed down to us unaltered. So carefully, indeed, has it been preserved, that there are no variations of importance—we might almost say no variations at all—amongst the innumerable copies of the Coran scattered throughout the vast bounds of the empire of Islam. Contending and embittered factions, originating in the murder of Othmân himself, within a quarter of a century from the death of Mahomet, have ever since rent the Mahometan world. Yet but ONE CORAN has always been current amongst them; and the consentaneous use of it by all, up to the present day, is an irrefragable proof, that we have now before us the self-same text prepared by the commands of that unfortunate Caliph.† There is probably no other work which has remained twelve centuries with so pure a text. The various readings are wonderfully few in number, and are chiefly confined to differences in the vowel points and diacritical signs; but as these marks were invented at a later date, and did not exist at all in the early copies, they can hardly be said to affect the text of Othmân.‡

* *Mishcat*, vol. I., p. 525. Wäckidi, however, mentions, that twelve persons were employed by Othmân in this work, among whom were Obey ibn Kab and Zeid. The three Coreish noticed in the text were probably umpires from amongst the twelve. (*Wäckidi*, p. 278½.)

† The Moslems would have us believe, that some of the self-same copies, penned by Othmân, or by his order, are still in existence. M. Quatremère has collected a number of facts bearing on this head. (*Journal Asiatique*, Juillet, 1838, pp. 41 et seq.) The very copy which the Caliph held in his hand, when he was murdered, is said to have been preserved in the village of Antartus. Others hold that leaves of it were treasured up in the grand mosque of Cordova; Edrisi describes in detail the formalities with which they were treated: they were finally transferred to Fez or Telemsan. Ibn Batûla, when (in the fourteenth century) he visited Basra, declares that this Coran was then in its mosque, and that the marks of the Caliph's blood were still visible at the words "God shall avenge thee against them"—Sura II., 138. (*Jac's translation*, p. 35.) [*Wäckidi*, p. 193, states that the unfortunate Caliph's blood ran down to these words.] Others of Othmân's originals are said to be preserved in Egypt, Morocco, and Damascus; as well as at Mecca and Medina. The Medina copy is stated to have a note at its end, relating that it was compiled by the injunctions of Othmân, and the compilers' names are given (*Cnf. Gayangos Spain*, vol. I., pp. 222—224, & 497, 498, and *Weil's Einleit.*, p. 51.) In Quatremère's conclusion, that though the preservation of such copies is not impossible, yet the accounts on the subject are of doubtful authority, we are disposed to concur. It appears very unlikely that any of Othmân's copies can have escaped the innumerable changes of dynasty and party, to which every part of the Moslem world has been subjected. Any very ancient copy would come, however unfounded the claim, to be called that of Othmân.

‡ There are, however, instances of variation in the letters themselves, and these are not confined to difference in the dots as بشرا for نشرا (Sura. VII. 53 and XXV. 49); يكلف for تكلف (IV. 83); but extend sometimes to the form of the letters as ظنين for ضنين (LXXXI. 23); صراف for صوف (XXII. 37.)

Since, then, we possess the undoubted text of Othmân's recension, it remains to be enquired whether that text was an honest re-production of Abu Bacr's edition, with the variations reconciled; and there appears to be the fullest ground for believing that it was so. No early or trust-worthy traditions throw out any suspicions of unfair dealing against Othmân.* The Shîahs, indeed, of later times, pretend, that Othmân left out Suras and passages which favored Ali. But this is inconceivable. He could not possibly have done so without being observed at the time; and it cannot be imagined that Ali and his followers—not to mention the whole body of the Mussul-

This almost incredible purity of text, in a book so widely scattered over the world, and continually copied by people of different tongues and lands, is undoubtedly owing mainly to Othmân's recension, and the official enforcement of his one edition. To countenance a various reading was an offence against the state, and punished as such. An instance may be found in *Weil's History of the Caliphs*, vol. II., p. 676. Yet the various readings, for which the learned Abul Hasan was persecuted, appear to have been very innocent and harmless to the state. We need not wonder that, when such means were resorted to, a perfect uniformity of text has been maintained. To compare (as the Moslems are fond of doing) *their* pure text, with the various readings of our Scriptures, is to compare things between the history and essential points of which there is no analogy.

* Weil, indeed, impugns Othmân's honesty by saying that he committed the task not to the most learned men, but to those most devoted to himself (*Chalif. I.*, p. 167.) But he seems herein mistaken; for Wäckidi, as we have seen, holds that Othmân selected *twelve* men for the work, among whom was Obey ibn Kab as well as Zeid. Abdullah ibn Masûd, it is true, was vexed at Zeid being entrusted with the revision, and cast suspicions upon him, but this, as we shall see further below, was simple jealousy. Zeid was selected for the first compilation by Abu Bacr and Omar, and Othmân cannot be blamed for fixing upon the same person to revise it. The traditions regarding Zeid are the highest and most unexceptionable that could be imagined (*vide Wäckidi*, p. 172½, 173.) He is spoken of as "the first man in Medina for his judgment, decision, reading of the Coran, and legal knowledge, during the caliphates of Omar, Othmân, Ali, and until he died in Muâvia's reign."

The only tradition which imputes any *change* to Othman is one in the *Mishcat* (I., p. 526,) where the Caliph being asked why he had joined Suras VIII. and IX. without interposing the usual formula, "In the name of God &c." is said to have answered that "the Prophet, when dictating a passage, used to direct the scribe to write it on the Sura relating to such a subject; that Mahomet died before explaining the position of Sura IX., that last revealed; but that as it resembled in subject the Sura VIII., he, (Othmân, had them joined together without the intervening formula." Here certainly is no charge of corruption, or even of changing the contents of the Coran, but simply a direction as to the formal collocation and heading of a single chapter. There is also a tradition from Dzahaby given by Weil (*Chalif. I.*, p. 168, *note*) which apparently implies, that previous to Othmân's collection, the Coran, though arranged into Suras, was not brought together into one volume or series. "The Coran," it says, "was composed of books." (كتب) "but Othman left it

one book." (كتاب) This would correspond with the principle laid down in the commentary on the *Mishcat*:—"The difference between the collection of Abu Bacr and that of Othmân, is that the object of the former was to gather up everything, so that no portion should be lost; the object of the latter, to prevent any discrepancy in the copies." The former object might have been attained without arranging the Suras into a volume. Still we incline to think that Abu Bacr did so arrange them.

mans, who fondly regarded the Coran as the word of God—would have permitted such a proceeding. In support of this position, the following arguments may be adduced:—*First*; when Othman's edition was prepared, no open breach had yet taken place between the Omeiyads and the Alyites. The unity of Islam was still complete and unthreatened; Ali's pretensions were undeveloped, and no sufficient object can be assigned for the perpetration by Othman of an offence which all Moslems regard as one of the blackest dye. *Second*; on the other hand, Ali, from the very commencement of Othmân's reign, had an influential party of adherents, strong enough in the end to depose the Caliph, to storm his palace, and to put an end to his life. Is it conceivable, that these men would have remained quiet, when the very evidences of their leader's superior claims were being openly annihilated? *Third*; at the time of the recension, there were still multitudes alive who had the Coran, as originally delivered, by heart; and of the supposed passages favouring Ali—had any ever existed, there would have been numerous transcripts in the hands of his family and followers: both of these sources must have proved an effectual check upon any attempt at suppression.* *Fourth*; the party of Ali shortly after assumed an independent attitude, and he himself soon succeeded to the caliphate. Is it possible that either he, or his party, when thus arrived at power, would tolerate a mutilated Coran—mutilated expressly to destroy his own claims? Yet we find that they followed one and the same Coran with their opponents, and

* Weil supposes that Othmân threatened the severest punishments against those who did not burn all the old manuscripts. (*Gesch. der Chalifen I., p. 169, note.*) But we find in reality no trace of any such severity, or indeed of any inquisitorial proceedings at all. The new edition, and the destruction of former copies (though subsequently forming a convenient accusation against Othmân,) do not appear to have excited at the time any opposition.

The opposition and imprisonment of Abdallah ibn Masûd seem to have originated in his discontent and jealousy. The burning of his Coran, for supposed errors, (*Chalif. I., p. 169.*) is not supported by any good tradition; it was probably burnt with all the others on the new edition being promulgated. The following is all that Wâkidi has upon it. A tradition runs thus:—"Abdallah ibn Masûd addressed us when the command was received regarding (the compilation or recension of) the Coran; and, referring to the verse in the Coran reprobating robbery (of the booty,

غلول Sura—III. 162,) he added, 'And they have made secret robbery in the Coran; and certainly if I were to recite the Coran according to the reading of any other person whom I might choose, it would be better in my opinion than the reading of Zeid. For, by the Lord! I received seventy Suras from the mouth of the Prophet himself, at a time when Zeid was but a curly-headed urchin playing with the children. Verily, if I knew any one more learned than myself in the book of the Lord, I would travel to him, were it never so far.' (*Wâkidi, p. 169.*) These are the words evidently of a piqued and discontented man. Had there been any foundation for his calumny, we should undoubtedly have heard of it from other quarters.

raised not the shadow of an objection against it.* The insurgents are indeed said to have made it one of their complaints against Othmân, that he had caused a new edition to be made of the Coran, and had committed all the old copies to the flames; but this was objected to simply as an unauthorized act, and no hint was dropped of any alteration or omission. Such a supposition, palpably absurd at the time, is altogether an after-thought of the modern Shîas.

We may safely conclude, then, that Othmân's recension was, what it professed to be, a re-production of Abu Bacr's edition, possibly with a more complete and uniform arrangement of the Suras, but still a faithful re-production. The most important question yet remains, viz., *whether Abu Bacr's edition was an authentic and complete collection of Mahomet's revelations.* The following considerations induce us to believe that it was authentic, and in the main, as complete as at the time was possible.

First.—We have no reason to doubt, that Abu Bacr was a sincere follower of Mahomet, and an earnest believer in the divine origin of the Coran. His faithful attachment to the Prophet's person, conspicuous throughout his life, and his simple, consistent and unambitious deportment as Caliph, seem to admit of no other supposition. Firmly believing the revelations of his dear friend to be the revelations of God himself, his natural object would be to secure a pure and complete

* So far from objecting to Othmân's revision, Ali multiplied copies of this very version. Quatremère, in the paper cited in a former note, among other MSS. supposed to have been written by Ali, mentions one which was preserved at Mesched Ali up to the fourteenth century, and which bore his signature. Some leaves of the Coran, said to have been copied by him, are now in the *Lahore Tosha-khâna*; others are there, ascribed to the pen of his son, Husein. Without leaning upon such uncertain evidence, it is abundantly sufficient for our argument, that copies of Othmân's Coran were notoriously used and multiplied by Ali's partizans, and have been so up to the present day.

There is a curious tradition in *Wâkidi* to the following effect:—"Ali delayed long to do homage to Abu Bacr, who, happening to meet him, asked, '*Art thou displeased with my being elected chief?*'—"Nay," replied Ali, '*but I have sworn with an oath that I shall not put on my mantle, except for prayers, until I have collected the Coran.*' And it is thought that he wrote it (chronologically) according to its revelation. The party who received this tradition asked Ikrima about the book here spoken of: he knew nothing of it. But the traditionist adds—"Had that book reached us, verily there had been knowledge for us therein." (*Wâkidi*, p. 168½.) A similar tradition appears to be referred to by Weil (*Chalif. I.*, p. 169, note); but the idea is preposterous, and is simply an invention to exculpate Ali from the charge of having done homage to Abu Bacr tardily. Had he really compiled a Coran of his own, we should have had multitudes of traditions about it, besides that the notion is incompatible with his subsequent reception of Othmân's version.

Ali was besides deeply versed in the Coran, and his memory, if tradition be true, would almost have sufficed to detect, if not to restore, any passage that had been tampered with. Ali said of himself, "there is not a verse in the Coran, of which I do not know the matter, the parties to whom it refers, and the place and time of its revelation, whether by night or by day, whether in the plains or upon the mountains." (*Wâkidi*, p. 168½.)

transcript of them. A similar argument applies with almost equal force to Omar, and the other agents in the revision. The great mass of the Moslem people were undoubtedly sincere, nay, fanatical, in their belief. From the scribes themselves, who were employed in the compilation, down to the most humble Mussulman, who brought his little store of writing on stones or palm-leaves, we believe that all were influenced by the same earnest desire to re-produce the very words which their Prophet had declared as his message from the Lord. And a similar guarantee is possessed in the feelings of the people at large, in whose soul no principle was more deeply rooted, than an awful reverence for the supposed word of God. The Coran itself contains frequent denunciations against those who should presume to "fabricate anything in the name of the Lord," as well as to conceal that which he had revealed. Such an action, which is represented as the worst description of crime, we cannot believe that the first Moslems, in the early ardour of their faith and love, ever dared to contemplate.*

Second.—The compilation was made within two years of

• Vide Coran, Sura VI. a. 21. **او كذب بايا ته انه لا يفلح الظالمون ومن كان اظلم ممن افترى علي الله كذبا** The same sentiment, in nearly the same words, is repeated in eleven other places.

The considerations above detailed seem sufficient to rebut the supposition advanced by Dr. Weil (*Mohammed*, p. 350,) that Abu Baer *might* have colluded with Zeid, or some other of the Prophet's scribes, and made them produce at pleasure scraps which Mahomet never gave forth, as portions of the Coran. The **ONLY** passage brought forward, as favouring this view, is that regarding the mortality of Mahomet, quoted (or, as Weil holds, fabricated) by Abu Baer immediately after his death. The people were at the time so frantic with grief, and could so little realize that their Prophet and their Ruler, whom a few hours before they had seen in the mosque apparently convalescent, upon whom they hung in every thing, for temporal guidance and spiritual direction, was no more, that they refused to believe he was really dead; they persuaded themselves, that he was only in a swoon, and would soon again return to consciousness, as from some heavenly journey. It was thus, that when Abu Baer sounded in their ears Mahomet's own words, in which (with reference to his perilous position in a field of battle) he announced his mortality, they were bewildered, and "it was as if they had not known that this verse had been revealed, until Abu Baer recited it; and the people took it up from him, and it was forthwith in all their mouths." Another relates—"By the Lord! it was so, that when I heard Abu Baer repeating this, I was horror-struck, my limbs shook, and I fell to the earth, and knew of a certainty that Mahomet was indeed dead." (*Wâkidi*, p. 155;—*Hishâmi*, p. 462.) The whole circumstances appear natural and readily explicable by the highly excited feelings and wild grief of Omar and those who were with him. The traditions are here consistent throughout with the Coran. Mahomet always contemplated death as awaiting him, and spoke of it as such. (The tradition of the choice of both worlds being offered him is a fiction, or a highly-coloured exaggeration.) Whatever expectations of a miraculous interference and resuscitation Mahomet's sudden decease may have excited, they were certainly warranted neither by the Coran nor by any speeches of Mahomet. We entirely dissent from Weil, that there is any suspicion whatever of the verse repeated by Abu Baer having been fabricated for the occasion. German criticism has here proved to be gratuitous incredulity. (Cnf. *Weil's Mohammed*, pp. 333, 350; his *Ein leitung*, p. 43; and his *Gesch. der Chalifen*, vol. I., pp. 4 & 15.)

Mahomet's death.* We have seen, that several of his followers had the entire revelation (excepting, perhaps, some obsolete fragments,) by heart; that every Moslem treasured it up more or less in his memory; and, that there were official reciters of it, for public worship and tuition, in every quarter to which Islam extended. These formed an unbroken link, a living stereotype, between the revelation fresh from Mahomet's lips, and the edition of it by Zeid. The people had thus not only the sincere and fervent spirit to desire a faithful copy of the Coran, but they had the means of securing their wish.

Third.—The same, if not a greater, security would be obtained from the fragmentary transcripts, which existed in Mahomet's life-time, and must have greatly multiplied before the Coran was thrown together. These were in the hands, probably, of all who could read. And as the compilation of Abu Bacr came into immediate and unquestioned use, it is reasonable to conclude that it embraced and corresponded with every extant fragment, and, *therefore*, by common consent, superseded them all. We hear of no fragments that were intentionally omitted by the compilers, nor of any that differed from the received edition. Had there been any such discoverable, they would undoubtedly have been preserved and noticed in those traditional repositories, which treasured up, and handed down, even the minutest and most trivial acts and sayings attributed to the Prophet.

Fourth.—The contents and the arrangement of the Coran speak forcibly for its authenticity. All the fragments that could possibly be obtained, have evidently, with the most artless simplicity, been joined together. The patch-work bears no marks of a designing genius or of a moulding hand. It clearly testifies to the faith and reverence of the compilers, and that they dared not do more than collect the sacred fragments and place them in juxta-position. Hence the interminable repetitions; the palling reiteration of the same ideas, the same truths, the same doctrines; hence the scriptural stories and Arabian legends, told over and over again with little verbal variation; and hence the pervading want of connection, and the startling chasms between adjacent passages. Again, the confessions and the frailties of Mahomet, which it was sometimes expedient to represent as having been noticed by the Deity, are all, with evident faithfulness, entered in the Coran; and not less undisguised are the frequent verses which are con-

* The battle of Yemâma, we have seen, occurred within a year after Mahomet's death. Abu Bacr's caliphate lasted little more than two years and two months. The compilation was certainly in progress, if not completed, between the former date and Abu Bacr's death.

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tradicted or abrogated by later revelations. The editors plainly contented themselves with simply throwing together fragments which had been preserved with scrupulous accuracy. They neither ventured to select from amongst repeated versions of the same incident, nor to reconcile differences, nor, by the alteration of a single letter, to dove-tail abrupt transitions of context, nor, by tampering with the text, to soften discreditable appearances. Thus we possess every internal guarantee of confidence.

But it may be objected, if the text of Abu Bacr's Coran was pure and universally received, how came it to be so soon corrupted, and to require an extensive recension? The traditions do not afford us sufficient light to determine decisively the causes of discrepancy. It may have arisen from various readings in the fragmentary transcripts, which remained in the possession of the people; it may have originated in the diverse dialects of Arabia, and the different modes of pronunciation and orthography; or it may have sprung up naturally in the usual course of manuscripts left to themselves. It is sufficient for us to know, that in Othmân's revision, recourse was had to the *original* manuscript of the first compilation, and that we have otherwise every guarantee, internal and external, of possessing a text the same as that which Mahomet himself gave forth and used.†

* Though the doctrine of abrogation (being a very convenient one,) is acknowledged in the Coran, yet the Mussulmans endeavour, as far as possible, to explain away such contradictions. But they are obliged to confess that the Coran contains no fewer than 225 verses cancelled by later ones.

† We have already referred to the Mahometan doctrine of the *seven dialects*, as possibly founded in part on some explanation given by Mahomet himself, when he found that he had attested two varying versions of the same text as divine. The idea, however, was probably not fully developed and worked into a systematic form, till after days, when it was required to account for the various readings.

Variety of reading in the originals might arise from two causes. *First*; passages, actually distinct and revealed at different times, might be so similar as to appear really the same with insignificant variations; it is possible they might thus come to be confounded together, and the differences to be regarded as various readings. This, however, is opposed to the tautological character of the Coran, which renders it likely that such passages were always inserted as separate and distinct revelations. *Second*; different transcripts of one and the same passage might have variations of reading. It is possible that these transcripts were sometimes entered repeatedly in Zeid's compilation as separate passages, and that hence may arise some part of the repetitions in the Coran. But from the care with which the *occasions* of the several revelations are said to have been noted and remembered, it seems more likely that such passages were inserted but once. What then became of the various readings in the several copies? Some, leaning on the dogma of the "seven dialects," suppose that they were *all* exhibited in Zeid's first collection. But this is very improbable. He evidently made one version out of the whole. But the various readings would still remain in the hands of the possessors of the original transcripts.

We have then the following sources, from which various readings may have crept into the subsequent copies of Abu Bacr's version. *1st.*—The variations in the private transcripts just referred to, might have been gradually transferred to such copies; *2nd.*—Differences in the mode of repetition from memory, dialectical peculiarities might have been similarly transferred; or, *3rd.*—The manuscripts not being checked, as was afterwards done by Othmân's standard copy, would naturally soon begin to differ.

Variations, once introduced into what was regarded as the Word of God, acquired an authority, which could only be superseded by a general revision such as Othmân's, and by the authoritative decision of the successor of the Prophet of the Lord.

While, however, it is maintained, that we now have the Coran as it was left by Mahomet, we do not, by any means, assert that passages revealed at some former period may not have been changed or withdrawn. On the contrary, repeated instances of such withdrawal are noticed, as the traditions and the principle of alteration (although no express instances are given,) seems to be clearly implied. To the latter effect are the following early traditions.

Omar praised Obey ibn Kab, and said he was the most perfect repeater of the Coran. "We, indeed," he added, "are in the habit of omitting some portions which Obey includes in his recitation; for Obey is accustomed to say, *I heard the Prophet saying so, and I omit not a single word inserted (in the Coran) by the Prophet.* But the fact is, that parts of the book were 'revealed in Obey's absence' (which cancelled or altered the verses Obey repeats.)—*Wâkidi*, p. 169.

Again; Ibn Abbâs stated that he preferred the reading of Abdallah ibn Masûd—"for Mahomet used to have the Coran repeated to him (by Gabriel) once every Ramazân; but in the year he died, it was thus repeated twice; and Abdallah was present (on these occasions;) AND WITNESSED WHAT WAS REPEATED THEREOF, AND WHAT WAS CHANGED."—*Wâkidi*, p. 169½.

The Coran itself recognizes the principle of the withdrawal of certain passages after being given forth as revelations: "whatever verses we cancel, or *cause thee to forget*, we give thee better in their stead, or the like thereof."—*Sura II. v. 100.*

Any passages, which Mahomet thus finding to be inconvenient, or otherwise inexpedient for publication, withdrew from the original transcripts, or altered, before they went into circulation, will, of course, not be found in our present Coran; but this does not in any measure affect its value as an exponent of Mahomet's opinions, or rather of the opinions he professed to hold, since what we have, though possibly corrected and modified by himself, is still *his own*.*

It is, moreover, not impossible, that passages, which had been

* The following are, we believe, the only instances of withdrawal or omission referred to in the traditions.

First.—Upon the slaughter of the seventy Moslems at Bir Maûna, Mahomet pretended to have received a message from them through the Deity, which is given by different traditionists (with slight variations) as follows:—

بلغوا قومنا عنا انا لقينا ربنا فرضى عنا و (افينا عنه) "Convey to our people this intelligence regarding us, that we have met our Lord, and that he is well pleased with us, and we are well pleased with Him." (*Wâkidi*, pp. 108½ & 280½—*Tabari*, p. 415.) After this had been repeated by all for some time as a verse of the Coran, it was cancelled and withdrawn. No sufficient reason is recognizable for this cancellation. That supposed by Weil, viz., that the message is from the slain Moslems, and not, as the rest of the Coran, from God himself, is hardly sufficient,

allowed to fall into abeyance and become obsolete, or the suppression of which Mahomet may himself have desired, were ferreted out by the blind zeal of his followers, and with pious veneration for every thing believed to be the word of God, entered in Zeid's collection. On the other hand, many early passages of ephemeral interest, may, without any design on Mahomet's part, have entirely disappeared in the lapse of time; and no trace being left of them, they must necessarily have been omitted from the compilation. But both of these are hypothetical positions, not supported by any actual evidence or tradition.*

because, in other places also, the formula of the divine message has to be supplied. Here the insertion of some such expression as "*thy companions say unto me, convey to our people,*" &c., would reduce the passage to the Mahometan rule, of coming as from God himself.

Second.—Omar is said thus to have addressed his subjects at Medina:—"Take heed ye people, that ye abandon not the verse which commands stoning for adultery; and if any one say, *we do not find two punishments* (i. e., one for adultery and another for fornication,) *in the book of the Lord,* I reply, that verily, I have seen the Prophet of the Lord executing the punishment of stoning for adultery, and we have put in force the same after him. And, by the Lord! if it were not that men would say *Omar hath introduced something new into the Coran,* I would have inserted the same in the Coran, for truly I have read the verse

اذ زنا فارجموها البته
والشيخ والشيخة (the married man and the married woman, when they

commit adultery, stone them both without doubt)" (*Wâchidi, p. 245;—Weil's Moham-med, p. 351.*) That this command should have been omitted after being once entered in the Coran, appears strangely unaccountable, seeing its great importance as a civil rule, and the prominent part it occupied in the controversy with the Jews, who were accused of hiding the similar command alleged to be in the Old Testament. There must, however, be some foundation for Omar's speech, because stoning is still by Mahometan law the punishment for adultery, and is founded on the withdrawn verse.

Third.—A tradition is quoted by Maracci (*II., p. 42.*) to the effect that a verse about a valley of gold has been omitted from Sura X. at v. 26, but the authority seems doubtful.

Fourth.—We have already noticed the tale of Abdallah ibn Masûd, that he found a verse had disappeared during the night from his leaves, it having been cancelled from heaven.

There is a fifth passage regarding the goddesses of Mecca, which Mahomet is said to have repeated at the suggestion of Satan as a verse of the Coran, and which is held to have been expunged therefrom. (*Wâchidi, p. 39—Tabari, p. 140—Note by Dr. Sprenger, p. 128—Asiatic Journal, XII.*) But according to Moslem ideas, this could hardly have ever formed an actual portion of the revelation.

The Mahometans divide the abrogated passages into three classes: I. Where the *writing* is cancelled, but the purport or command remains; as in the first and second instances given above. II. Where the *command* is cancelled, but the writing remains, as in the abrogated passages regarding Jerusalem as the Kiblah, &c. III. Where the writing and purport are both cancelled, as in the third and fourth instances, quoted in this note. (*See Maracci II., p. 42.*)

* The possibility of unintentional omissions from the Coran is admitted in the very reason urged by Omar for its being collected; he feared, if there was farther slaughter among those who had it by heart, *that much might be lost from the Coran* (*Mishcat, I. 525.*) See also Zeid's assertion, that the last verse of Sura IX. (or, as others say, a section of Sura XXXIII.) was found with Khuzeima, the adjutor, after all the rest had been collected. The tradition, however, is suspicious. It seems improbable that any portion of either of these Suras should have been so imperfectly preserved, seeing that both are Medina ones, and the former the very last revealed. Possibly it had been revealed so lately, that sufficient time had not elapsed for copies to get abroad.

The conclusion which we may now with confidence draw, is that the editions both of Abu Bacr and of Othmān were not only faithful, but complete, as far as the materials went, and that whatever omissions there may have been, they were not, on the part of the compilers, intentional. The real drawback to the inestimable value of the Coran as a contemporary and authentic record of Mahomet's character and actions, is the want of arrangement and connection which pervades it; so that in enquiring into the meaning and force of a passage, no infallible dependence can be placed upon the adjacent sentences as being the true context; but bating this defect, we may, upon the strongest presumption, affirm that every verse in the Coran is Mahomet's very own, and conclude with at least a close approximation to the verdict of H. v. Hammer:—*that we can hold the Coran to be as surely Mahomet's word, as the Mahometans hold it to be the word of God.**

The importance of this deduction can hardly be over-estimated. The Coran becomes the historical test and ground-work in all enquiries into the origin of Islam and the character of its founder. Here we have a store-house of *Mahomet's own words recorded during his life*, extending over the whole course of his public career, and illustrating his religious views, his public acts, and his domestic character. By this standard of his own construction, we may safely judge his life and actions, for it *must* represent either what he actually thought, or that which he desired to appear to think. And so true a mirror is the Coran of Mahomet's character, that the saying became proverbial among the early Moslems, خلقه القرآن — *His character is the Coran.*†

"Tell me," was the curious enquiry often put to Ayesha, as well as to Mahomet's other widows, "tell me something 'about the Prophet's disposition."—"Thou hast the Coran," replied Ayesha, "art thou not an Arab, and readest the Arabic 'tongue?"—"Certainly, it is as thou sayest."—"Well then," answered she, "why dost thou take the trouble to enquire of me?"

* Der Koran eben so sicher für Mohammeds Wort, als den Moslimen für das Gottes gilt." Weil, though dissenting from this opinion, yet allows "that no important alterations, additions, or abstractions have been made:"—"so glauben wir auch nicht an bedeutende Veränderungen, Zusätze oder Anslassungen" (*Mohammed*, p. 352.) But cnf. *Pref.*, p. xv.

So Dr. Sprenger: "Though the Coran may not be free from interpolations, yet there seems to be no reason for doubting its authenticity," (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 63.)

Thus even on these grounds, the Coran would still be the grand basis of Mahomet's biography.

† *Wâchidi*, p. 70½. This tradition is repeated by Wâchidi from different authorities many times, and in the same words which appear to have become proverbial.

‘ For the Prophet’s disposition is just the Coran.” Of Mahomet’s biography, the Coran is indeed the key-stone.

Having gained this firm position, we proceed to enquire into the authority and credibility of the other source of early Mahometan history, viz., TRADITION. This forms the chief substance and raw material of all Moslem biographies of the Prophet; and it is the only instrument we possess for calculating the relative position of the salient points of his life, already established by the Coran, and for weaving them together with the tissue of intermediate events.

Mahometan tradition consists of the sayings of the associates of the Prophet, handed down by a real or supposed chain of narrators to the period when they were recorded, collected, and classified. The process of transmission was for the most part oral. It may be sketched as follows.

After the death of Mahomet, the main employment of his followers was that of arms. The pursuit of pleasure, and the formal round of religious observances, while they filled up the interstices of active life, afforded but little exercise to the mind. The lazy intervals from campaign to campaign, and the tedium of long and irksome marches, fell listlessly on the hands of a simple and semi-barbarous race. These intervals were occupied, and that tedium beguiled, chiefly by calling up the past in familiar conversation or formal discourse. On what topic, upon these occasions, would the early Moslems more enthusiastically descant than on the acts and sayings of that wonderful man, who had called them into existence as a conquering nation, and had placed in their hands “the keys both of this World and of Paradise?”

Thus the conversation of Mahomet’s followers would be much about him. The majesty of his character would gain greatness by contemplation; and as time removed him farther and farther from them, the lineaments of the mysterious mortal, who was wont to hold familiar intercourse with the messengers of heaven, would rise in dimmer, but in more gigantic proportions. The mind would be unconsciously led on to think of him as having been ever surrounded by supernatural agency, and endowed with supernatural powers; and the tongue would give utterance to corresponding ideas. Whenever there was no standard of fact, whereby to test these recitals, they would be in effect the offspring of an unlicensed union between the memory and the imagination; and as days rolled on, the features of the latter element would gain the ascendancy.

Such is the result which the lapse of time would naturally have upon the minds and the narratives of the *Ashâb*, or “com-

panions" of Mahomet—more especially of those who were young when he died. And then another race sprang up, which had never seen the Prophet; who looked up to his contemporaries with fond reverence, and listened to their stories of him as to tidings of a messenger from the other world. "Is it possible, oh father of Abdallah! that thou hast been with Mahomet?" was the question addressed by a pious Moslem to Hodzeifa, in the mosque of Kufâ; "didst thou really see the Prophet, and wert thou on familiar terms with him?"—"Yea, indeed, oh son of my uncle."—"And how usedst thou to act towards him?"—"Verily, we used to labour hard to please him."—"Well, by the Lord!" exclaimed the ardent listener, "if I had been but alive in his time, I would not have allowed him to put his blessed foot upon the earth, but would have borne him on my shoulders wherever he listed."* Another youth was listening to the story of the Prophet's head having been shaved at the Pilgrimage, and his hair distributed amongst his followers; Obeida's eyes glistened, as the speaker proceeded, and he interrupted him with the impatient exclamation—"Would that I had but a single one of those blessed hairs! I would cherish and value it more than all the gold and silver in the world!"† Such were the natural feelings of fond devotion, with which the Prophet came to be regarded by the followers of the "companions."

As they took up the tale from their lips, distance began to invest it with an increasing charm, while the products of a living faith and warm imagination were becoming fast debased by superstitious credulity. This second generation are termed in the language of Arabic patriotic lore *Tâbiûn*, or successors. Here and there a "*Companion*" survived till near the end of the first century, but for all practical purposes, they had passed off the stage before the commencement of its last quarter. Their first *successors*, who were in some measure also their contemporaries, flourished in the latter half of the same century, though some of the oldest may have survived for a time in the second.‡

* *Hishâmi*, p. 295.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 279.

‡ Sprenger gives the names of the companions of the Prophet who survived the latest. He mentions the last six, who died between the years A. H. 86 and 100. Among these is the famous traditionist, Anas ibn Mâlik. (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 67, note 3).

But those who lived to that advanced period, must either have been very young when they knew Mahomet, or have become decrepit and superannuated. In the former case, their evidence, as the contemporaries of the Prophet, is of little value; in the latter, their prime as narrators must have passed away. Hence, for practical purposes, we would limit generally the age of the companions to the first half, or three-quarters, of the century.

Meanwhile a new cause was at work, which gave to the tales of Mahomet's companions, a fresh and an adventitious importance.

The Arabs, a simple and unsophisticated race, found in the Coran ample provisions for the regulation of all their affairs, religious, social, and political. But their Prophet was hardly dead when they issued forth from their barren Peninsula, armed with the warrant of the Coran, to impose upon all the nations of the earth the faith of Islam. Within a century from Mahomet's death, they had—as a first step to this universal subjugation—conquered every land that intervened from the banks of the Oxus to the farthest shores of Northern Africa and of Spain; and had enrolled the great majority of their people under the standard of the Coran. A mighty empire like this differed widely indeed from the Arabia of Mahomet's time; and that which well sufficed for the patriarchal simplicity and limited social system of the early Arabs, became utterly inadequate for their hourly developing wants. Crowded cities, such as Fostât, Kufâ, and Damascus, required an elaborate code of laws for the guidance of their courts of justice; new political relations demanded a system of international equity; the speculations of a people, before whom literature was about to throw open her arena; and the eager contentions of opposing factions upon nice points of Mahometan faith:—all these called loudly for the enlargement of the scanty and naked dogmas of the Coran, and for the development of its defective code of ethics.

And yet it is the cardinal principle of early Islam, that the standard of Law, of Theology, and of Politics, is the Coran, and the Coran alone. By it Mahomet himself ruled; to it in his teaching he referred; from it he professed to derive his opinions, and upon it to ground his decisions. If he, the messenger of the Lord, and the founder of the faith, was thus bound by the Coran, much more the Caliphs, who were but his substitutes. New and unforeseen circumstances continually arose, but for them the Coran contained no provision. It no longer sufficed for its original object. How then were its deficiencies to be supplied?

The dilemma was resolved by adopting the *Custom* or "SUNNAT" of Mahomet, that is, his sayings and his practice, as a supplement to the Coran. The recitals regarding the life of the Prophet thus acquired an unlooked-for value. *He* had never held himself to be infallible, except when directly inspired of God; but this new doctrine assumed, that a hea-

venly and unerring guidance pervaded every word and action of his prophetic years. Tradition was thus invested with the force of law, and with some of the authority of inspiration. It was in great measure owing to the rise of this theory, that, during the first century of Islam, the cumbrous system of tradition outgrew the dimensions of reality. It was this which, before the close of the century, began to give an almost incredible impulse to the labours of the collectors of traditions, who travelled from city to city and from tribe to tribe, over the whole Mahometan world, seeking out, by personal enquiry, every vestige of Mahomet's biography, yet lingering among the *companions*, the *successors*, and their descendants,—and committing to writing those tales and reminiscences with which they used to edify their wondering and admiring auditors.

The work, however, too closely affected the public interests, and the political aspect of the empire, to be left entirely to individual zeal; and we find that about a hundred years after Mahomet, the Caliph Omar II. issued circular orders for the formal collection of all extant traditions.* The task thus begun continued to be vigorously prosecuted, but we possess no authentic remains of any compilation of an earlier date than the middle or end of the second century. Then, indeed, ample materials had been amassed, and they have been handed down to us both in the shape of *biographies* and of *general collections*, which bear upon every imaginable point of Mahomet's character, and detail the minutest incidents of his life.

From this brief survey, it appears, that the traditions we now possess remained generally in an unrecorded form for at least the greater part of a century. It is not indeed denied, that some of Mahomet's sayings may possibly have been noted in writing during his life-time, and from such source copied and propagated afterwards. We say *possibly*, for the evidence in favour of any such records, is meagre, suspicious, and contradictory. The few and uncertain authorities of this nature may have owed their origin to the credit such a supposed habit would impart to the companion's name. We have thrown together, in the form of a note, all the original authorities or references which we can find to bear upon this ques-

* He committed to Abu Baer ibn Muhammad the task of compiling all the traditions he could meet with: this traditionist died A. H. 120, aged 84 (*Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 67.)

tion.* It is hardly possible, that if it had been customary to record Mahomet's sayings during his life, we should not have had frequent notices of the writers, and special references to the nature, contents, and peculiar authority of their records. But no such references or quotations are anywhere to be found. It cannot be objected that the Arabs trusted so implicitly to their memory, that they regarded oral to be as authoritative as recorded narratives, and therefore would take no note of the latter; for we see that Omar, with respect even to the Coran, believed by him to be divine, and itself the subject of heavenly care, feared lest it should become defective if left to the *memory* of man. On the other hand, we attribute just as little weight to the traditions, that Mahomet *prohibited* his followers from noting down his words, though it is not easy to see how these traditions could have become current had it really been the practice to record his words. The truth appears to be that there was no such practice, and that this tradition embodies the *after-thought* of serious Mahometans, as to what Mahomet *would have said*, had he foreseen the loose and fabricated stories

* From certain early traditions, we conclude that it was not *customary*, before the time of the Caliph Omar II., above noticed, to put the current traditions on paper.

"Omar II. (A. H. 100), son of Abd al Azîz, wrote to Abu Baer ibn Muhammad thus—"Look out (at Medina), for whatever traditions there are of Mahomet, or of the by-gone *Sunnat*, or for any traditions of Amarah, daughter of Abd al Rahman, and commit them to writing, for verily I fear the obliteration of knowledge (tradition) and the departure (death) of the people possessing it." (*Wâchidi*, p. 178.)

Again—"Sâlih ibn Keisân related as follows :—Zohri" (who died A. H. 124) "and I joined together and sought after knowledge (traditions;) and we spake one to another saying—"Let us write down the *Sunnat* (traditions regarding Mahomet;)" so we recorded those which came from the Prophet.—Then said Zohri—"Let us record that also which emanates from the companions of the Prophet, for it too is *Sunnat*."—I replied, 'It is not *Sunnat*;' and I recorded none of it. So he wrote (the latter,) but I did not; and thus he obtained his object, but I lost the opportunity of obtaining this knowledge." (*Wâchidi*, p. 178.)

And, again, Wâchidi relates the following speech by Zohri :—"I used to be greatly averse to writing down knowledge (traditions), until these rulers (the Caliphs, &c.) forced me to do so. Then I saw it (to be right,) that none of the Moslems should be hindered from it, (i.e. from readily acquiring traditional knowledge in a recorded form)

قال كنا نكره كتاب العلم حتى اكرهنا عليه هو لا اله الا الله امرنا فرائنا
(*Wâchidi*, *ibidem*.) ان لا يمنع احد من المسلمين

This important tradition seems to be decisive against the previous practice, at any rate, as a general one, of recording traditions. The other authorities we have met with on the point are very weak: they are as follows.

Marwân (when Governor of Medina, in Mu'avia's reign) secreted men behind a curtain, then called Zeid ibn Thâbit (one of Mahomet's companions, and the collector of the Coran,) and began to question him, the men meanwhile writing his answers down. But Zeid turning round saw them and called out, "Treachery, Marwân! My words are those of my own opinion only" (i. e., not authoritative tradition.) (*Wâchidi*, p. 173.)

Again—Abdallah ibn Amr asked permission of Mahomet, to take down in writing what he heard from him, and Mahomet gave him permission. So he wrote it down,

that would spring up, and the real danger his people would fall into, of allowing *tradition* to supersede the *Coran*. The evils of tradition were as little thought of, as its value was perceived, till many years after Mahomet's death.

But even were we to admit all that has been advanced, it would prove no more than that some of the companions *used to make memoranda* of the Prophet's sayings. Now unless it be possible to connect such memoranda with any extant tradition, the position becomes useless. But it is not, as far as we know, demonstrable of any single tradition, or class of traditions now in existence, that they were copied from such memoranda, or have been derived from them. To prove, therefore, that *some traditions were at first recorded*, will not help us to a knowledge of whether any of them still exist, or to a discrimination of these from others that rest on a purely oral basis. The very most that could be urged from these premises, is that our present collections *may contain some traditions* founded upon a recorded original, and handed down in writing; but we cannot single out *any* tradition and make this affirmation regarding it. The whole mass of extant tradition rests in this respect on the same uncertain ground, and the uncertainty of any one portion (apart from internal evidence of probability)

and he used to call that book *Al Sadica* ("The True.") Mujahid (born A. H. 11; died A. H. 100) says he saw a book Abdallah had, and he asked him regarding it, and he replied, "This is *Al Sadica*; therein is what I heard from the Prophet; there is not in it between him and me any one" (i. e. its contents are derived *immediately* from him. (*Wâkidi*, p. 175½.)

Again—"Omar (the successor of Abu Baer) intended to write down the Sunnat, and prayed to the Lord regarding it for a month; when at last he was ready to commence the work, he desisted, saying—"I remember a tribe who recorded such a writing, and then followed after it, leaving the Book of the Lord." (*Wâkidi*, p. 235½.)

Dr. Sprenger has carefully collected several traditions, both for and against the record of Mahomet's sayings, during his life-time. At page 67 of his *Life of Mohammed*, notes 1 and 2, will be found a few authorities in which the above-mentioned Abdallah, and one or two others, are said to have written down such memoranda. On the contrary, at p. 64, note 1, are transcribed three or four traditions to the effect that Mahomet *forbad* his followers to record any of his sayings, and stopped them, when they had begun to do so, "lest they should fall into the confusion of the Jews and the Christians." Both sets of traditions seem to be equally balanced, and for reasons given in the text, we reject both as untrustworthy. See also some traditions in Dr. Sprenger's note on Zohri. (*Asiatic Journal* for 1851, p. 396.)

The phrase (أخبرنا) or (حدثنا) "Such a one informed me"—the technical link in the traditional chain—does not *necessarily* imply that the traditional matter was conveyed *orally* and not in a recorded form. With the later traditionists, it certainly came to be applied likewise to relations already preserved in writing by the party on whose authority they are delivered. This is very clearly shown by Dr. Sprenger, in his notice of Tabari. (*Asiatic Journal*, No. CCXII., p. 1090.) Tabari constantly introduces traditions, with this formula, from Ibn Ishâc and Wâkidi; and on turning to these authors, we find the same matter, word for word, in their works. The fair conclusion is, that it may be the same with some of the authorities earlier than Ibn Ishâc; and we shall see reason for believing that it was so in the case of Zohri.

attaches equally to all. We cannot with confidence, or even with show of likelihood, affirm of *any* tradition that it was recorded till nearly the end of the first century of the Hegira.

We see, then, how entirely such traditions were dependent upon the memory of those who repeated them; and not only so, but upon their convictions and prejudices. Added to the frailty of human recollection, which renders traditional evidence notoriously infirm, and to the mistakes and exaggerations to which a narrative handed down from mouth to mouth must always be liable, we have in Mahometan tradition the plentiful evidence of actual fabrication, and the indirect, but not less powerful and dangerous, influence of a silently working bias, which insensibly gave its color and its shape to all the stories treasured up of their Prophet in the memories of the believers.

To form an adequate conception of the value and defects of tradition, it is absolutely necessary that this bias and influence should be thoroughly understood; and it is therefore essential that the reader should possess a brief outline of the political aspect of the empire, from the death of Mahomet, down to the period at which our *written* authorities commence. Such an outline we propose to trace.

Mahomet survived, for ten years, the era of his *Hegira*, or emigration from Mecca to Medina. The caliphates of Abu Bacr and of Omar occupied the thirteen succeeding years, during which the new-born empire, animated by the one ruling passion of enforcing an universal submission to Islam, was still unbroken by division. The distorting medium of **FACTION** had not yet interposed betwixt us and the history of Mahomet. The chief tendency to be dreaded in the tradition conveyed through this period, or originating in it, is one which was then at work, with perhaps even less check than in the approaching days of civil broil, namely, the disposition to exalt the character of Mahomet, and to endow it with superhuman attributes.

The weak and vacillating reign of Othmân (A. H. 23—35), nourished or gave birth to the discontent and conspiracy of Ali and his party, who, by the murder of the aged prince, caused a fatal rent in the unity of the empire, which fell a prey to the contending factions of the new competitors for the caliphate. The immediate effect of this disunion may be regarded as not unfavorable to the historical value of tradition. For although each party would be tempted to color their recollections by their own factious bias, they would still be conscious that a hostile criticism was opposed to them. And, while as

yet there were alive on either side eye-witnesses of the Prophet's actions, both would be cautious in advancing what might be liable to impugment, though eager to denounce and expose every false statement of their opponents.*

The caliphate of Ali (A. H. 35—40), after a troubled and doubtful existence of four and a half years, was terminated by assassination, and the opposing faction of the Omeiyads then gained undisputed supremacy. During the long sovereignty of this dynasty, that is, for nearly one hundred years, the influence of the ruling power was cast into the opposite scale from that of the transcendental adherents of Mahomet's more immediate family. The authority of a court, which derived its descent from Abû Sofîân, long the grand opponent of the Prophet, may indeed have been employed towards softening the apparent asperity of their progenitor's opposition, while it would chime in, with perhaps the loudest note of all, in swelling the chorus of glory to Mahomet. But it would be tempted to none of the distorting fabrications of those, whose object was to make out a divine right of succession in favor of the uncle or the descendants of the founder of Islam; and who, for that end, invested them with virtues, and attributed to them actions, which never had existence. Such in the process of time were the motives, and such was the practice of the partizans of the houses of Ali and Abbâs, the son-in-law and the uncle of Mahomet. In the early part, however, of the Omeiad succession, these untruthful tendencies had but little room for play. The fiction of divine right, even had it been thought of, would then have met with no support. The uncereemonious and unqualified opposition of a large section of Mahomet's most intimate friends to Ali himself, shows how little ground there was, during his lifetime, for regarding him as the peculiar favourite of heaven. The Khâridjites, or sectarians of the theocratic principle, and the extreme opponents of the Omeiyads, went the length of even condemning and rejecting Ali for the scandalous crime of parleying with Muâvia, and submitting his claims to arbitration. Thus the extravagant pretensions of the Alyites and Abbâs-

* The following tradition seems to illustrate this position:—

Othmân (when Caliph) commanded saying: "It is not permitted to any one to relate a tradition as from the Prophet, which he hath not already heard in the time of Abu Baer or Omar. And verily nothing hinders me from repeating traditions of the Prophet's sayings, (although I be one of those endowed with the most retentive memory amongst his companions), but that I have heard him say, *Whoever shall repeat of me that which I have not said, his resting-place shall be in Hell.*" (*Wâchidi*, p. 168.)

This tradition, if well founded, gives pretty clear intimation, that even before Othmân's murder, fabricated traditions were propagated by his opponents to shake his authority, and that the poor old Caliph endeavoured to check the practice, by forbidding the repetition of any fresh recitals, which had not already been made known in the caliphates of his two predecessors.

sides were not entertained, or even dreamt of, in the early part of the Omeiad caliphate.

During this century it was that the main fabric of tradition grew up, and assumed its permanent shape. Towards its close, the extant traditions began to be systematically sought out, and publicly put upon record. The type then struck could not but be maintained, in its chief features at least, ever after. However much subsequent sectaries may have sought to re-cast it, their efforts must, to a certain degree, have proved unsuccessful, because the only mould they possessed was that which formed itself under the influence of the Omeiad princes. We may conclude, then, that in the traditional impression of this period, although the features of Mahomet himself were magnified into dimensions of supernatural majesty, yet those of his friends and followers, and the general events of early Islam, were likely to have been preserved with tolerable accuracy, and that thus a broad basis of historical truth has been maintained.

But in the latter part of the period now before us, an under-current of great volume and intensity commenced to flow. The adherents of the house of Ali, beaten in the field, and in all their rebellious attempts to dethrone the Omeiyads, devised other counsels, and the key-stone of their new machinations was the divine right of the family of the Prophet to temporal and spiritual rule. They established secret associations, and sent forth their emissaries in every direction to decry the Omeiyads as godless usurpers, and to canvass for the Alyite pretender of the day. These claims were ever and anon strengthened by the mysterious report, that the divine Imâm of Ali's race was about to step forth from his hidden recess, and stand confessed the conqueror of the world. Such attempts, however, issued in no more permanent results than a succession of rebellions, massacres, and unsuccessful civil wars, until another party leagued themselves in the struggle. These were the Abbâssides, who desired to raise to the throne some descendant of the Prophet's uncle, Abbâs. They combined with the Alyites in denouncing as usurpers the present dynasty, which, though sprung from the Coreish, was but distantly related to Mahomet; and by their united machinations, they at length succeeded in supplanting the Omeiyads, when the Alyites found themselves over-reached, and an Abbâsside Caliph was raised to the throne.

It is not difficult to perceive how much tradition must have been affected by these unwearied conspirators. *Perverted tradition* was, in fact, the chief instrument employed to accomplish their ends. By it they blackened the memory of the forefathers

of the Omeiyads, and lauded the progenitors of the Abbâssides. By it they were enabled almost to deify Ali, and to make good their principle, that the right of empire vested solely in the near relatives of the Prophet, and their progeny. For these ends no device was spared. The Coran was misinterpreted, and traditions were falsely colored, distorted, and fabricated. Their operations were concealed, and studiously avoiding the eye of any one likely to oppose them, they canvassed in the dark. Hence the traditions of this party would be safe from criticism; and the stories and glosses of their traditional schools would quietly and unobtrusively gain the stamp of prescriptive evidence.

In the 136th year of the Hegira, the Abbâssides were installed in the imperial caliphate; and the factious teaching, which had hitherto lurked in the distant satrapies of Persia, or in the purlieus of crowded cities near the throne, now stalked forth with the prestige of sovereignty. The Omeiyads were regarded as the mortal foes of the new dynasty, and persecuted even to extirpation, while their names and descent were overwhelmed with obloquy.*

It was under the auspices of the first two of the Abbâssides, that the earliest biography, of which we have any remains, was composed, that, namely, of Ibn Ishâc. It is little wonder, then, if we find him following his patrons, and if, while he lauds their ancestors, he seeks to stigmatize the Omeiyads, and to reprobate their forefathers, who acted a prominent part in the first scene of Islam, as an abomination.

The fifth Caliph from this period was the famous Al Mâmûn, who, during a reign of twenty years (A. H. 198—218), countenanced, with princely support, the pursuits of literature. He affected a combination with the followers of Ali,† and adopted with enthusiasm the peculiar teaching of the Motazelites—a sect whom the learned Weil admires as the rationalists of Islam. But however much this Caliph may have derided the doctrine of the eternity of the Coran, and in opposition to the orthodox asserted the freedom of the human will, he was not a whit less bigoted or intolerant than his predecessors. He not only declared Ali to be the noblest of the human-kind, and Mu'âvia the basest, but he denounced the most severe punishment

* *Weil's Gesch. der Chalifen*, vol. II, p. 7.

† When the Abbâssides reached the throne, they cast aside the Alyide platform, from which they had made the fortunate ascent. They were then obliged in self-defence to crush with an iron hand every rising of that party, which found to their cost that, after all their wiles and machinations, they had at last become the unconscious tools for raising to power a body with whom they had in reality as little fellow-feeling as with the Omeiyads. They deserved their fate.

against him who should venture to say anything evil of the one, or attribute anything good to the other.* He made strenuous efforts to impose his theological views upon all. He even established a species of inquisition, and visited with penalties those who dared to differ from him.† Unhappily for us, this very reign was the busiest age of the traditional writers, and the period at which the earliest biographies of Mahomet possessed by us were composed. It was under Al Mâmûn that Wâkidi, Ibn Hishâm and Madaini lived and wrote; and well indeed may Dr. Weil dwell sorrowfully on this most unlucky coincidence. "We look upon it," says he, "as a great misfortune, that the very three oldest Arabic histories, which are nearly the only sources of authority for the first period of Islam, were written under the Government of Mâmûn. At a period when every word in favour of Muâvia rendered the speaker liable to death, and when every one was declared an outlaw who would not acknowledge Ali to be the most distinguished of all mankind, it was not possible to compose, with even the smallest degree of impartiality, a history of the companions of Mahomet and of his successors; because, as we have before seen, the personal interests of Ali and his descendants, and their pretensions to the Caliphate, are connected in the closest manner with the most important political events of the first two centuries."‡

But it was not alone the biographers of Mahomet, and the historians of early Islam, but likewise the collectors of general tradition, who flourished at this period, and thus came within the circle of Abbâsside influence, and specially of Al Mâmûn's direct persuasion. This class of men, we have already seen, travelled over the whole empire, and ferreted out every species of tradition which bore the slightest relation to their Prophet. The mass of narrations gathered by this laborious process was sifted by a pseudo-critical canon, founded on the general repute of the narrators, forming the chain from Mahomet downwards, and the approved remainder was published under the authority of the collector's name. Such collections were more popular than the biographical or historical treatises. They formed, in fact, and still form, the ground-work of the different theological schools of Islam, and having been carefully and continuously studied from the period of their appearance, are extant to the present day in an authentic and genuine shape. Copies of them

* *Gesch. Chalifen*, vol. II., p. 258.

† *Gesch. Chalifen*, vol. II., p. 265.

‡ *Gesch. Chalifen*, vol. II., p. 237.

abound in all Moslem countries; whereas the early biographies are either not extant at all, or can be procured only with the greatest difficulty.

The six standard *Sunnie* collections were compiled exclusively under the influence of Abbâsside Caliphs, and the earliest of them in part during the reign of Al Mâmûn.*

The four canonical collections of the *Shîahs* were prepared somewhat later.† The latter are incomparably less trustworthy than the compilations of the Sunnies, because their paramount object is to build up the divine *Imâmat*, or headship, of Ali and his descendants.

That the collectors of tradition rendered an important service to Islam, and even to history, cannot be doubted, although this service loses much of its value by the amount of error which they have perpetuated. The vast flood of tradition, poured forth from every quarter of the Moslem empire, and daily gathering volume from innumerable tributaries, was composed of the most heterogeneous materials; and without the labours of the traditionists, must soon have formed a chaotic sea, in which truth and error, fact and fable, would have mingled together in undistinguishable confusion. It is a legitimate inference, from the sketch we have given above, that tradition, in the second century, contained a large element of truth. That even respectably derived traditions often contained much of the exaggerated and fabulous, is an equally legitimate conclusion; while it is proved by the testimony of the collectors themselves, that thousands, and tens of thousands of traditions were current in their times, which possessed not even a shadow of authority. The mass might be likened to the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, formed by a strange union of gold, of the baser metals, and of clay; and here the more valuable parts were fast commingling with the worthless.

The proportion of base and fictitious material may be gathered from the estimate even of Mahometan criticism. Upon this topic, we quote with approbation and confidence the opinion of the philosophical Weil:—"By leaning upon oral

* The names of the authors of the six collections, together with those of other popular traditional compilations, are noted by Dr. Sprenger (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 68, note 2), together with the date of each author's death. Dr. Sprenger has, however, omitted the earliest collection of all, viz., that of Imâm Mâlik Al Muâtta—born A. H. 95, died A. H. 179. This work was lithographed at Delhi in 1849. It is held in very great esteem, and, although not generally included among the standard six, it is yet believed by many to be the source whence a great portion of their materials are derived. "It is, as it were, the origin and mother of the two *Sahîh*," i. e., of the collections of Bokhârî and of Muslim.

† Sprenger's *Mohammed*, p. 68, note 3.

' traditions, at a time when they were transmitted by memory alone, and every day produced new divisions among the professors of Islam, a wide field was opened up for fabrication and distortion. There was nothing easier, when it was required to defend any religious or political system, than to appeal to an oral tradition of the Prophet. The nature of these so-called traditions, and the manner in which the name of Mahomet was abused to support all possible lies and absurdities, may be gathered most clearly from the following fact, that Bokhâri, who travelled from land to land to gather from the learned the traditions they had received, found, after many years' sifting, that out of 600,000 traditions at that time current, only 4,000 were authentic! And of this selected number, the European critic is compelled, without hesitation, to reject at least one-half.* Similar appears to have been the experience of the other intelligent compilers of the day: thus Abu Dâûd, out of 500,000 traditions which he is said to have amassed, threw aside 496,000, and retained as trustworthy only 4,000.† The heavenly vision which induced Bokhâri to commence his pious, but herculean task, is sufficiently significant of the urgent necessity that then existed for searching out and preserving the grains of truth scattered here and there in the vast pile of tares and stubble. These are his words:—"In a dream I beheld the messenger of the Lord (Mahomet,) from whom, methought, I was driving off the flies. When I awoke, I enquired of one who interpreted dreams, the meaning of my vision. *It is,* he replied, *that thou shalt drive away LIES far from him.* This it was which induced me to compile the *Sahîh*." And well, indeed, in the eyes of Mahometans, did he fulfil the heavenly behest; for, to this day, the SAHÎH BOKHÂRI is regarded by them as one of the most authentic treasuries of tradition.‡

It is evident, then, that some species of criticism was prac-

* *Gesch. Chalifen*, vol. II., p. 290. *Ibn Khallicân*, by Slane, vol. II., p. 595.

† *Gesch. Chalifen*, vol. II., p. 291. *Ibn Khallicân*, vol. I., p. 589. The latter authority makes the number selected 4,800; but even of these he seems to have had doubts. "I wrote down," says Abu Dâûd, "five hundred thousand traditions respecting the Prophet, from which I selected those, to the number of four thousand eight hundred, which are contained in this book (*The Sunan*.) I have mentioned herein the authentic, those which seem to be so (بشبهة), and those which are nearly so.

‡ Abu Abdallah Muhammad, surnamed from his country *Al Bokhâri*, was born A.H. 194; but with rare precocity he had, in his eighteenth year, commenced his work of collecting and sifting. We may therefore give his works the full benefit of the Caliph Mâmûn's influence. *Ibn Khallicân* says of him—"Animated with the desire of collecting traditions, he went to see most of the traditionists in all the great cities; he wrote down in Khorâsân, in the cities of Irâk, in the Hijaz, in Syria, and in Egypt, the information he thus acquired." (*Ibn Khallicân*, vol. II., p. 595.)

tised by the compilers; and that, too, with such an unsparing hand, that *nine-tenths* of their materials were entirely rejected. But the European reader will be grievously deceived if he at all regard such criticism, unsparing as it was, in the light of a sound and discriminating investigation into the credibility of the traditional elements. It was not the *subject-matter* of a tradition, but simply the *names* attached thereto, which decided the question of its credit. Its authority must rest on some companion of the Prophet, and on the character of each link in the long chain of witnesses, through whom it was handed down.* If that was deemed unimpeachable, the tradition *must* be *received*; and no inherent improbability, however glaring, could debar a narration thus attested, from its place in the authentic collections. The compilers dared not to embark upon the open sea of criticism, but steering by this single miserable canon, they slavishly coasted along the shoals of a mere formal system. They ventured not to enquire into internal evidence, to arraign the motives of the first author, and subsequent rehearsers of a story, to discuss its probability, and to bring it to the test of historical evidence. The spirit of Islam would not brook the spirit of enquiry and of real criticism. The blind faith of Mahomet and his followers spurned the aids of evidence and investigation. *Thus saith the Prophet of the Lord*, and every doubt must vanish, every rising question be smothered. If doubts *did* arise, and questions *were* entertained by any rash philosopher, the temporal authority was at hand to dispel and to silence them. The dogmas of Islam were so closely welded with the principles of Civil Government, that the latter had no option but to enforce with a stern face and iron hand an implicit faith in those dogmas, on which its existence hung. Upon the apostate Moslem, the sentence of death—an award resting on the Prophet's authority—was by the civil power rigorously executed; and between the heterodoxy of the free-thinker, and the lapse of the renegade, there appears to exist no well-defined boundary. It is thus that to the combination, or rather to the *unity* of the spiritual and political elements in the Mahometan type of Government, may be attributed that utter absence of candid and free investigation into the origin and truth of Islam, which so painfully character-

* This may be illustrated by the practice of Bokhâri and Muslim. Out of 40,000 men, who are said to have been instrumental in handing down tradition, they acknowledged the authority of only 2,000 by receiving their traditions. A *latter* writer adds, that of these 40,000 persons, only 226 are to be excepted as not deserving credit, which may throw light upon one cause at least of the fabulous narratives, which abound in subsequent biographers, viz., that they were less careful about their authorities. (See *Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 65, note 1.)

izes the Moslem mind up to the present day. The critical sense was annihilated by the sword.

Upon the other hand, there is no reason to doubt that the collectors were sincere and honest in doing that which they professed. It may well be admitted, that they sought out in good faith all traditions actually current, enquired carefully into their authorities, and recorded them with accuracy. The sanctions of religion were at hand, to enforce diligence and caution. Thus Bokhâri commenced his work at a supposed divine monition, and he was heard to say, "that he never inserted a 'tradition in his *Sahîh*," until he had made an ablution, and 'offered up a prayer of two *rakas*.'"* The pre-possession of the several collectors would undoubtedly influence them in accepting or rejecting the chain of witnesses in individual cases; but there is no reason to suppose that they tampered with the traditions themselves. Thus a *Shi'ite* collector might cast aside a tradition received from Ayesha through an Omeyyad channel; whilst one of Omeyyad predilections might discard the traditional chain, among the links of which he discovered an emissary of the house of Ali; but neither the one nor the other was likely to *fabricate* a tradition, or *interpolate* a narration, which they had once accepted as credible. This conclusion is warranted by the style and contents of their works. The complete series of witnesses, tracing each tradition from mouth to mouth up to one of the Prophet's companions, is invariably prefixed, and we cannot but admit the authority which the *later* witnesses in such a chain would impart.† These were not feigned names, but the names of real characters, many of whom were personages of note. The traditional collections were openly published, and the credit of the compilers would have been endangered by the fabrication of this species of evidence. The collector was likewise, in general, the centre of a school of traditional learning, which, as it were, challenged the public to test its authorities. So far, then, as this kind of attestation *can* give weight to hearsay, that weight may be readily conceded. Again, the *naïve* manner in which

* *Ibn Khallicân*, vol. II., p. 596.

† A tradition is always given in the direct form of speech in which it is supposed to have been originally uttered. Thus—"A informed me, saying that B had informed him, to the effect that C had told him, saying D mentioned to me that he heard E saying he had listened to F, who said, I heard G enquiring of Ayesha, '*What food did the Prophet of the Lord like?*' and she replied, 'Verily, he loved sweetmeats and honey, and greatly relished the pumpkin.'" The technical links in these narrations are generally *أخبرنا* or *حدثنا*—*I have heard from such a one, or such a*

one informed me; and *قال* or *قالت*—"quoth he," or "quoth she."

the most contradictory traditions are accepted, and placed side by side, is a guarantee of sincerity. They appear all to have been thrown together with scrupulous simplicity; and each tradition, though it be a bare repetition, or perhaps a direct opposite of a dozen that preceded it, is noted down unquestioned with its special chain of witnesses; whilst no account whatsoever is taken of the most violent improbabilities, of incidents plainly fabulous, or even of patent contradictions.* Now this appears to us evidence of honest design. Pains would, otherwise, have been taken to exclude or to soften down the opposing statements, and we should not have found so much allowed to the credible tradition, which either on the one hand or on the other must have impinged against the views and prejudices of the compiler. If we suppose *design*, we must suppose also a less even-handed admission of contrary traditions.

Conceding, then, the general honesty of the collectors, in making their selection (upon however absurd a principle,) *bonâ fide*, from existing materials, let us now turn to their selected compilations, and enquire whether they contain truthful elements of the biography of Mahomet; and if so, how, and to what extent, these have become commingled with adventitious or erroneous matter.

In the first place, how far does the present text give us confidence that its contents are identical with the supposed evidence originally given forth by contemporary witnesses? To place the case in the strongest possible point of view, we shall suppose a class of traditions purporting to have been written by the companions, and to have been recorded by each succeeding set of witnesses in the several chains. There is a peculiarity in traditional composition, which even upon this supposition would render it always of doubtful authority, namely, that each tradition is short and abrupt, and completely isolated from any other. This isolation extends not simply to its present state, but to its whole history and descent throughout the two centuries preceding our collections; and coupled with the brief and fragmentary character of the traditions themselves, deprives us of the checks and critical appliances which may be brought to bear on an extended and continuous narration. From the fragmentary and divided nature of the

* No Mahometan is of course expected to believe implicitly in two contradictory traditions. All properly attested traditions are *recorded*, but many of them are acknowledged *weak* or *doubtful*, and when they contradict one another, the choice is left to the individual. The historians of Mahomet and of early Islam, when they relate contradictory or varying narratives, sometimes add an expression of their own opinion as to which they prefer. They also sometimes mark doubtful stories by the addition—"But the Lord (only) knows whether this be false or true."

composition, any of the common tests of authenticity are generally impossible. There is no context whereby to judge of the soundness of the text. Each witness in the chain, though professing simply to repeat the original tradition, is in effect an independent authority, and we cannot tell how far, and in what stages, fresh matter may not have been interpolated by any of them. Even were we satisfied of the integrity of each, we are unacquainted with their views as to the liberty with which tradition might be treated. The style of the narrations marks them for the most part as communicated at first with all the informality of social conversation, and with much of the looseness of hearsay; and the same informality and looseness are not unlikely to have characterized their subsequent propagation.

Again, the tradition is not only isolated, but it is an *indivisible unit*, and as such was received or rejected by the collectors. If the traditional links were unexceptionable, the tradition must be accepted *as it stood*, whole and entire. There could be no sifting of its component parts: what in it was true, and what was fabricated—the probable and the fabulous, composed an indissoluble mass, and the acceptance or rejection of one part, involved the acceptance or rejection of the whole tradition, as equally credible or undeserving of credit. The power of eradicating interpolated statements, or of excluding such parts of a tradition as were evidently unfounded or erroneous, was thus abnegated. The good seed and the tares were reaped together, and unfortunately the latter were likely to predominate.

It may be possible, indeed, to derive some confirmation from the verbal correspondence of separate traditions regarding the same event; for if such traditions sprang at the first from a common source (a companion of Mahomet,) and if they have really been handed down through independent channels, *unconnected with one another*, the coincidence of the expression would argue for the faithfulness of the transmission. But the conditions here required, it would be extremely difficult to prove to the satisfaction of a critical mind. The earlier links of the traditional chain are removed far back in the obscurity of a twilight dawn; and it is impossible to say where, and how often, the supposed separate chains may have crossed; at what point the common matter may have been obtained; or in what manner previous variations may have been assimilated. Many traditions, though supported by unexceptionable names, and corresponding with others even to minute verbal coincidence, abound in stories so fabulous, and facts so

erroneous, as to render it impossible that they could ever have formed part of any contemporary record, and to shake our confidence in the whole system of "*respectable names.*" There is also reason for believing (as we shall see farther below), that much of the coincidence of narrative is derived from those traditionists, who, at the close of the first and beginning of the second centuries, reduced to writing, and harmonized, the traditions extant in their day.

Such is the uncertainty which would attach to tradition, even if we conceded that it had been recorded from the first; but we have already seen that there is no ground for believing that it was the practice to record it, till near the close of the first century. The existence of a record from the first would have afforded *some* check; but there is here in reality none; *that* would have at the least induced a fixed caste of expression and an element of invariableness; whereas tradition by word of mouth is variable and changeful, as the character, habits, and associations, of each repeater. In oral tradition all external check is parted with against the commingling of mistake or fabrication with that which at the first may have been real fact and trust-worthy representation. The flood-gates of error, extravagance and fiction are thrown wide open; and we need only look to human nature in similar predicaments in any part of the globe, and in every age, to be satisfied that little dependence can be placed on otherwise unsupported details of historical incident, and none whatever upon those of supernatural wonders, conveyed for any length of time through such a channel. That Mahometan experience proves no exception to the general principle, is amply testified by the puerile extravagancies and splendid fabrications of oriental imagination, which adorn or darken the pages of early Islam. The critical test applied by the collectors had, as we have seen, no reference whatever to these pregnant sources of error; and though it may have excluded multitudes of *later* fabrications, it failed to place the earlier traditions upon any base of confidence, or to afford any judgment, or any means of judging, between the actual and the suppositious, between the fabricated and the true.

It remains to examine the traditional books with reference to their contents and internal probability; and here, we are fortunate in having at hand, as a standard of comparison, the Coran, which we have in the early part of this paper shown to be a genuine and contemporary document.

In bringing tradition to this test, we find, that in its main historical points, the Coran is at one with the standard tradi-

tional collections. It notices—sometimes directly, sometimes incidentally—the topics which, from time to time, most interested Mahomet, and with these salient positions, the mass of tradition is found upon the whole to tally. The statements and references of the Coran, though comparatively few in number, are linked more or less with a vast variety of important events, relating as well to the Prophet individually and his domestic relations, as to general subjects. A just confidence is thus imparted, that a large element of historical truth has been conveyed by tradition.

Upon the other hand, there are subjects in which the Coran is at variance with tradition. For example, there is no point more satisfactorily established by the Coran, than that Mahomet at no part of his career performed, or pretended to perform, miracles. Yet the traditions abound with miraculous acts, which belie the plain enunciations of the Coran; and which, moreover, if he had ever pretended to perform them, would undoubtedly have been mentioned by the Prophet, in those pretended revelations which neglected the notice of nothing, however trivial, that could strengthen his prophetical claim. Here, then, in matters of plain narration and historical fact, we find tradition discredited by the Coran.

These conclusions are precisely the ones which, *à priori*, we should have arrived at from the historical review of tradition already given; but they do not in any measure relieve us from our difficulties. The dilemma resolves itself into this, that facts which we know to be well-founded, and tales which we know to be fabricated, are interwoven with the whole tissue of tradition, and the fabric and color of both are so uniform, that we are at a loss for any means of distinguishing the one from the other. The biographer of Mahomet constantly runs the risk of substituting for the realities of history, some puerile fancy or extravagant invention; and in striving to avoid this danger, he is exposed to the opposite peril of rejecting as pious fabrications what may in reality be real and important historical facts, or that which at the least may contain their pith.*

* This is well expressed by Dr. Weil:—"Ich durfte daher nicht bloss die Quelle übertragen oder je nach Gutdünken excerptiren, sondern musste ihren Angaben vorher einer strengen Kritik unterwerfen; denn wenn man überhaupt gegen alle orientalischen Schriftsteller misstrauisch seyn muss, so hat man hier doppelten Grund dazu, weil sie nicht nur von ihrer Leidenschaft und ihrer Phantasie, sondern auch von ihrer religiösen Schwarmerei geleitet waren. Schon im zweiten Jahrhundert, als die ersten Biographen Mohammeds auftraten, die ihre Erzählungen noch auf Aussage seiner Zeitgenossen Zurückzuführen wagen, war sein ganzes Leben, nicht nur von seiner Geburt, sondern schon von seiner Zeugung an, bis zu seinem Tode, von einem Gewebe von Märgen und Legenden umspinnen, das auch das nüchternste europäische Auge nicht immer ganz zu durchschauen und abzulösen vermag, ohne Gefahr zu laufen, aus allzu grosser Aengstlichkeit

It is, indeed, the opinion of the learned Sprenger, that, "although the nearest view of the Prophet, which we can obtain, 'is at a distance of one hundred years," and although this long vista is formed of an *exclusively* Mahometan medium, yet our knowledge of the bias of the narrators, "enables us to correct the 'media, and to make them almost achromatic."* This is true to some extent; but its full and absolute application appears to be beyond the truth. The difficulties of the task are underrated; for to bring to a right focus the various lights of tradition, to reject those that are fictitious, to restore to a proper direction the rays reflected by a false and deceptive surface, to calculate the extent of aberration, and make due allowance for a thousand disturbing influences—this is indeed a work of entanglement and complication, which would require, for its perfect accomplishment, a finer discernment, and a machinery of nicer construction, than human nature can boast of. Nevertheless, it is right that an attempt should be made, however imperfect the success that may attend it: and it is possible that, by a continuous advance and careful discrimination, we may reach, at the last, an approximation to the truth. With the view of helping towards this end, we shall now endeavour to lay down some principles which may prove useful to the historical enquirer in discriminating the true from the false in Mahometan tradition.

The grand defect in the traditional evidence regarding Mahomet consists in its being wholly *ex-parte*. It is the evidence of a witness for himself, in which the license of partiality is unchecked by any opposing party, and wanting in the sanction even of a neutral audience. What is thus externally defective must, if possible, be supplied from within. By analysing the deposition itself, we may find grounds for credit or for doubt; while in some of the relations, it may even

auch wirkliche historische Facta als fromme Dichtung anzusehen." "(In writing the inner and the external history of this extraordinary man, I could not follow the plan of simply transcribing the original sources, or of making extracts from them at discretion, but was obliged to cast their statements into the crucible of a rigid criticism; because, as we have reason to be generally distrustful of all oriental authors, we have here a double ground of distrust, because men were here led not only by their passions and fancies, but by their religious enthusiasm also. Already, in the second century, when the first biographers of Mahomet appeared, and they still ventured to trace back their narrations to the sayings of his contemporaries, his whole Life, not merely from his birth, but even from his conception, onwards to his death, was spun round with a web of fables and legends, which even the most dispassionate European eye cannot always entirely pierce through and unravel, without, from an over-strained anxiety and distrust, running the danger of regarding even historical facts as pious fabrications."—(*Weil's Mohammed*, pp 14, 15).

* *Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 68.

appear that a Mahometan public would itself supply the place of an impartial censor. In this view, the points on which the probability of a tradition will mainly depend, appear to be, *first*, whether there existed any bias in the Mahometan body generally towards the subject narrated; *second*, whether there are traces of interest or design on the part of the narrator; and *third*, whether the latter had opportunity for personally knowing the facts. These topics will perhaps best be discussed by considering the *period* to which a narration relates, and then the *subject* of which it treats.

I. A.—The PERIOD to which a tradition purports to refer, is a point of vital importance. The original sources of all the traditions were, as we have seen, the *companions* of Mahomet himself, and the time of their first propagation was subsequent to the Prophet's decease. But Mahomet was above three-score years old when he died, and few of his companions, who were instrumental in giving rise to tradition, were of equal age, hardly any of them older. In proportion to their years the number of aged man was small, and the period short during which they survived Mahomet; and these are precisely the considerations by which their influence, in the formation of tradition, must be limited also. The great majority were young, and in proportion to their youth, was the number that survived longest, and gave the deepest imprint to tradition.* We may then fix the age of Mahomet himself, as the extreme backward limit within which the ages of our witnesses range themselves. In other words, we have virtually no original witnesses who lived at a period anterior to Mahomet; few, if any, were born before him; the great majority, very many years after him. They are not, therefore, trustworthy witnesses for events preceding Mahomet's birth, or for the details of his childhood; few of them, even, for the incidents of his youth. They could not by any possibility possess a personal knowledge of these things; and to admit that they gained their information at second-hand, is to introduce an element of uncertainty, which entirely impairs the value of their testimony as that of contemporary witnesses.

B.—But, again, the value of evidence depends upon the

* Abu Bacr, for instance, was within two years of Mahomet's age; but then he survived him only two and a half years. Most of the elderly companions either died a natural death, or were killed in action before tradition came into vogue. Thus Wäckidi writes—"The reason why many of the chief men of the companions have left few traditions, is that they died before there was any necessity of referring to them." He adds—"The chiefest among the companions, Abu' Bacr, Othmān, Talha, &c., gave forth fewer traditions than others. *There did not issue from them, anything like the number of traditions that did from the younger.*" (Wäckidi, p. 176.).

attention bestowed by the witness upon the facts at the time of their occurrence. If his mind had not been attracted towards the event, it would be in vain to expect a full and careful report; and after the lapse of many years, the utmost that could be looked for from such a witness, would be a mere general outline of important facts. This principle applies forcibly to the biography of Mahomet, up to the time when he became a prominent character. Before this period, there was nothing remarkable in him. He was a quiet inoffensive citizen; perhaps, of all the inhabitants of Mecca, the least likely to have the eyes of his neighbours turned upon him, and their imagination and memory busy in conjuring up and recording anticipations of his coming greatness. The same remark may be extended, not merely to the era when he first made pretensions to inspiration, (for that produced "sensation only among a few of his earliest partizans;") but to the time when he publicly stood forth assuming the prophetic rank—opposed polytheism, and came into open collision with the chiefs of Mecca. Then he began to be indeed most narrowly watched, and thenceforward the companions of the Prophet are not to be distrusted on the score at least of insufficient attention.

c.—It follows necessarily, that in all cases falling under either of the foregoing heads, circumstantiality will be a strong token of fabrication. And we shall do well to adopt the analogous canon of Christian criticism, that any tradition, the origin of which is not strictly contemporary with the facts related, is *worthless exactly in proportion to the particularity of detail.** This rule will relieve us of a vast number of extravagant stories, in which the minutiae of close narrative and sustained colloquy are preserved with the pseudo-freshness of yesterday.

d.—It will, however, be just to admit an exception for such general outlines and important incidents in Mahomet's life, as, under ordinary circumstances, his friends and acquaintances would naturally remember, or might learn from himself, and would thus be able in after days to call up with tolerable accuracy. A still wider exception must be allowed in favor of public personages and national events, even though they precede Mahomet's birth, because the attention of the people would

* This rule is adapted from Alford. (*Greek Test. Proleg.*, p. 56.) His remarks are strikingly illustrative of Mahometan tradition. "As usual in traditional matter, on our advance to later writers, we find more and more particular accounts given; the year of John's life, the reigning Emperor, &c., under which the Gospel was written." But Christian traditionists were mere tyros in the art of discovering such "particular accounts" in comparison with the Mahometans, at the talisman of whose pen distance vanishes, and even centuries deliver up the details they had engulfed.

be strongly directed to these subjects, while the patriarchal habits of the Arabs, and their spirit of clanship, would be propitious for their tenacious recollection. Thus the conversation of Abd al Muttalib, Mahomet's grand-father, with Abraha, the Abyssinian invader, is more likely to be founded in fact, than any of the much later conversations Mahomet himself is said to have had with the monks on his journeys to Syria; and yet the leading facts regarding these journeys there is no reason for doubting.

Ranged under the same exception, will fall all those genealogical and historical facts, the preservation of which, for five or six centuries, by the memory alone, is so wonderful a phenomenon in the story of Arabia. Here poetry, no doubt, aided the retentive faculty. The glowing rhapsodies of the bard were caught up immediately by his admiring clan, and were soon in the mouths even of the children. In such poetry, were preserved the names of the chieftains, their feats of bravery, their glorious liberality, the unparalleled nobility of their breeds of the camel and the horse. Many of these odes became national, and thus carried with them the testimony, not of the tribe only, but of the whole Arab family. Thus poetry, superadded to the passion for genealogical and tribal reminiscences, and the capacity of imprinting them indelibly on the memory, have secured to us the interwoven details of many centuries, with a minuteness and particularity which would excite suspicion, were not their reality in many instances established by other evidence and by internal coincidence. Caussin de Perceval, who with incredible labour and proportionate success, has sought out and arranged these facts into an uniform history, thus justly expresses his estimate of the Arab genealogical traditions:—

J'ai dit que toutes les généalogies Arabes n'étaient point certaines; on en trouve en effet un grand nombre d'évidemment incomplètes. Mais il en est aussi beaucoup d'authentiques, et qui remontent, sans lacune probable, jusqu'à environ six siècles avant Mahomet. C'est un phénomène vraiment singulier, chez un peuple inculte et en général étranger à l'art de l'écriture, comme l'étaient les Arabes, que cette fidélité à garder le souvenir des ancêtres. Elle prenait sa source dans un sentiment de fierté, dans l'estime qu'ils faisaient de leur noblesse. Les noms des aïeux, gravés dans la mémoire des enfants, étaient les archives des familles. A ces noms se rattachaient nécessairement quelques notions sur la vie des individus, sur les événements dans lesquels ils avaient figuré; et c'est ainsi que les traditions se perpétuaient d'âge en âge.—*Essai Sur L'Histoire des Arabes, vol. I. Pref., p. ix.*

E.—A second marked section of time, is that which intervenes between Mahomet's entrance on public life, and the taking of Mecca (B. H. 10 to A. H. 8.) Here indeed we have two op-

posing parties, marshalled against each other in mortal strife, whose statements might have been a check one upon the other. But during this interval, or within a very short period of its close, one of the parties was extirpated; its leaders were nearly all killed in battle, and the remainder amalgamated themselves with the victors. We have, therefore, no surviving evidence whatever on the side of Mahomet's enemies. No one was left to explain their actions, no doubt often misrepresented by hatred; or to rebut the unfounded accusations and exaggerated charges imputed to them by Mahomet and his followers. Upon the other hand, we have no witnesses of any kind against Mahomet and his party, whose one-sided assertions of their innocence and justice might often, perhaps, have been successfully impugned. The intemperate and unguarded language of Mahomet and the companions is sufficient evidence that their estimate was not always fair, nor their judgement impartial.

F.—It may be urged in reply, that the great body of the hostile Meccans, who eventually went over to Islam, would still form a check upon any material misrepresentation of themselves or their party. It may be admitted, that they did form some check on matters not vitally connected with the credit of Islam and of its founder; their influence would also tend to preserve the reports of their own individual actions, and perhaps those of their friends and relatives, in as favourable a light as possible. But this influence was at best only partial; for it must ever be borne in mind, that the enemies of the Prophet, who now joined his ranks, acquired at the same time, or very shortly after, all the *esprit de corps* of Islam;* and long before the fountain head of tradition began to flow, these very men had begun to look back upon the heathenism of their own Meccan career, with all the hearty contempt and shuddering horror of the early converts. The stains of the Moslem's unbelieving life were washed away on his conversion, and imparted no tarnish to his subsequent character. He had sinned "ignorantly in unbelief," but now, as well in his own view as in the eyes of his comrades, he was *another man*. Well, therefore, might he speak of his mad opposition to "the Prophet of the Lord" and his divine message, with as hearty a reprobation as other men; nay, the violence of reaction might make his language

* Thus Abu Sofian, himself the leader of the later opposition against Mahomet, became a zealous Moslem, and fought under the banners of his own son in the first Syrian campaign.

"Le vieil Abu-Sofyan, qui autrefois avait souvent combattu contre Mahomet, devenu alors un des plus zélés sectateurs de l'Islamisme, avait voulu servir sous son fils, et l'aider des conseils de son expérience."—*Caus. de Perc. L'Histoire des Arabes*, vol. III., p. 429.

even stronger. Yet such persons as these are the only check we possess upon the *ex-parte* story which the Mahometans tell of their long struggle with the idolators of Mecca.

G.—It is fair, therefore, to make much allowance, in the accounts handed down to us by the Mahometans, of the injustice, cruelty, and folly of their Prophet's opponents, and to suspect exaggeration in the stories of hardship and persecution suffered at their hands. And above all, the history of those who died in unbelief, before the conquest of Mecca, and under the ban of Mahomet, must be subjected to a rigid criticism. For such men as Abu Jahl and Abu Lahab, hated and cursed by their Prophet, what Mahometan would dare to be the advocate? To the present day, the hearty ejaculation—*May the Lord curse him!* is linked by every Moslem with the mention of such "enemies of the Lord, and of his Prophet." What voice would be raised to correct the pious exaggerations by the faithful of *their* execrable deeds, or to point out the just causes of provocation which they may have received? Impious attempt, and mad perversity! Over and again was the bare sword of Omar brandished above the neck of the luckless offender, for conduct far more excusable, and attempts less dangerous to Islam.

H.—The same considerations apply with nearly equal force to the Jewish settlements in the vicinity of Medina, as the Bani Nadhir and Bani Coreitza, whom Mahomet either expatriated, brought over to his faith, or utterly extirpated. The various Arab tribes also, whether Christian or Pagan, whom Mahomet at different times of his life attacked, come more or less under the same category.

II.—The SUBJECT-MATTER of the traditions themselves will help us to an estimate of their credibility, considered both as to the motives of their author, and the views of early Mahometan society generally. The chief aspects in which this argument may be viewed refer to *personal, party, and national* bias.

A.—*Individual* pre-possession and self-interested motives would cause false colouring, exaggeration, and even invention. Besides the more obvious cases falling under this head, there is a fertile class which originates in the ambition of the narrator to be associated with Mahomet. The name of the Prophet threw nobility and veneration around every object immediately connected with it; and his friendship imparted a rank and dignity acknowledged by the universal voice of Islam. We can with difficulty conceive the reverence and court enjoyed by his widows, friends, or servants; the interminable enquiries put to them; and the implicit deference with which

their responses were received. Every one who had personal knowledge of the Prophet, and especially those who had been much with him, or been honored by his familiar acquaintance, were admitted by common consent into this envied circle of Moslem aristocracy, and many a picturesque scene is incidentally sketched by the traditionists, of narratives told by such men in the mosques of Kufâ or of Damascus, where the listening crowds hung upon the lips of the speaker. The sterling value of such qualifications would induce a counterfeit imitation. Many who had but a distant and superficial knowledge of Mahomet, would be tempted by the consideration it imparted, to assume a more perfect acquaintance; and the attempt to support so equivocal a position by particularity of detail, would lead the way to loose and unfounded narratives of the life and character of the Prophet. Analogous with such doubtful assumption of intimacy, is the ambition which frequently shines through the traditions of the companions, of being closely connected with Mahomet's supposed mysterious visitations or supernatural actions. To be noticed in the revelation was deemed the highest honour that could be aspired to; and in any way to be linked with the heavenly phases of his life, reflected back a portion of the divine lustre on the fortunate aspirant.* Thus a premium was put upon the invention or exaggeration of such super-human incidents.

B.—Under the same head are to be classed the attempts of narrators to enhance their labours and exploits, and to exaggerate their losses and perils in the service of the Prophet and of Islam. The tendency thus to appropriate a superior degree of merit is very obvious on the part of many of the companions of Mahomet.† It may occasionally be employed by the critic

* The following example will illustrate our meaning. Ayesha's party being delayed on an expedition, the verse permitting *Tayammum*, or substitution of sand for lustration, was revealed in the Coran. The honor conferred by this indirect connection with a divine revelation is thus eulogized by Useid:—"This is not the least of the divine favours poured out upon you, ye house of Abu Bacr!" (*Wachidi*, p. 111½.) To have been the companion of Mahomet during the season of inspiration, at the supposed reception of a heavenly visitor, or at the performance of any wonderful work, conferred more or less similar distinction.

† We have many examples of the glory and honor received by those who had suffered persecution at Mecca for Islam. Thus when Omar was Caliph, Khobâb ibn al Aratt showed him the scars of the stripes he had received from the unbelieving Meccans twenty or thirty years before. "Omar seated him upon his *masnad*, saying, that there was but one man who was more worthy of this favor than Khobâb, namely, Balâl (who had also been sorely persecuted by the unbelievers.) But Khobâb replied,—'Why is he more worthy than I am? He had his friends among the idolaters whom the Lord raised up to help him. But I had none to help me. And I well remember one day they took me and kindled a fire for me, and threw me therein upon my back; and a man stamped with his foot upon my chest, my back being towards the ground. And when they uncovered my back, lo! it was blistered and white.' " (*Wachidi*, p. 210½.)

towards the exculpation of the Prophet from some questionable actions. For example, Amr ibn Omeva, in narrating his mission by Mahomet to assassinate Abu Sofîân, so magnifies the dangers and exploits of his adventure, as might have involved the whole story in suspicion, were there not collateral proof to support it.*

But, it may be asked, would not untrue or exaggerated tales like these receive a check from other parties, free from the interested motives of the narrator? They would to some extent. But to prove a negative position is generally a matter of difficulty, and would not often be attempted without some unusual cause, especially in the early spread of Islam, when the public mind was so impressible and credulous. Such traditions then were likely to be opposed only when they interfered with the private claims of others, or ran counter to public opinion, in which case they would fall into discredit and oblivion. Otherwise they would have every chance of being preserved and carried down, along the traditional stream of legend and of truth, and with it finding a place in the unquestioning registration of the second century.

c.—We have unquestionable evidence, that the bias of *party* effected a deep imprint on tradition. Where the result of this spirit was to produce or to embellish a story adverse to the interests of *another* party, and the denial of such story involved nothing prejudicial to the honour of Islam, it may be assumed that endeavours would be made to rebut the fabrication or embellishment, and the discussion so produced would subserve the purity of tradition. But this could only be the case occasionally. The tradition would often not be controverted at all; in other instances, it would perhaps at first be confined within the limits of the party in whose favor it originated; and under any circumstances, the reasoning in the preceding paragraph is

The same principle led the Moslems to magnify the hardships Mahomet himself endured; and lies at the bottom of Ayesha's strange exaggerations of the Prophet's poverty and frequent starvation, which she carries so far as to say, that she had not even oil to burn in her chamber while Mahomet lay dying there! The subsequent affluence and luxuries of the conquering nation, also led them by reaction to compare with fond regret their present state with their former simplicity and want, and even to weep at the remembrance.

Thus of the same Khobâb, it is recorded:—"He had a winding-sheet ready for himself of fine Coptic cloth; and he compared it with the wretched pall of Hamza (killed at Ohod;) and he contrasted his own poverty when he possessed not a dinar with his present state:— 'and now I have in my chest by the house 40,000 *owcheas*. Verily, I fear that the sweets of the present world have hastened upon us. Our companions (who died in the first days of Islam) have received their reward in Paradise; but truly I fear lest my reward consist of these benefits I have obtained after their departure." (*Wâchidi*, p. 211.)

* See *Wâchidi*, p. 118, and *Hishâmi*, p. 450.

equally applicable* here, so that without doubt a vast collection of exaggerated tales have come down to us, which owe their existence to party spirit.

By the "bias of party" is not simply to be understood the influence of *faction*, but likewise of all the lesser circles which formed the ramifications of Mussulman society. The former we are less in danger of overlooking. Where the full development of faction—as in the case of the Abbâssides and Omeiyads—has laid bare the passions and excesses to which this spirit may give rise, the reader is on his guard against misrepresentation; and he receives with caution the unnaturally darkened or resplendent phases of such characters as Ali and Abbâs, Muâvia and Abu Sofîân. But though on a less gigantic scale, the influences of tribe, of family, and of the smaller associations of party feeling attached to the several heroes of Islam, were equally real and effective. The spirit of clanship, which ran so high among the Arabs, and which Mahomet in vain endeavored to supplant by the brotherhood of the faith, perpetuated the confederacies and antipathies of ante-Mahometan Arabia far down into the annals of Islam, and often exerted a potent influence upon the destinies of the caliphate. It cannot be doubted that these combinations and prejudices imparted a strong and often deceptive hue to the sources of tradition. As an example, we may specify the rivalry which led the several families or parties to compete with each other for the earliest converts to Islam, until they arrived at the conclusion that some of their patrons were Mahometans before Mahomet himself.*

D.—We now come to the class of motives incomparably the most dangerous to the purity of tradition, namely, those which were common to the whole Moslem body. In the previous cases, the bias was confined to a fragment, and the remainder of the nation might form a check upon the fractional aberration. But here the bias was universal, pervading the *entire medium* through which we have received tradition, and leaving us, for the correction of its divergencies, no check whatever.

To this class must be assigned all traditions whose object it is to exalt Mahomet, and to invest him with supernatural attributes. Although in the Coran the Prophet disclaims

* See Sprenger's *Mohammed*, pp. 158, 162, &c.—vide also his *Notice in No. CXII. of the Asiatic Journal*, p. 123. "There is a great deal of sectarian spirit mixed up in the disputes who were the first believers?" The Sunnies say Abu Baer, and the Shiahs say Ali." Tabari also starts another candidate, Zeid ibn Hâritha (p. 111.) One of the traditions opposed to Abu Baer says, that fifty persons were believers before him! (*Ibid.*) Well then may Dr. Sprenger style these "childish disputes on the seniority of their saints in the Islam." (*Mohammed*, p. 168.) Yet he himself builds too much upon them.

the power of working miracles, yet he implies that there existed a continuous intercourse between himself and the agents of the other world. The whole Coran, indeed, assumes to be a message from the Almighty, communicated through Gabriel; and independently of it, that favoured angel was often referred to as bringing directions from the Lord for the guidance of his Prophet in the common concerns of life. The supposed communication with heavenly messengers, thus countenanced by Mahomet himself, was implicitly believed by his followers, and led them, even during his life-time, to regard him with a superstitious awe. On a subject so impalpable to sense, yet so readily perceivable by imagination, it may be fairly assumed, that reason had little share in controlling the fertile productions of fancy; that the conclusions of his susceptible and credulous followers far exceeded the premises granted by Mahomet himself; that even simple facts were construed by their excited faith as pregnant with marks of supernatural power and unearthly companionship; and that, after the object of their veneration had passed from their sight, fond devotion perpetuated and enhanced these fascinating legends. If the Prophet gazed into the heavens, or looked wistfully to the right hand or to the left, it was Gabriel with whom he was holding mysterious converse.* The passing gust raises a cloud from the sandy track; and the pious believer exults in the conviction that it is the dust of Gabriel and his mounted troop, who are scouring the plain, and going before them to shake the foundations of the doomed fortress.† On the field of Badr, three stormy blasts swept over the marshalled army: again, it is Gabriel, with a thousand horses, darting along to the succour of Mahomet, while Michael and Serâfil, each with a like angelic squadron, wheel to the right and to the left of the Moslem front.‡ Nay, the very dress and martial uniform of these helmed

* Vide *Wâkidi*, p. 33.—See also *Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 112, note 5.

† How absurd soever the idea may seem, it is taken literally from the biographers of Mahomet, and relates to the expedition against the unfortunate Bani Coreitza. (*Wâkidi*, p. 114.) Mahomet countenanced, if he did not originate the notion.

‡ Vide *Wâkidi*, p. 114, and p. 100½. Similar statements are made regarding the battle of Honein. (*Wâkidi*, p. 130½.) At p. 198, the angelic host is represented in the uniform of Zobeir, one of Mahomet's companions, namely, with *yellow* turbans, on piebald horses. *Hishâmi* (p. 227) and *Tabari* (p. 290) give their dress at the battles of Badr and Kheibar. The Meccans on their return, vanquished from Badr, are introduced as describing the warrior angels against whom they had to contend. (*Hishâmi*, p. 233—*Tabari*, p. 301—*Caus. de Perc.*, vol. III., pp. 66 & 73.) Various traditionists assert that the heads of the unbelievers dropped off before the Moslem swords came near them, the invisible scimitars of the angels doing the work with greater rapidity and effect than the grosser steel of Medina. (*Hishâmi*, p. 227—*Tabari*, p. 289.) Gabriel fought alongside of Abu Baor, Michael alongside of Ali, and Isrâfil looked on. (*Wâkidi*, p. 112½.) Gabriel, after the battle of Badr was concluded, asked leave of Mahomet, without which he could not retire!

angels, are detailed even by the honest Wäckidi, with as much *naïveté* as if they had been veritable warriors of flesh and blood! Such is but a specimen of the vein of legend and extravagance which pervades tradition.

It will frequently be a question, extremely difficult and sometimes impossible, to decide what portions of these supernatural stories either originated in Mahomet himself, or received his countenance, and what portion owed its birth, after he was gone, to the excited imagination of his followers. No doubt real facts have not seldom been thus adorned or distorted by the colouring of a superstitious fancy. The subjective conceptions of the fond believer have been reflected back upon the biography of the Prophet, and have encircled even the objective realities of his life, as in the pictures of our saints, with a lustrous halo. The false colouring and fictitious light so intermingle with the picture, as to make it often beyond the reach of analytical criticism.*

E.—To the same universal desire of glorifying Mahomet, must be ascribed the unquestioned miracles with which even the earliest traditions abound. They are such as the following. A tree from a distance moves towards the Prophet, ploughing up the earth as it advances, and then similarly retires; oft-repeated attempts to murder him are miraculously averted; distant occurrences are instantaneously revealed, and future events

(*Wäckidi*, p. 102½.) Mahomet had a conversation with Gabriel, related by Hāritha, who actually saw the angel. (*Wäckidi*, p. 276.) These instances are given simply as samples, to bear out what might otherwise have appeared over-statement in the text.

The following may be viewed as a normal type of a large class of miraculous stories. Othmān being attacked by the conspirators made no resistance, and when asked the cause, replied to the effect that "Mahomet had made with him a covenant, and he patiently abided thereby." The Moslems afterwards (concluding, no doubt, that it was impossible their Prophet should not have foreseen so important an event as the murder of his beloved son-in-law) referred this speech to a supposed *prophecy* by Mahomet, who told Othmān "that the Lord would clothe him with a garment, and that he was not to take it off at the call of the disaffected." (*Wäckidi*, p. 191.) The garment was interpreted to be the *caliphate*, which the conspirators called upon him to abdicate. Again Ayesha was not at a loss to conjure up a scene to give a farther clue to these mysterious facts. "When Mahomet lay on his death-bed, he summoned Othmān, and desired me to depart out of the chamber; and Othmān sat down by the dying Prophet; and as he spake with him, the colour of Othmān changed." Without doubt, say the credulous believers, this was Mahomet foretelling to his son-in-law the violent death that awaited him. (*Wäckidi*, p. 191½.) Such *suppositions* and *explanations*, in the course of time, were repeated as *facts*.

* The following tradition may perhaps be thought illustrative of this position. The corpse of Saad lay in an empty room. Mahomet entered alone, picking his steps carefully, as if he walked in the midst of men seated closely on the ground. On being asked the cause of so curious a proceeding, he replied, "True, there were no men in the room, but it was so filled with angels, all seated on the ground, that I found nowhere to sit, until one of the angels spread his wing for me on the ground, and then I sat down thereon." (*Wäckidi*, p. 264½.) It is almost impossible to say what in this is Mahomet's own, and what has been concocted for him.

foretold; a large company is fed from victuals hardly adequate to the supply of a single person; his prayer draws down immediate rain from heaven, or causes an equally sudden cessation. A very frequent and favourite class of miracles is for the Prophet to fill the udders of dry goats by his simple touch, and to cause floods of water to well forth from parched fountains, and to gush out from empty vessels, or even from betwixt his fingers.* With respect to all such stories, it is sufficient to refer to what has been already said, that they are opposed to the clear declarations and pervading sense of the Coran.

It by no means, however, follows, that because a tradition relates a miracle, the collateral facts in the narrative are thereby discredited. It may be that the facts were imagined to illustrate or embellish a current miracle; but it is also possible, that the miracle was imagined to embellish or account for some well-founded facts. In the former case, the supposed facts are worthless; in the latter, they may be true and valuable. If other evidence be wanting, the main drift and apparent design of the narrative is all that can guide the critic between these alternatives.

F.—The same propensity to fabricate the marvellous must be borne in mind when we peruse the puerile tales and extravagant legends, which are put by tradition into Mahomet's mouth. The Coran, it is true, imparts a wider base of likelihood to the narration by Mahomet of such tales, than to his assumption of miraculous powers. When he ventured to place such fanciful and unworthy fictions as those of "Solomon and the Genii," of "the seven sleepers," and "the adventures of Dhûl Carnein," in the pages of a *Divine Revelation*, to what puerilities might he not stoop in the familiarity of social conversation? It must, on the other hand, be remembered, that Mahomet was taciturn, laconic, and reserved; and is therefore not likely to have given forth more than an infinitesimal part of the vast details of legend and fable which are stored up as his in tradition. They are probably the growth of successive years, each of which deposited its accretion around the nucleus of the Prophet's pregnant words, if indeed such nucleus there were at all. For example, the ground-work of the elaborate pictures and gorgeous scenery of the Prophet's heavenly journey, lies in a very short and simple recital in the Coran. That he subsequently expanded this ground-work by amusing his companions with all the minutiae which have been brought down to us by tradition, is perhaps possible. But it is also possible, and (by the analogy

* All these and scores of like incidents adorn the pages of the honest Wäckidi, as well as the other biographers and traditionists. Sprenger has over-praised Wäckidi's discrimination and sense. (*Mohammed*, p. 72.)

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of Mahomet's miracles) incomparably more probable, that the vast majority of these fancies have no other origin than the heated imaginations of the early Mussulmans.*

G.—Indirectly connected with Mahomet's life, but directly with the credit and evidences of Islam, is another class of narrations, which would conjure up on all sides prophecies regarding the founder of the faith and anticipations of his approach. These were probably, for the most part, suspended upon some general declaration or incidental remark of the Prophet, which his enthusiastic followers deemed themselves bound to prove and illustrate. For example, the Jews are often accused in the Coran of wilfully rejecting Mahomet, "although they 'recognized him as they did one of their own sons.'" Accordingly, tradition provides us with a host of Jewish rabbis and Christian monks, who found it written in their books that the last of the Prophets was at this time to arise at Mecca: they assert, that not only his name, but his personal appearance, manners and character are therein so depicted to the life, that recognition must be instantaneous; and among other absurd particulars, the very city of *Medína* is pointed out as the place whither he would "emigrate!" Again, the Jews are accused of grudging that a Prophet had arisen among the Arabs, and that the prophetic dignity had thus departed from their nation; and in fit illustration, we have innumerable stories of Mahomet being recognized by the rabbins, and of attempts made by them to kill him; and this, too, long before he had any suspicion himself that he was to be a Prophet, *nay during his very infancy!* It is enough to have alluded to this class of fabrications.†

* See *Sprenger*, pp. 123—137, where these principles are admitted. The learned doctor, at the same time, gives a clue to the real facts of the case. "We must never forget," he well writes, "that when his religion was victorious, he was surrounded by the most enthusiastic admirers, whose craving faith could be satiated only by the most extravagant stories. Their heated imagination would invent them by itself; he only needed to give the key, and to nod assent, to augment the number of his miracles to the infinite." (P. 136.) His theory however attributes more than we should be disposed to do to Mahomet in the construction of the legend.

It is curious, as illustrating the Mahometan canon of criticism, to observe that this wild legend is, *according to its rules*, one of the best established in tradition, not only in the main features, but in all its marvellous details. Sprenger, who is too much guided by the canon, writes here from the Mahometan stand point. "Though the accounts, which we find in Arabic and Persian authors, are not free from later additions, the numerous records of Mahomet's own words give us the assurance that the narrative, in its main features, emanated from himself. *There is no event in his life, on which we have more numerous and genuine traditions than on his nightly journey.*" (P. 126.)

† As specimens, the Arabic scholar may consult *Wäckidi*, pp. 29, 30, 30½, 31, 35½, 79½, and the whole chapter, *Description of Mahomet in the Old Testament and Gospel*, p. 69½. The key to Mahomet's assertions, as given above, is simply the two facts; 1st, that the Jews *did* look for a Prophet to come, which expectation Mahomet affected to appropriate to himself; 2nd, that they held this Prophet would be of the seed of David, which assertion Mahomet believed, or pretended to believe, was founded in mere envy and a grudge against himself.

H.—Such unblushing inventions will lead us to receive with suspicion the whole series of tales in which it is pretended that Mahomet and his religion were *foreshadowed*, and in which we are called upon to believe that pious men before the Prophet anticipated many of the peculiarities of Islam. It is a fond conceit of Mahomet that Islam is as old as Adam, and has from the beginning been the faith of all good men, who looked forward to himself as the great Prophet, who was to wind up the Divine dispensation. It was therefore very natural for his credulous followers to carry out this idea, and to invest any serious-minded man, or earnest enquirer, who preceded Mahomet, with a dawning of that divine effulgence which was about to burst upon the world.*

I.—It is to the same spirit that we are to attribute the continual and palpable endeavour to make Mahometan tradition tally with our *Scriptures*, and with *Jewish tradition*. This canon has little application to the biography of Mahomet himself, but it has a wide and most effective range in reference to the legendary history of his ancestors and of early Arabia. The desire to regard, and possibly the endeavour to prove, the Prophet of Islam a descendant of Ishmael, began, as we think, even in his life-time. Many Jews, versed in the Scriptures, and won over by the inducements of Islam, proved false to their own creed, and pandered their knowledge to the service of Ma-

* Such are the tales regarding Zeid, (*Hishâmi*, pp. 55—59—*Wâkidi*, p. 304) who, it is said, spent his life in searching “for the religion of Abraham,” till at last a monk, meeting him at Balca, sent him back to Mecca to await the Prophet about to arise there! Sentences of the Coran, and prayers in Mahomet’s style, are put into his lips by the traditionists. The discreditable nature of these narratives is palpable from their very style and contents: (*vide Sprenger’s Mohammed*, p. 43, note 4.) Still we are far from denying that Zeid’s enquiries and doctrines may have constituted one of the causes which prompted Mahomet to enquiry and religious thought. But whatever grounds may exist for regarding Zeid as a philosophical or a religious enquirer, we should only have smiled at the clumsiness of the structure erected by the traditionists on so slender a base, had it not been that Dr. Sprenger appears to recognize it, and even builds thereon in part his own theory that Mahomet “*did nothing more than gather the floating elements which had been imported or originated by others*,” and instead of carrying Arabia along with him, was himself carried along “by the irresistible force of the spirit of the time:” (*vide Life of Mohammed*, pp. 39—49.)

Arabia was no doubt prepared for a religious change; Judaism and Christianity had sown the seeds of divine knowledge every here and there, and many enquiring minds may have groped the way to truth, and paved the road for Mahomet’s investigations and convictions. But to none of these is Islam attributable. Its peculiarities are all the Prophet’s own. Mahomet alone appears to us responsible for its faults, as well as entitled to all the credit (whatever it is) of being its sole founder. It is the workmanship of his wonderful mind, and bears in every part the impress of his individuality. Such passages as the following appear to us strangely untrue:—“*The Islam is not the work of Mahomet; it is not the doctrine of the Impostor.*” (*Sprenger’s Mohammed*, p. 175.) Yet the learned doctor charges him with its faults: “There is however no doubt that the impostor has defiled it by his immorality and perverseness of mind, and that most of the objectionable doctrines are his.” (*Ibid.*) This is hardly the even-handed justice we should have expected from the philosophical Sprenger.

homet and his followers. Jewish tradition had been long notorious in Medina, and the Mahometan system was now made to fit upon it; for Islam did not ignore Christianity and Judaism, but merely superseded them as the whole does a part, and as that which is complete swallows up an imperfect commencement. Hence arose such absurd anachronisms, as the attempts to identify Cahtân with Joktan (between whom, at the most moderate estimate, fifteen centuries intervene;) and hence were forged the earlier links of the Abrahamic genealogy, together with numberless tales of Ishmael and the Israelites. These, though pretending to be regular traditions, can generally be recognized as plagiarisms from Scripture, or as Arabian legends twisted into accommodation with it.

J.—Of analogous nature may be classed such traditions as affirm that the Jews and Christians mutilated or interpolated their Scriptures. We believe, after a careful examination into the Coran, that Mahomet himself never expressed the smallest doubt at any period of his life, either as to the authority or genuineness of the Old and New Testaments extant in his time. He was profuse in assurances, that his system corresponded with both, and that he had been foretold by former prophets; and as the Bible was little known among the generality of his followers, his assertions were implicitly believed. But as Islam spread abroad, and began to include countries where the Holy Scriptures were familiarly read, the discrepancies between them and the Coran became patent to all. The sturdy believer, with an easy conscience, laid the entire blame at the door of the dishonest Jews and Christians, (the former of whom their Prophet had accused in the Coran of hiding and “dislocating” the prophecies of himself); and according to the Moslem wont, a host of stories, with all the necessary details of Jewish fabrication and excision, soon grew up, exactly suited to the necessities of Islam.*

K.—If it appear strange that extravagant and unreasonableness of the kind alluded to in the few last paragraphs should not have been contradicted by the more upright and sensible Mahometans of the first age, and thus nipped in the bud, it must be kept in view that criticism and freedom of opinion (as has been already shown,) were completely stifled under the crushing dogmas of Islam. Every simpleton might ima-

* An instance of this very numerous class of stories will be found in *Wâchidi*, p. 70. A Copt, reading his uncle's Bible, is struck by finding two leaves closely glued together. On opening them, he discovers the most copious details regarding Mahomet, as a Prophet about immediately to appear. His uncle was displeased at his curiosity and beat him, saying the Prophet had not yet arisen. (*Cnf. Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 140.)

gine, and any designing man could with ease invent, such traditions; but when once in currency, the attempt to disprove them would be difficult and dangerous. Supposing that no well-known fact, or received dogma, were contradicted by them, upon what general considerations were they to be rebutted? If any one, for instance, had contended that all human experience was contradicted by the marvellous foreknowledge of the Jews regarding Mahomet, he would have been scouted as an infidel. Honest enquiry into the genuineness of holy Scripture would have sapped the foundations of Islam, and was therefore out of the question. Who would have dared to argue against a miraculous tale, that did honour to Mahomet, on the ground that it was in itself improbable, that the narrator might have imbibed a false impression, or that even in the Coran miraculous powers were never arrogated by the Prophet? The argument would have placed the neck of the logician in peril of the sword; for it has been already shown, that the faith and the polity of the nation were one; and that free opinions and heresy were synonymous with conspiracy and rebellion.* It was thus that, under the shelter of the civil arm, and of the fanatical credulity of the nation at large, these marvellous legends grew up, in perfect security from the attacks of doubt and of honest enquiry.

L.—The converse of the principle laid down above is likewise true; that is to say, traditions, founded upon good evidence, and undisputed, because notorious in the first stage of Islam, gradually fell into disrepute, or were entirely rejected, because they appeared to dishonor Mahomet, or countenance some heretical opinion. The nature of the case renders it impossible to prove this position so fully as any of the preceding, because we can now have no trace of such traditions as were early dropped. But we discover the

* See also an absurd tradition of something of a similar nature quoted at p. 408 of Volume XVII. of this *Review*. The Arabic student will find this well illustrated by the treatment which the "hypocrites" or "disaffected" are represented as receiving even during Mahomet's life-time. On the expedition to Tabûk, Mahomet prayed for rain, which accordingly descended. A perverse doubter, however, said, "it was but a chance cloud that happened to pass." Again the Prophet's camel strayed, and the doubter said, "Doth not Mahomet deem himself a prophet? doth he not profess to bring intelligence to you from the Heavens? yet is he unable to tell where his own camel is!" "Ye servants of the Lord!" exclaimed his comrade, "there is a plague in this place, and I knew it not. Get out from my tent, enemy of the Lord! Wretch, remain not in my society!" Mahomet had of course supernatural intimation conveyed to him not only of the doubter's speech, but of where the camel was, and the doubter afterwards repented and was confirmed in the faith. (*Hishâmî*, p. 391.)

Omar's sword was readily unsheathed ever and anon to punish such sceptical temerity, and Mahomet himself frequently visited it, in the early part of his Medina career, with assassination, and on his conquest of Mecca, by open execution.

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spirit working even in the second and third centuries. There is an apparently well-supported story, which attributes to Mahomet a momentary lapse and compromise with the idolatry of Mecca, and traditions on the subject from various sources are related by the earliest and the best biographers. But the theologians began to deem the opinion dangerous or heretical that Mahomet should thus have degraded himself "after he had received the truth," and the occurrence is therefore denied, or entirely omitted, by some of the later writers, though the facts are so patent, that the more candid fully admit them.* The principle thus found in existence, in the second and third centuries, may be presumed to have been at work also in the first.

M.—The system of *pious frauds* is not abhorrent from the principles of Islam. Deception is, by the current theology of Mahometans, allowable in certain circumstances. The Prophet himself, both by precept and example, encouraged the notion, that to tell an untruth is, on some occasions, allowable; and what occasion* would approve itself as more justifiable, nay meritorious, than that of furthering the interests of Islam?†

* Dr. Sprenger has some valuable remarks on this subject in his notice of *Tabari* (*Asiat. Journ.*, No. CCXII., p. 19 *et. seq.*) The story is honestly told by Wāchidi and Tabari, and (as we find by a quotation in the latter) by Ibn Ishāc; but it is tacitly and tacitly omitted by Ibn Hishām, although his book professes to embrace that of Ibn Ishāc. (*Vide Wāchidi*, p. 29—*Tabari*, p. 10, and *Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 184.)

The author of the *Mawāhib Alladoniya*, in an interesting passage in a discussion of the authenticity of the story, traces the objections and doubts to fear of heresy and injury to Islam; thus:

قد قيل ان هذه القصة من وضع الزنادقة لا اصل لها وليس كذلك

بل لها اصل "It is said that this story is of a heretical character and has no foundation. But it is not so; and is really well founded." And again,

ثم رده من طريق النظر بان ذلك لو وقع لارتد كثير من اسلم قال

ولم ينقل ذلك "Again (another author) rejects it, because if it had really happened, many of those who had believed, would have become apostates, which was not the case."

† The common Moslem belief is, that it is allowable to tell a falsehood on four occasions: 1st, to save one's life; 2nd, to effect a peace or reconciliation; 3rd, to persuade a woman; 4th, on the occasion of a journey or expedition.

The first is borne out by Mahomet's express sanction. Ammār ibn Yāsir was sorely persecuted by the pagans of Mecca, and denied the faith for his deliverance. The Prophet approved of his conduct:—"If they do this again, then repeat the same recantation to them again." (*Wāchidi*, p. 227.) Another tradition preserved in the family of Yāsir, is as follows:—"The idolators seized Ammār, and they let him not go until he had abused Mahomet and spoken well of their gods. He then repaid to the Prophet, who asked of him what had happened."—"Evil, oh, Prophet of the Lord! I was not let go until I had abused thee, and spoken well of their gods."—"But how," replied Mahomet, "dost thou find thine own heart?"—"Secure and steadfast in the faith"—"Then," said Mahomet, "if they repeat the same, do thou too repeat the same." (*Ibidem.*) Mahomet also said that Ammār's lie was better than Abu Jahl's truth.

The early Moslems would suppose it to be fitting and right, that a divine religion should be supported by the evidence of miracles, and they would think they were doing God service by building up testimony in accordance with the supposition. The case of our own religion, whose purer morality renders the attempt incomparably the more inexcusable, shows that *pious fabrications* of this description easily commend themselves to the conscience, where there is the inclination and the opportunity for their perpetration.

There were indeed conscientious persons among the early Moslems, who would probably have scrupled at such open frauds; but these are the very individuals from whom we have the fewest traditions. We read of some cautious men among the "companions,"* who, perceiving the difficulty of reciting accounts of their Prophet with perfect accuracy, and perhaps disgusted with the bare-faced effrontery of the propagators of unfounded traditions, abstained entirely from repeating the sayings of Mahomet. But regarding the companions in general, from whom the great mass of tradition is drawn, and their immediate successors, we are not aware that any satisfactory means are possessed of classifying them into parties, of which the trustworthiness would vary to any great extent. Some we

~~The second~~ directly sanctioned by the following tradition:—"That person is not a liar who makes peace between two people, and speaks good words to do away their quarrel, though they should be lies." (*Mishcat*, Vol. II., p. 427.)

As to the third, we have a melancholy instance that Mahomet did not think it wrong to make false promises to his wives, in the matter of his slave girl Maria. And regarding the fourth, it was his constant habit in projecting expeditions (excepting only that to Tabûk) to conceal his intentions, and to give out that he was about to proceed in another direction from the true one. (*Hishâmi*, p. 392,—*Wâchidi*, p. 133½.)

* Thus Omar declined to give certain information, saying, "If it were not that I feared lest I should add to the facts in relating them, or take therefrom, verily I should tell you." (*Wâchidi*, p. 236½.) Similar traditions are given regarding Othman. (*Ibid*, p. 168½, 189½.) Abdallah ibn Masûd was so afraid in repeating Mahomet's words, that he always guarded his relation by this conditional clause, "near or like this,"

but one day, as he repeated a tradition, the words محمد رسول الله—"The Prophet of the Lord said," escaped his lips; and he became oppressed with anguish, so that the sweat dropped from his forehead. Then he said, "If the Lord will, the Prophet may have said more than that, or less, or near unto it." (*Ibid*, p. 209.) This is no doubt greatly exaggerated.—"Saad ibn Abi Wâchhâs was asked a question and he kept silence, saying I fear that if I tell you one thing, ye will go and add thereto as from me, a hundred." (*Ibid*, p. 206½.) So Abdallah ibn Zobeir was asked, "Why do we not hear thee telling stories regarding the Prophet, as such and such persons tell?" He replied, "It is very true that I kept close by the Prophet from the time I first believed, (and therefore am intimately acquainted with his words); but I heard him say, 'Whosoever shall repeat a lie concerning me, his resting place shall be in hell-fire.'" (*Ibid*, p. 199.) So in explaining why some of the principal companions have left no traditions, Wâchidi writes, "From others, there are no remains of tradition regarding the Prophet, although they were more in his company, sitting and hearing him, than those who have left us traditions, and this we attribute to their fear (of giving forth erroneous traditions), &c. (*Ibid*, p. 176½.)

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know were more constantly with Mahomet, and had therefore better opportunities than others for acquiring information; some, like the garrulous Ayesha, are more given to gossiping tales and trifling frivolities; but none of them, as far as we can judge, is free from the tendency to exalt Mahomet at the expense of truth, or can be withheld from the marvellous by the most glaring violations of probability or of reason. Such at least is the impression derived from their evidence in the shape in which it has reached us.

N.—The aberrations from the truth hitherto noticed are presumed to have proceeded from some species of bias, the nature of which we have endeavoured to trace. But the testimony of the companions, as delivered to us, is so fickle and so unaccountably capricious, that even where no motive whatever can be guessed at, and where there were the fullest opportunities of observation, the traditions often flatly contradict one another. For instance, a score of witnesses affirm that Mahomet dyed his hair; they mention the substances he used; and some not only maintain that they were eye-witnesses of this during the Prophet's life, but actually produced relics of his hair after his death, on which the dye was visible. A score of others, possessed of equally good means of information, assert that he never dyed his hair, and that moreover he had no need to do so, as his grey-hairs were so few, that they might be counted. Again, with respect to his *signet ring*—a matter involving no faction or dogma—the traditions are most discordant. One party relate, that feeling the want of a seal for his despatches, the Prophet had a signet ring prepared for that purpose of pure silver. Another party assert, that Khâlid ibn Saïd made for himself an iron ring, plated with silver; and that Mahomet took a fancy to this, and appropriated it to his own use. A third tradition states, that the ring was brought by Amr ibn Saïd from Abyssinia; and yet a fourth that Muâdz ibn Jabal had it engraved for himself in Yemen! One set of traditions hold

* Vide *Wâkidi*, pp. 83½–85. Even the number of the white hairs is given by various authorities as 17, 18, 20, or 30. Some say, that when he oiled his head, they appeared, others that that process concealed them. As to the color used, the accounts also differ. One says he employed Henna and Katam, which gave a reddish tinge, but that he liked yellow best. One traditionist approves of a jet black dye, while others say the Prophet forbade this. The following traditions on the subject are curious:—Mahomet said, "Those who dye their hair black like the crops of pigeons, shall never smell the smell of Paradise." "In the day of judgment, the Lord will not look upon him who dyes his hair black." Again, Mahomet not recognizing a grey-headed man, who came to him one day with his hair dyed black, asked who he was. The man gave his name. "Nay," replied the Prophet, "*but thou art the Devil!*" The only possible supposition is that these traditions were invented by grey-headed men, to countenance and sanction the several modes of dyeing they themselves practised.

that Mahomet wore this ring on his right hand, another on his left; one that he wore the seal inside, others that he wore it outside; and one that the inscription upon it was *مصدق الله* while all the rest declare that it was *محمد رسول الله*.—Now all these traditions refer to one and the same ring, because it is repeatedly added, that after Mahomet's death, it was worn by Abu Bacr, by Omar, and by Othmân, and was lost by the latter in the well Aris. There is still another tradition, that neither the Prophet nor any of his immediate successors ever wore a ring at all.* Now all these varying narratives are not given doubtfully as conjectures, which might either be right or wrong, but they are told with the full assurance of apparent certainty, and with such minute particulars and circumstantiality of detail, as to leave the impression on the simple reader's mind, that each of the narrators had the most intimate acquaintance with the subject.

In these instances, then, which might easily be multiplied to an indefinite extent, to what tendency or habit of mind, but the sheer love of story-telling, are we to attribute such gratuitous and wholesale fabrications? The principle to be hence deduced, is that tradition generally cannot be received with too much caution, or exposed in our critical crucible to too strong a tentative process; and that no important fact can be received as securely proved by mere tradition, unless there be some ground of probability, analogy or collateral evidence in its favor.

III. We shall now proceed to mention the considerations, which should be regarded as *confirming* the credit of a tradition, as well as the caution to be observed in their application.

A.—Unanimous consent, or general agreement, between apparently independent traditions, may generally be regarded as a presumption of credibility. We know that the original sources of tradition were numerous; and as we have already stated, the streams emitted by them often flow downward through separate channels. Cumulative evidence of this description is therefore a presumption, that the circumstances common to so many separate traditions were currently reported or believed at the point of divergence, that is, in the era immediately succeeding Mahomet's death. But there is a danger to be here guarded against; for even in traditions apparently of the nature contemplated, close agreement may be a ground of distrust. It may argue, that though attributed to different sources, they belong to one and the same family, perhaps of spurious origin, long subse-

* All these will be found in *Wâchidi*, pp. 914—924.

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quent to the time of Mahomet. If the uniformity be so great as to exclude circumstantial variety, it will be strong ground for believing that either the original source is not of old date, or that the channels of conveyance have not been kept distinct. Some degree of incidental discrepancy must be looked for, and it will improve rather than injure the character of the evidence. Thus the frequent variations in the day of the week, on which remarkable events occurred, are just what we should expect in independent traditions having their origin in hearsay; and the simplicity with which these are placed in juxta-position, speaks strongly for the honesty of the collectors, and for the absence of attempt to blend or harmonize the differing accounts.

The same argument may be applied to the several parts of a tradition. Certain portions of several corresponding traditions may agree almost verbally together, while other portions may contain circumstantial variations; and it is possible, that the latter may have a bona-fide independent origin, which the former could not pretend to. The intimate union, in separate, but corresponding traditions, of fabulous narrations, characterized by a suspicious uniformity, and of well-grounded facts, circumstantially varying, receives an excellent illustration from the story of Mahomet's infantile days, derived from his nurse Halima, and handed down to us in three distinct traditions. "These three accounts," says Dr. Sprenger, "agree almost 'literally in the marvellous, but they differ in the facts.'"* The *marvellous* was derived from one common source of fabrication, but the facts from original authorities. Hence the uniformity of the one, and the variations in the other.

Entire verbal coincidence may sometimes involve a species of evidence peculiar to itself; it may point to a common and recorded original, of date antecedent to that probably at which most of the other traditions were reduced to writing. There is no reason for believing that any such records were made till long after the era of Mahomet, and they can therefore assume for themselves none of the merit of contemporaneous remains. They may, however, claim the advantages of considerable antiquity, as in the case of Zohri's history of the Prophet's military conquests, which was probably recorded about the close of the first century.†

B.—Correspondence with facts mentioned or alluded to in the Coran, will generally impart credit to traditional narration. Some of the most important incidents, connected

* Vide *Sprenger's Life of Mohammed*, p. 78, note 3.

† This will be farther noticed below.

with Mahomet's battles, as well as with a variety of domestic and political matters, are thus attested. This ground of confirmation may, however, be deceptive, for the allusion in the Coran may have *given rise* to the tradition. The story, if not from the first an actual fraud, may possibly have originated in some paraphrastic comment or illustrative supposition, which afterwards became transmitted into a confident narrative of fact. For example, in the Coran there occurs the following verse:—*Remember the favour of the Lord unto thee, when certain men designed to stretch forth their hands against thee, and the Lord held back from thee their hands.** By some this passage is supposed to refer to Mahomet's escape from Mecca; but the craving after circumstantiality not being satisfied with this tame interpretation, several stories have been invented, in which an enemy's hand, already brandishing the sword over Mahomet's head, has been miraculously staid by Gabriel.† Again, the discomfiture of the army of Abraha, shortly before the birth of Mahomet, is thus poetically celebrated in Sura CV.:—*And did not the Lord send against them flocks of little birds, which cast upon them small clay stones, and made them like unto the stubble of which the cattle have eaten?* This probably is only a highly coloured metaphor for the general destruction of the army by the ravages of small-pox.‡ But in whatever light viewed, it has formed the starting point for the imaginations of the traditionists, who give us the most matter-of-fact details of the kind of bird, the size and material of the stones, the precise mode in which they struck the enemy, &c. &c., as if they had themselves been eye-witnesses of the portent

* Sura, v. 12.

† In the attack upon the Bani Ghatfân, we learn from Wäckidi, that whilst Mahomet was resting under a tree, the enemy's leader came stealthily up, and snatching his sword, exclaimed, "Who is there to defend thee against me this day?"—"The Lord," replied the Prophet; whereupon Gabriel struck the man upon his chest, and the sword falling from his hand, Mahomet in his turn seized it, and retorted the question on his adversary, who immediately became a convert; "and with reference to this," it is added, "*was Sura v. 12 revealed.*" (Wäckidi, p. 104½.) Vide also *Weil's Mohammed*, p. 121, where the story is related; but at p. 257 (note 397,) the learned doctor, (on account of the numerous attempts at assassination and marvellous escapes his biographers tell of Mahomet,) not without reason regrets the respect with which he had previously treated it. The tale is a second time clumsily repeated by the biographers, almost in the same terms, in the expedition to Dzât al Ricâ, and here Hishâmi adds, "Regarding this event, Sura v. 12 was revealed, but others attribute the passage to the attempt of Amr ibn Jahsh, one of the Bani Nadhr," who it is pretended tried to roll down a stone upon the Prophet from the roof of a house. (Hishâmi, p. 283—Wäckidi, p. 110½.—Compare also Sale's note on the verse.) Thus we have three or four different incidents to which the passage is applied, some of them apparently fabricated to suit it.

‡ The metaphor was probably suggested by the name for small-pox (حَصَب) signifying also "small stones;" and by the hard and gravelly feeling of the pustules. (See Hishâmi, p. 19.)

—and the whole of this has evidently no other foundation than the verse above quoted, which the credulous Moslems having interpreted literally, deemed it necessary to clothe with ample illustrations. These are but types of the puerile and extravagant legends, which have been framed out of nothing, and raised upon a supposed Coranic foundation purely imaginary.

C.—Wherever a tradition contains any thing in disparagement of Mahomet, such as an indignity shown to him by his followers, or by his enemies, after his emigration (for then the period of his persecution and humiliation had passed, and that of his exaltation arrived), his failure in any enterprise or laudable endeavour, or in fine, any thing at variance, either in fact or doctrine, with the principles and tendencies of Islam, there will be strong reason for admitting it as authentic; because, otherwise, it seems hardly credible that such a tradition could be fabricated, or having been fabricated, that it could obtain currency among the followers of Mahomet. At the same time we must be careful not to apply this rule to all that we consider discreditable or opposed to morality. So cruelty however inhuman, and revenge the most implacable, *when practised against infidels*, were regarded by the first followers of Islam as highly meritorious; and the rude civilization of Arabia admitted with complacency a coarseness both in language and behaviour, which we should look upon as the most reprehensible indecency. These and similar exceptions must be made from this otherwise universal and effective canon.

D.—There is embodied in tradition a source of information far more authentic than any to which we have yet alluded, but unfortunately of very limited extent:—we mean the transcripts of treaties purporting to have been dictated by Mahomet, and recorded in his presence.

It has been before shown, that the traditions we now possess were not, at least generally, recorded in the time of Mahomet: and that, even if they were occasionally committed to writing, we have no evidence regarding the subsequent fate of such memoranda, and no criteria for distinguishing, in our present stores, the traditions possibly founded upon such notes, from those that originated, and were for a long time sustained, by purely oral means. In a far different category are the treaties of Mahomet to be placed. They consist of compacts entered into by him with the surrounding tribes of Arabia, Jewish and Christian, as well as Pagan and Moslem, which having been reduced to writing, were attested by one or more of his followers. They are of course confined to the period succeeding

the Prophet's flight to Medîna, and acquisition of political influence, and, from the nature of the case, are limited to the recital of a few simple facts. But these facts again form valuable supports to the traditional outline, and, especially where they detail the relations of Islam with the neighbouring Jewish and Christian tribes, are possessed of the highest interest.

In Wäckidi's biography there is a section expressly devoted to the transcription of such treaties, and it contains two or three scores of them. Over and over again, the author (in the end of the second or beginning of the third century) states that he had copied these from the original treaties, or recorded their purport from the testimony of those who had seen them. "They were still in force," writes Dr. Sprenger, "in the time of Hârûn Al Rashîd" (A. H. 170—193,) and were then collected.* This is quite conceivable, for they were often recorded upon leather,† and would invariably be preserved with care, as the charters of privilege to those in whose favor they were concluded. Some of the most interesting of them, as the terms allowed to the Jews of Kheibar, and to the Christians of Najrân, formed the basis of political events in the caliphates of Abu Bacr and Omar; and the concessions made in others to Jewish and Christian tribes, are satisfactory proof that they were not fabricated by Mahometans; while it is equally clear that they would never have been acknowledged or made current by them if counterfeited by a Jewish or a Christian hand.

Wherever then, we have good reason for regarding such treaties as authentic, they may be placed, as to historical authority, almost on a par with the Coran.‡

- * Sprenger's *Mohammed*, p. 63.

† Instances of this have been given above.

‡ The following are the chief references to the extant originals of such treaties :—

1. Hishâm ibn Mohammed relates that a man of the Tai tribe told him that Walid ibn Jâbir sent an embassy to Mahomet, who wrote to them a letter then extant and in the possession of his tribe at Jabalein. (*Wäckidi*, p. 54.)

2. Wäckidi gives a copy of the treaty Mahomet entered into with the chief of Dûmat al Jandal, the original of which an old man of the people of Dûma showed him. (*Id.* p. 56½.)

3. Wäckidi copied a letter (apparently original) from Mahomet to the people of Adzruh (a Jewish settlement on the Aelanitic gulph) and gives the words of it. (*Id.*, p. 57.)

4. Mahomet gave to Rufâd ibn Amr ibn Jadah al Fulj, a written treaty "which that family now possesses." (*Id.*, p. 59½.)

5. Zoheir, who came from Mahrah to Mahomet, got from him a written treaty "which is with the family to this day." (*Id.*, p. 69.)

Wäckidi read the original document in which Arcam, one of the companions, devoted his house (famous in the Prophet's Meccan history) to sacred purposes. (*Id.*, p. 226.)

Besides these, there are a great number of treaties and letters to the various chiefs and tribes in Arabia, introduced *in extenso*, into the biographical writings; and although it is not expressly so stated, it is extremely probable that these were in many

In cases of official deputations to Mahomet, it is sometimes stated that the account is derived from the family or tribe which made the deputation, and which had preserved a written memorial of the circumstance. We may view such accounts as undoubtedly founded on fact, for the family or clan would naturally treasure up in the most careful way any memorials of the manner in which the Prophet had received or honored them, although there would be a tendency in all such statements to self-aggrandizement.*

Another traditionary source, possessing peculiar evidence, takes its rise in the verses and poetical fragments attributed to the time of Mahomet. Some of these profess to be the composition of persons who died before the Prophet, as Ibu Tâlib; and others, of those who survived him, as Hassân ibn Thâbit. There can be no question as to the great antiquity of these remains, though we may not be able to fix exactly the period of their composition. With respect to such as purport to be of date *preceding* Mahomet's death, when we consider the poetical habits of the nation, and their faculty of preserving poetry by memory,† together with the ancient style and language of the poetry itself, it cannot certainly be deemed improbable that the verses should be in reality the work of the parties to whom they are ascribed. It is on the other hand quite possible, that poetry composed after the death of Mahomet, and either actually describing and referring to passages of preceding history, or incidentally corresponding therewith, should subsequently have come to be regarded as composed upon the occasion, or as the actual effusion of personages in the scene, to whom they afterwards were only by poetical fiction attributed.

cases copied from the originals; or from transcripts of them, which though perhaps several removes from the originals, are still likely to be genuine. Counterfeits there may be amongst them, but the wonder is that, considering their value, fabricated documents of this nature are not more numerous. The reason no doubt is that it was difficult to counterfeit such written relics in the early age of Islam, with any chance of success.

* Thus Wäckidi details such a narrative with the preface—"My informant Muhammad ibn Yahya relates *that he found* it in the writings of his father;" and again "Amr the Odzrite says, he found it written in the papers of his father."—The story that follows relating to a deputation from the Bani Odzara. (*Wäckidi*, pp. 64 & 12.)

† Burkhardt's testimony shows that the faculty still remains. "Throughout every part of the Arabian desert, poetry is equally esteemed. Many persons are found who make verses of true measure, although they cannot either read or write; yet as they employ on such occasions chosen terms only, and as the purity of their vernacular language is such as to preclude any grammatical errors, these verses, after passing from mouth to mouth, may at last be committed to paper, and will most commonly be found regular and correct. I presume that the greater part of the regular poetry of the Arabs, which has descended to us, is derived from similar compositions." (*Burkhardt's Notes on the Bedouins*, vol. I., p. 251—see also p. 373.)

As a general rule, it may be laid down, that wherever there is any anticipation of Mahomet's prophetic dignity or victories, any premonitory dawn of the approaching glories of Islam, the poetry may at once be concluded as an after-thought, triumphant Islam having reflected some of its refulgence back upon the bare points of its earlier career. Tried by this rule, there is much poetry which may be ascribed, as more or less genuine, to the men whose name it bears; but there is some also, which from patent anachronism, either in fact or spirit, is evidently the composition of a later age.* The question is however more one of literary curiosity than of historical evidence, for this species of poetry is seldom of use in confirming any important point in Mahomet's biography.

We do not here refer to the *national* poets of Arabia, whose verses, preserved in the *Kitab al Aghani* and other works, possess without doubt the elements of authenticity, and form the trustworthy archives of Arabia before Islam. It is

* As an example we may refer to the poetry which Abu Tālib, Mahomet's uncle, is said to have recited, when the Coreish took decisive measures against the Prophet, and sought to warn the pilgrims of other tribes not to give heed to him. Abu Tālib, in plaintive verse, expresses his fears, lest the whole of the Arabs should join the Coreish against him. (*Vide Hishāmi, p. 75.*) There is in these verses something perhaps too plainly anticipative of the future national struggle; still the language from Abu Tālib's stand-point is possible. But there follows a reference to "*the clouds giving rain before him*" (Mahomet): and it is added in explanation by the biographer, that when the Prophet in after days miraculously procured rain by prayer at Medina, he called to mind this prediction by his uncle. Thus doubt is cast upon the whole piece of its being an after-composition. At the same time it is not impossible that the sentence may have been used *metaphorically* by Abu Tālib in laudation of his nephew, or that the couplet containing the suspicious verses may have been interpolated.

Another glaring anachronism may be mentioned, which shows with what caution poetry of this class must be received. When Mahomet with his followers performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, under the treaty of Hodeibia, the leader of his camel, as he encircled the Kaaba, showed verses of hostile defiance against the Coreish, who viewed them from the impending rocks, whither they had by compact retired. Among these verses was the couplet, "We shall slay you on the score of the interpretation of it, (the *Coran*) as we slew you on the score of its revelation (*i. e.* for rejecting it.)

نحن قتلناكم على تأويله * كما قتلناكم على تنزيله * Now this evidently belongs to a period long subsequent, when Islam was broken up into parties, and men fought against each other for their several "interpretations" of the *Coran*. Yet the verses are referred both by Wāckidi and Hishāmi to a period anterior even to the conquest of Mecca. (*Wāckidi, p. 124, & 282;—Hishāmi, p. 347.*) Ibn Hishām, however, seeing probably the clumsiness of the story, adds that the poetry should be ascribed to another party.

As another example, the Arabic scholar may peruse the rhetorical contest held before Mahomet between his followers and the embassy of the Bani Tamim. (*Hishāmi, p. 416—419.*) The anticipations of universal conquest appear too prematurely developed. Thus the threat is used by Thābit Ibn Keis that the Moslems "*would fight against all the world till they believed*" (*p. 416.*) This was language suited to the time when the Arabs had begun to fight and conquer beyond Arabia. These may have been speeches and poems composed afterwards as suitable to the occasions, and like the orations of classical history, attributed to the actual time and place of the event related.

only necessary to peruse the "Essai" of Caussin de Perceval to be satisfied with their authority.

The verses ascribed to the poets who *survived Mahomet*, there is every reason to believe the composition of those whose names they bear ; but whether composed before the Prophet's death, even when they profess to be so, is a more difficult question, and their value as historical documents will in some measure be regulated by that consideration. Under any circumstances, however, they cannot but be regarded as of very great value, from their being the work of Mahomet's contemporaries. Wherever they bear upon historical events, they are of much use, as adding confirmation to the corresponding traditions ; ~~for~~ whether handed down by writing, or by memory alone, ~~their~~ poetical form is in some degree a safeguard against change or interpolation. As examples may be specified, the odes of Hassân ibn Thâbit on the "battle of the Ditch," and on "the conquest of Mecca," and the poem of Kab ibn Mâlik, descriptive of the oath of fealty taken by the adjutors at the second Acaba, in which he mentions by name the twelve leaders chosen from amongst them by the Prophet.* Besides such specific facts, this early poetry is often instructive, as exhibiting the *spirit* of the first Moslems towards their unconverted brethren, and the biting satire and virulent abuse employed against the enemies of Islam.

We do not, however, know of any fact, the proof of which *depends* upon these poetical remains. Although, therefore, they are valuable because *confirmatory* of tradition, their practical bearing upon the biographical elements of the Prophet's life, is not of so much interest as might have been expected. They deserve indeed deep attention, as the earliest literary remains of a period which contained the germ of such mighty events ; but they give us little *new* insight into the history or character of Mahomet. While they attest many facts we are already

* Kab survived Mahomet, and wrote an elegy on his death. (*Wâkidi*, p. 166½.) Hassân ibn Thâbit was an inhabitant of Medina ; he was converted during the Prophet's life-time, and survived him about half a century. A good instance of the accidental manner, in which his verses corroborate tradition, is that of his elegy on Mutim, in whose praise he notices that he received the Prophet under his protection when he returned to Mecca from Nakhla and Tâif, dispirited and friendless. (*Hishâmî*, p. 139.)

A curious anecdote occurs of the mode in which Hassân's poetry is said to have *originated* an erroneous tradition. In his piece upon Mahomet's expedition to Al Ghâba (or Dzûl Carada) against a party of marauders, he speaks of *the horsemen of Al Mikhâdâ*, as if he had been the chief of this expedition. In reality, however, Saad ibn Zeid was chief, having been put in the command by Mahomet. On hearing the poetry recited, the latter repaired in great wrath to Hassân, and required *amends* for the misrepresentation. The poet quietly replied, that his name did not suit the rhythm, and therefore he had chosen Mikhâdâ's. Nevertheless, says Wâkidi, the verses gave currency to the tradition in favor of the latter* (*Wâkidi*, p. 115½.)

acquainted with, they reveal none which, without them, we should not know.

Such, then, are the criteria which, it appears to us, should be applied to Mahometan tradition. It is obvious that the critical canon of the traditional collectors can carry no authority with us ; that every tradition must be separately subjected to close examination, and stand or fall upon its own individual merits ; and that even after its reception as *generally* credible, the component parts are severally liable, according to the internal evidence, to suspicion and rejection. The biographer of Mahomet, who shall endeavour to treat them thus, while shunning their misdirection, will retain, as far as appears practicable, the elements of truth preserved in them. Whenever the ground is common both to tradition and the Coran, he will regard the latter as outweighing all other testimony ; but where its sure guidance is wanting, he will turn with cautious eye to the dazzling, but uncertain, light of tradition, and will carefully concentrate its fitful gleams of truth, while he exercises continual vigilance against the false glare and meteoric flashes which illuminate only to deceive.

We now proceed to notice briefly the character and merits of the EARLY HISTORIANS OF MAHOMET, the special materials which they afford for his biography, and the manner in which these materials are exhibited in their works.

We have seen that towards the end of the first century of the Hegirâ, there is ground for believing that Mahometan tradition began generally to be recorded. One of the parties known to have been employed in this task was *Zohri*, who died A. H. 124, aged 72.* It has been even stated that he composed a work on Mahomet's life ; but this is uncertain.† Be this as it may, there is no doubt that he threw together traditions bearing on certain portions of the Prophet's life, certainly on that relating to his military expeditions ; and it is conjectured by Dr. Sprenger, that he is the source whence that uniformity of narrative and coincidence of expression arose, observable in many parts of the biographical works, specially in the narratives of his military career. This hypothesis is very probable : at all events Zohri was *one* of such sources. He lived at the courts of several princes of the Omeiad dynasty, and there is hence every reason to believe that his accounts are as unbiassed as we may expect to find among Mussulman

* Vide *Ibn Khallîcân*, II. 583.

† See an interesting note in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, by Dr. Sprenger, on this subject. (No. V. of 1851, page 395.)

authors. There is no work by Zohri extant, but he is largely quoted by subsequent biographers; and if Dr. Sprenger's hypothesis be correct, their statements of Mahomet's military operations must be in great part the re-production of materials composed by him.

Two other authors are mentioned as having written biographies of Mahomet early in the second century, namely MUSA IBN OCKBA and ABU MASHAR; but neither of their works is extant. The latter is, however, extensively referred to by Tabari.* To these may be added, as no longer available, the histories of ABU ISHAC, who died A. H. 188, and MADAINI, who lived to the beginning of the third century. Though the latter published many works on Mahomet, not one is known now to exist.†

* The earliest biographical writers, whose works are extant more or less in their original state, are:—I. Ibn Ishâc; II. Ibn Hishâm; III. Wâckidi, and his secretary; IV. Tabari.

These works, though professing, like the traditional collections, to be composed only of *traditions*, differ from them in the following particulars:‡—*First*, the traditional matter is confined to biographical subjects, and is arranged in biographical order, commencing with anticipatory and genealogical notices; the work generally advances to the birth of Mahomet, and traces him with some degree of method, through every stage of his eventful life. To each step, a separate chapter is devoted, and all the traditions, which have any bearing on the special subject, are thrown together in that chapter, and arranged with more or less of intelligible sequence. The principle, however, followed by the traditional collectors, is, with some exceptions, observed, namely, that each separate tradition must be supported by its original authority, and that the chain of witnesses be specified, connecting the author with such authority. This induces the same motley and fragmentary appearance, which distinguishes the traditional *collectors*. The biographies in fact resemble *Mosaics*; the several traditions being adjusted and dovetailed, so as to form one uniform history. The species of work is more like a collection of "table talk" than a life: more like a compilation than an original composition.

Secondly, traditions are sometimes fused together, or broken up, and re-formed into a uniform narrative, by adjusting the various pieces. This is more particularly the case in descrip-

* See the note just referred to.

† Sprenger's *Mohammed*, p. 70.

‡ The biographical works are called *Siyyar* or *Strat* سيرة or سير while the general collections are termed حديث *Hadith*.

tions of Mahomet's military life, where the expeditions are often detailed in an unbroken narration, the authorities being generally thrown together at the beginning.*

Thirdly, this process at times induces some degree of critical collation between the expressions or purport of the several traditions thus brought together. Where the authorities differ, we find the biographer occasionally expressing his opinion as to which is the correct exposition. Verbal differences are also often mentioned, and the various readings noted. Such minuteness of examination affords satisfactory evidence of the labour ungrudgingly bestowed by the biographers, in bringing together all the authentic traditions, which could possibly illustrate their subject, as well as of the scrupulous care and accuracy with which they recorded them.

The following particulars of the several authors named above, it may prove interesting and useful to bring together.

I. MUHAMMAD IBN ISHAC is the earliest biographer, of whom any remains, the authorship of which can certainly be distinguished, have reached us. He died in the year of the Hegira 151,† or within fifteen years of the overthrow of the Omeyyad dynasty. His work was, however, published under the auspices and influence of the Abbasside princes, and was in fact composed for the Caliph Al Mansûr, the second of that race.‡ Its accuracy has been impugned; but from the passages which have come down to us, there does not seem ground to believe that he was less careful than other traditionists; while the high character generally ascribed to him, and the fact that he is uniformly quoted with confidence by later authors, leave little doubt that the aspersions cast on his character had no good foundation.§ In Ibn Khallicân, we find the following testimonies in his favour:—

“Muhammad ibn Ishâc is held by the majority of the learned

* Thus recounting a number of separate chains of rehearsers' names, running up in each case to the time of Mahomet, the traditionist will go on to a uniform narrative framed from the whole, and thus prefaced, “the traditions from these sources are intermixed and fused together in the following account” *دخل بعضهم في بعض*

† Ibn Khallicân gives several dates from A. H. 150 to 154; but mentions that given in the text as the likeliest. (*Slane*, vol. II., p. 678.)

‡ *Vide Weil's Gesch. Chalif*, (vol. II.) p. 81. Ibn Cuteiha says, that Ibn Ishâc came to Abu Jafar (Mansûr) to Hira, and wrote for him “the book of the campaigns.” Ibn Khallicân relates that “he put his *Maghâzi* in writing for the Caliph's use at Hira; and thus the learned men of Kûfa had the advantage of hearing him read and explain it himself. (*Slane*, vol. II., p. 678.)

§ The unfavourable testimonies have been carefully collected, (and as it appears to us magnified), by Dr. Sprenger, who brings the following charges against Ibn Ishâc:—

1. *He was not critical.* The only proof, however, is the complaint of an author of the 8th century, that he did not always mention the name of the companions, to

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as a sure authority in the traditions, and none can be ignorant of the high character borne by his work—the *Maghâzi*. Whoever wishes to know the early conquests," says Zohri, "let him refer to Ibn Ishâc, and Al Bokhârî himself cites him in his history. * * * Al Shafi said, whoever wishes to obtain a complete acquaintance with the conquests, must borrow his in-

whom the traditions are traced. But this does not necessarily imply a want of critical care, and is sometimes forced upon the author by the narrative style proper to the biographer.

2. *He invented new traditions.* In proof, there is adduced, first, a round-about testimony from Ibn Cüteiba, as follows. "I heard Abu Hâtîm say on the authority of ~~Anas~~, that Motamir said:—"Take no tradition from Ibn Ishâc, he is a great liar;" and, second, that Mâlik ibn Anas had an unfavourable opinion of him. But Dr. Sprenger does not mention that this unfavourable opinion was expressly ascribed to jealousy, Ibn Ishâc having boasted that he was "a doctor fit to cure the infirmities of Mâlik's traditions," on which Mâlik enraged called him a *Dajjâl* (anti-christ), and said, he would drive him out of the city. (*Ibn Khallicân*, vol. II., p. 678.) Not much credit is therefore attachable to his opinion.

3. *He forged his authorities.* This most serious charge is supported by absolutely no proof. It rests solely on the following gossiping story, cited by Ibn Cüteiba and Ibn Khallicân (II. 678). "He gave one (or some) of his traditions on the authority of Fâtima, wife of Hishâm, who when informed of the circumstance, denied Ibn Ishâc's statement, saying, *Did he then go and visit my wife?*" There is really not a farther tittle of evidence against him.

4. *On the above account, he was not relied on by early authors.* But this is surely opposed to fact, as is evident from the statements in the text. Three authors are mentioned by Sprenger as not relying on him. Bokhârî, Muslim, and Wâkidi. As regards the latter, we think Dr. Sprenger mistaken, as Wâkidi does quote him in numerous places, and not simply, as affirmed, on genealogical subjects. As to Bokhârî, Sprenger should have quoted the full authority, which is as follows:—"Though Al Bokhârî did not quote him (in his *Sahih*), he nevertheless held him for a trustworthy traditionist." (*Ibn Khallicân*, vol. II., p. 678.) Again, "And Al Bokhârî himself cites him in his history." (*Id.*, p. 677.) This is exactly the mode in which we should have expected a collector of original traditions to treat a biographical writer. As to Mâlik, the passage in Ibn Khallicân runs thus:—"And if Muslim ibn al Hajjâj cited only one of his traditions, it was on account of the attack, which Mâlik ibn Anas had directed against him" (vide the absurd story related above). (*Ibid.*) It must be remembered that the labours of Bokhârî, Muslim, &c., lay in another direction from those of our author, who was an historical compiler, they again were recorders of original traditions, and would naturally seek for them at first hand, independently of such an author. And we see that Bokhârî did quote him, when he came to write a history.

Now these are positively all the proofs or presumptions of evidence brought by Dr. Sprenger in support of his charges: they appear to us quite inadequate, and are at any rate far more than counter-balanced by the almost universal reception the statements of Ibn Ishâc have met with in the Moslem world, since his own time to the present. Had he "invented new traditions," or "forged authorities," this would not have been the case.

We do not understand Dr. Sprenger, when he calls him "the father of Mohammedan mythology" and states that the Mahometans discerned his attempt to "shape the biography of their Prophet, according to the notions of the Christians."—Seeing that his doctrine and system seem to be generally of the same type exactly as those of the other traditionists and biographers, who are said by Dr. Sprenger himself to be independent of our author.

The conclusion of the learned doctor is as follows:—"His object is to edify and amuse his readers, and to this object he sacrifices not only truth, but in some instances even common sense" (p. 69.) Common sense is no very usual attribute of any of the traditionists or biographers, and Ibn Ishâc seems to have brought into play as great a share as his neighbours. As to "the sacrifice of truth," we do not believe that it was deliberately made, any more than in hundreds of the lying legends recounted by the "honest" Wâkidi.

formation from *Ibn Ishâc*. * * * Safyan ibn Oyaina declared that he never met any one who cast suspicions on Ibn Ishâc's recitals, and Shoba ibn al Hajjaj was heard to say, *Muhammad ibn Ishâc is the Commander of the Faithful*, meaning that he held that rank as a traditionist. * * * Al Sâjî mentions that Zohri's pupils had recourse to Muhammad ibn Ishâc, whenever they had doubts respecting the exactness of any of the traditions delivered by their master: such was the confidence they placed in his excellent memory. * * * It is stated that Yahya ibn Mâîn, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, and Yahya Sâid al Kattân considered Muhammad ibn Ishâc as a trustworthy authority, and quoted his traditions in proof of their legal doctrines. *** It was from Ibn Ishâc's works that Ibn Hishâm extracted the materials of his biography of the Prophet, and every person, who has treated this subject, has been obliged to take Ibn Ishâc for his authority and guide." (*Ibn Khallicân, by Slane, vol. II., pp. 677-678.*)

These testimonies appear to us conclusive of Ibn Ishâc's authority among the Moslems, and of his general respectability as a writer; and we find in effect, that his statements have been embodied in the biographies of all subsequent writers of the Life of Mahomet, excepting that of Wâckidi, who in comparison quotes sparingly from him; and that the two works of Ibn Ishâc and Wâckidi form the grand staple out of which the majority of authentic narratives of the Prophet's actions have been framed.

II. IBN HISHAM, who died A. H. 213 (or according to others A. H. 218,) took the histories of Ibn Ishâc as the basis of his biography of Mahomet. Copies of this work are extant in its original form, and have been made use of by European historians. The following extract from Ibn Khallicân will place before the reader all that it is necessary to know regarding this author:—

"*Abu Muhammad, Abd al Mâlik, Ibn Hishâm*, the author of the *Sîrat al Rasûl*, or *History of the Prophet*, is spoken of in these terms by Abu'l-Casim-al-Suhaili, in his work entitled *Al Raud al Unuf*, which is a commentary on the *Sîrat*: 'He was celebrated for his learning, and possessed superior information in genealogy and grammar: his native place was old Cairo, but his family were at Basra. He composed a genealogical work on the tribe of Himyar and its princes; and I have been told that he wrote another work, in which he explained the obscure passages of poetry cited in (Ibn Ishâc's) biography of the Prophet. His death occurred at old Cairo A. H. 213 (A. D. 828-9.) This Ibn Hishâm is the person

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who extracted and drew up the 'History of the Prophet' from Ibn Ishâc's work, entitled *Al Maghâzi wa al Siar* ('The Wars and Life of Mahomet:') Al-Suhaili explained its difficulties in a commentary, and it is now found in the hands of the public under the title of *Sirat ibn Hishâm, i. e. 'The Biography of Mahomet, by Ibn Hishâm.'* (*Slane's translation, vol. II., p. 128.*)

There is reason to suspect that Ibn Hishâm was not so honest as his great authority, Ibn Ishâc. One instance, at least, throws suspicion upon him as a witness not inclined to tell the *whole* truth. We find in Tabari a quotation from Ibn Ishâc, narrating the temporary lapse towards idolatry, of which Mahomet is supposed to have been guilty at Mecca: the story is also given from original sources by Wâkidi. But no notice whatever of the fact appears in Ibn Hishâm's edition of Ibn Ishâc.* That he was capable of studiously omitting all reference to so important a narrative, because he fancied it to be not creditable to his Prophet, cannot but lessen our confidence in his book. However, it is evident from a comparison of his text with the quotations taken by Tabari, also from Ibn Ishâc, and which generally tally word for word, that whatever he did excerpt from his author, was faithfully and accurately copied.†

The arrangement and composition of Ibn Hishâm are good, if not elaborate. The traditions are well thrown together, and the narrative proceeds with much of the regularity of a good biography. From the frequent fusion of traditions, the disadvantage however results, that it is sometimes difficult to single out the separate traditions, and to judge of them on their individual merits.

An abridgment of Ibn Hishâm's work was made at Damascus A. H. 707 (A. D. 1307,) by Ahmad ibn Ibrahim. A beautiful manuscript, in the hand-writing of the abbreviator himself, is in the possession of Muhammad Sadr-ood-Deen, the principal sudder ameen of Delhi. It is the copy which has been used by Dr. Sprenger,‡ and the same to which

* See the notice on this subject by Dr. Sprenger, in the *Asiatic Journal*, No. CCXII., p. 125, and also the details of a previous note under the head II. L.

† Dr. Sprenger writes of Ibn Hishâm:—"Unfortunately the additions of Ibn Hishâm are even less critical than the text of Ibn Ishâc." He adds that he was a pupil of Bakay, of whom he gives this account by Samaâny, "that he made awful blunders, gave free scope to his imagination, and that his accounts cannot be considered conclusive unless they are confirmed by others." (*Life of Mohammed, p. 70.*) The latter qualification is, we fear, applicable, without exception, to all the traditional biographers. But, as we have said in the text, wherever Ibn Hishâm quotes Ibn Ishâc, he appears to do so with literal correctness.

‡ Vide *Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 70, note 2.

reference has occasionally been made throughout this article. A manuscript of the abridged work is in the library of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

III. WACKIDI,—or as his full name runs, *Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Omar al Wackidi*,—was born at Medina about the year of the Hegira 129 or 130, and died A. H. 207.* He therefore studied and wrote exclusively under the Abbasides. He enjoyed their patronage, and passed a part of his life at their court, having in his later days been appointed Cazi of the eastern quarter of Baghdad. It is accordingly to be remarked, that the influence of these princes bore strongly and uniformly upon him. His traditional researches were very great, and his works voluminous.†

“Al Wackidi was a man eminent for learning, and the author of some well-known works on the conquests of the Moslems, and other subjects. His *Kitab al Redda*, a work of no inferior merit, contains an account of the apostasy of the Arabs on the death of the Prophet, and of the wars between his followers and Tuliha al Aswad and Museilama, the false prophet.‡ * * * His Secretary, Muhammad ibn Saad, and a number of other distinguished men, delivered traditional information on his authority. * * * The traditions received from him are considered of feeble authority, and doubts have been expressed on the subject of his veracity.” (*Ibn Khallican, by Slane, vol. III., p. 63.*)

Notwithstanding the fertility of his pen, no work of his, in its original form, appears to have been preserved to us.

His secretary, however, MUHAMMAD IBN SAAD, profited by his labours, and through him we enjoy some of their results. The secretary is thus described by Ibn Khallican:—

“*Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Saad ibn Mani* was a man of the highest talents, merit and eminence. He lived for some time with Al Wackidi in the character of a secretary, and for this reason became known by the appellation *Katib al Wackidi*. He composed an excellent work in fifteen volumes on the different classes (*Tabacât*) of Mahomet's companions and the *Tâbies*: it contains also a history of the caliphs, brought down to his own time. He left also a smaller '*Tabacât*.' His character as a veracious and trustworthy historian is univer-

* *Ibn Cateiba*. Ibn Khallican also gives this date, as the true one, but mentions that some say, A. H. 206, others 209. (*Slane, vol. III. p. 63.*)

† *Sprenger's Mohammed*, p. 70, note 5. “He left at his death 600 boxes of books, each of which was a load for two men. The boxes made 120 camel loads.”

‡ The titles of several other works by Wackidi are quoted by Dr. Sprenger. (*Id.*, p. 71, note 1.)

sally admitted. It is said that the complete collection of Al Wâckidi's works remained in the possession of four persons, the first of whom was his secretary, Mahammad ibn Saad. This distinguished writer displayed great acquirements in the sciences, the traditions, and traditional literature; most of his books treat of the Traditions and Law. The Khatib Abu Bacr, author of the history of Baghdad, speaks of him in these terms:—"We consider Muhammad ibn Saad as a man of unimpeached integrity, and the traditions which he delivered are a proof of his veracity, for in the greater part of the information handed down by him, we find him discussing it passage by passage." At the age of sixty-two, he died at Baghdad, A. H. 230 (A. D. 844,)* and was interred in the cemetery outside the Damascus gate (*Bâb al Shâm*)."
(*Slane's translation*, vol. III., pp. 66, 67.)

In the fifteen volumes noticed in this extract, the secretary is supposed to have embodied all the researches of his master, Al Wâckidi, together with the fruits of his own independent labour. The first volume has, happily for the interests of literature and of truth, been preserved to us in an undoubtedly genuine form. It contains the *Sîrat* or "Biography of Mahomet," with detailed accounts of the early learned men of Medîna, and of the whole of the companions of the Prophet, who were present at Badr. For this invaluable volume, we are indebted to the indefatigable research of Dr. Sprenger, who discovered it in a library belonging to Mozuffer Husain Khan at Cawnpore. The manuscript, which is the only known copy extant, transcribed in a distinct but ancient character, was executed at Damascus, A. H. 718 (A. D. 1318,) by a scholar named Al Hakkari, who repeatedly traces up from the pupil to the master (by whom it was successively taught, or by whom copied,) the guarantee of the authenticity of the volume, till the chain reaches up to Muhammad ibn Saad, the secretary, himself.†

The title of the work, though pasted over, can, by a little care,

* In Slane's original the date is given as A. H. 203 (A. D. 818), but this is shown to be a mistake by Dr. Sprenger. (*Ibidem*, note 2.)

† He not only does this in some places through a double chain of authorities, but in the margin he transcribes the frequent notes of his immediate master, Abu Muhammad Dzumiati, written in the margin of the original MS. from which he copied, and which recorded how far he had reached in his daily readings in the year A. H. 647 (A. D. 1249.) Each of these notes again contains the string of authorities up to the secretary. The frequent memoranda of careful collation with the original, give great confidence as to the care with which this copy was transcribed, and it is in effect remarkably accurate. It contains 300 leaves or 600 pages. It is numbered by the leaves, and in quoting it, we have kept to the same plan, thus the 4th page is quoted as p. 24.

be decyphered as follows:— (طبقات * الجزء الاول من كتاب كبير) تاليف امام الحافظ ابي محمد بن سعد الكاتب الواقدي

The expression, *Al Kâtib al Wâckidi*, might lead to the supposition that the *writer* was Wâckidi himself; but all the evidence, internal as well as external, points to the *secretary*, *Katib al Wâckidi*, as the author. The work is generally quoted (probably for brevity's sake) as that of "Wâckidi."

This treatise is composed almost entirely, (if we except the narrative portions of the military expeditions,) of detached traditions, arranged in chapters according to the subject, and in tolerably good chronological order. The chain of authority is generally traced in detail to the fountain-head for each separate tradition; and so carefully is every fragment of a tradition bearing on each subject treasured up, and gathered together, that we often meet with a succession of perhaps a dozen traditions reiterated one after another, though, perhaps, couched in the same or nearly the same expressions. We likewise meet continually with the most contradictory authorities placed side by side, the author sometimes giving his opinion as to their relative credibility.

Wâckidi is said to have been a follower of the Alyite sect,† and he probably did really yield to the prevailing influence of the day, which exalted the Prophet's son-in-law, and the progenitors of the Abbasside race. But there is not the slightest ground for doubting that his authority is equal, if not superior, to that of any other historian of his time.‡ Of the work compiled by his secretary, at all events, Dr. Sprenger has well vindicated the authority and faithfulness. "There is no trace," says he, "of a sacrifice of truth to design, or of pious fraud, in his work. It contains few miracles; and even those which are recorded in it, admit of an easy explanation." This praise is, perhaps, more than is due, but we do not hesitate to designate the book as the product of an

* Besides, no great dependence can be placed on the title-page, which may have been subsequently added. (See *Sprenger*, p. 71, note 3.)

† Some of the traditions given by Wâckidi are evidently such as no extreme Alyite would have admitted into his book. Take for example the conversation between Ali and Abbâs, in which the former, when urged by the latter to repair to the dying Prophet and enquire who was to be caliph, declined, "fearing lest Mahomet should name another, and then his chance of the caliphate would be gone for ever." (*Wâckidi*, p. 150½.) Such an idea would not be tolerated by an extreme Sheeite.

‡ The aspersions contained in the *Kanz al Jawâhir* are completely refuted by Dr. Sprenger, p. 71, note 4. The carefully collected traditions of Al Wâckidi must not be confounded with the romances of the eighth century, which bear the same name, and are described with more praise than they deserve by Gibbon in a note (x.) to the fifty-first chapter of his history, and which form the basis of Ockley's work.

honest endeavour to bring together the most credible authorities current at the end of the second century, and thereby to depict the life of Mahomet with as much truth as possible. It is marked by at least as great sincerity as we may expect to find in any Mahometan author. But Dr. Sprenger's admiration carries him beyond the reality, when he affirms that the miracles it contains are few in number and easy of explanation. They are, on the contrary, nearly, if not quite, as numerous as those we find in Ibn Hishâm. It is very evident that the criticism of Wâckidi and his secretary extended little, if at all, beyond that of their contemporaries. They were mere compilers of current traditions, &c. ; and where these were attested by reputable names, they were received, however fabulous or extravagant, with a blind and implicit credulity.

IV. TABARI, or *Abû Jafar ibn Jarîr al Tabari*, flourished in the latter part of the third century of the Moslem era. The following account of him is extracted from Ibn Khallicân :—

“ Al Tabari was an Imam (*master of the highest authority*) in many various branches of knowledge, such as Coranic interpretation, traditions, jurisprudence, history, &c. He composed some fine works on various subjects, and these productions are a testimony of his extensive information and great abilities. He was one of the *Mujtahid Imams*, as he (judged for himself and) adopted the opinions of no particular doctor. * * * He is held to merit the highest confidence as a transmitter of traditional information, and his history is the most authentic and the most exact of any. * * * He was born A. H. 224 (A. D. 838-9) at Amul in Tabarestân, and he died at Baghdad A. H. 310 (A. D. 923). He was buried the next day in (the court of) his own house. I saw in the Lesser Karâfa cemetery, at the foot of Mount Mokattam, near Old Cairo, a tomb which is often visited, and at the head of which is a stone bearing this inscription—*This is the tomb of Ibn Jarîr al Tabari*. The public imagine it to belong to the author of the history ; but this opinion is erroneous, the fact being that he was buried at Baghdad.” (*Slane's translation, vol. II., pp. 597-8*).

Tabari, who is happily styled by Gibbon, “ the Livy of the Arabians,”* composed annals, not only of Mahomet's life, but of the progress of Islam. Portions of the Arabic version of the latter have long been known, and a part has been published, with Latin translation by Kosegarten, so long ago as 1831. Unfortunately the earliest volume relating to Mahomet, hitherto dis-

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. LI., note 1.

covered, commenced with the Prophet's death. Even at so late a period as the publication of his *Life of Mohammed*, Dr. Sprenger writes of this author:—

“At present, however, the portion of his annals, which contains the history of the origin of the Islam, is available only in the Persian translation, which cannot be fully relied upon.” (*Page 72.*)

Again is the literary world indebted to the learned Doctor, who shortly after the above was written, having been deputed by the enlightened policy of the Indian Government to examine the native libraries of Lucknow, succeeded in ferretting out, from the midst of musty and neglected heaps of old manuscripts, a copy, in its original language, of a book which throws much valuable light upon the biography of Mahomet. The volume commences with his birth, but terminates, though not abruptly, with the siege of Medina, that is, five years before the Prophet's death. The remainder of the work is in all probability extant in India, and may yet reward the search of some future collector of manuscripts. We shall give Doctor Sprenger's account of his discovery in his own words:—

“One of the most important books, which it was my good luck to find during my late mission to Lucknow, is the fourth volume of the history of Tabari (who died in A. H. 310,) of which I believe no other copy is known to exist. In the collection of Colonel Taylor is the 3rd volume, and in the Public Library at Berlin are the 5th, (which has been printed,) 10th, 11th, and 12th volumes.

“It is a volume in a small quarto of 451 pages, fifteen lines in a page. Ten pages are wanting. The writing is ancient and bold, and though not without errors, generally very correct. I should say, from the appearance, the copy is five hundred years old.

“The intrinsic merits of the work are not so great as might be expected. Two-thirds of the book consist of extracts from Ibn Ishâc and Wâckidi, and only one-third or thereabouts contains original traditions. Some of these are very valuable, inasmuch as they contain information not to be found anywhere else.” (*Notice of the 4th vol. of Tabari, Asiatic Journal, No. CCXII., p. 108.*)

The discovery of the original Tabari is, after that of Wâckidi, the most important event regarding the biography of Mahomet, which has occurred for many years. It has a marked bearing on the sufficiency and completeness of our other early authorities, Ibn Hishâm and Wâckidi.

The estimate given by Dr. Sprenger, not an exaggerated

one, that two-thirds of Tabari's biography are composed of literal extracts, formally quoted from Ibn Ishâc and Wâckidi, proves not only the opinion in which they were held as trustworthy and acknowledged authorities; but likewise that they were *the standard writers on the subject* up to at least the close of the third century. The remaining materials of Tabari are derived from a variety of sources, which, as Dr. Sprenger observes, have a peculiar interest, because accessible in no other quarter. Yet no one of these sources would give the idea of being a complete and authoritative biography, nor do any of them bring to light new and important features in Mahomet's life. They are often valuable as supplementary to the accounts we already possess from Ibn Hishâm and Wâckidi, and confirmatory of them,* but they are likewise often symptomatic of the growth of a less honest and scrupulous selection than that of the earlier collectors.† Now as Tabari was an intelligent and diligent historian, and neglected no respectable sources within his reach, it appears to follow as a reasonable conclusion, that besides the works we already hold, there were in Tabari's time none others of essential importance relating to the biography of Mahomet. Had any existed, they must have been within his reach, and if within his reach, he would unquestionably have made ample use of them in his annals.

To the three biographies by IBN HISHAM, by WACKIDI, and by TABARI, the judicious historian of Mahomet will, as his original authorities, confine himself. He will also receive with respect, and subject to his critical apparatus, any traditions in the general collections of the earlier traditionists—as Bokhâri, Muslim, Tirmidzi, which may chance to bear upon his subject; but he will reject as *evidence* all later authors, and he will not

* One of these miscellaneous sources is remarkable. Abd al Mâlik, who was caliph from A. H. 66 to A. H. 96, was addicted to traditional subjects, and being curious to ascertain several points of Mahomet's biography, consulted Orwah ibn al Zobeir for information. We have thus extracts from letters written by Orwah in reply to the caliph's questions, and in particular one long and detailed account of the battle of Badr (pp. 247—251.) Orwah's letters are also quoted, but briefly, by Ibn Hishâm, (Eg. p. 330.) He was born A. H. 20, and was therefore acquainted with several of the companions of Mahomet, on whose authority he relates traditions. He was also the master of Zohri, of whom we have spoken above.

† This especially displays itself in the insertion of many unfounded stories of an evidently ultra-Alyite origin. Thus in the account of Ohod, Othmân (afterwards caliph and of the Omeiad family), is made to run away, with a company of others, from the field of battle, and not stop till he had ascended a hill close to Medina: there he is said to have remained concealed for three days, and then to have returned to Mahomet, who accosted him thus—"Ah, Othmân, you went away and remained a long time there!" (p. 380.) This is evidently an anti-Omeiad fiction, to which there is no allusion in Wâckidi or Ibn Hishâm. All the combatants of Ohod went forth *the next day* towards Hamra al Asad, in a bravado pursuit after their conquerors, who had retired immediately after the battle. It is not possible that Othmân could have been then in his pretended hiding place.

permit to their so-called traditions any historical weight whatever.

It is very evident, that in the absence of any history or collection of traditions, compiled *before* the accession of the Abbassides, the works above specified present us with all the credible information regarding the Arabian Prophet, mankind are ever likely to obtain. It is clear that the biographical writers alluded to sought with zeal and assiduity for all traditions which could illustrate their subject. They were contemporary with those tradition-gatherers, who, as we have seen, compassed land and sea in the enthusiastic search after any trace of Mahomet, yet lingering in the memories or family archives of his followers. Whatever authentic information really existed, must already have become public and available. It cannot be imagined, that in the unwearied search of the second century, any respectable tradition could have escaped the collectors, or, supposing this possible, that it could have survived in an unrecorded shape. Every day diminished the chance of any stray tradition still floating upon the swift and troubled current of time. Later historians can add no true information to what these authors have given us ; but they may, and they very often do, add much false matter, gathered from the spurious traditions and fabricated stories of later days. After the era of our three biographers, the sources of fresh authority become extinct.

Dr Sprenger's verdict is therefore just and sound:—"To consider late historians like Abúlfedá as *authorities*, and to suppose that an account gains in certainty, because it is mentioned by several of them, is highly uncritical ; and if such a mistake is committed by an orientalist, we must accuse him of culpable ignorance in the history of Arabic literature." (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 73.)

Our early authors were, besides, in an incomparably better position than men in later days, for judging of the character and authenticity of each tradition. However blind their reception of the supposed authorities, that lay far back close to the fountain-head, they must have had the ability, as we are sure they had the wish, to test the credit and honesty of the tradition-mongers of their own age, and of that immediately preceding. An intimate acquaintance with their character and circumstances would often afford them grounds for distinguishing the recently fabricated or mistaken narratives from ancient and *bonâ fide* tradition ; and for rejecting many infirm and worthless traditions, which later historians, with that indiscriminate ap-

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petite so pitifully generated by Moslem credulity, have greedily devoured.*

We have thus, as was proposed, endeavoured to give a sketch of the original sources available for the biography of Mahomet. We have examined the Coran, and have admitted its authority as an authentic and contemporary record. We have enquired into the origin and history of Mahometan tradition generally, and specially into those of the biographical compilations; we have acknowledged that they contain the elements of truth, and have endeavoured to indicate some canons, by which the legend and fiction mingled with that truth, may be eliminated from it. The principles thus laid down, if followed with sagacity, perseverance, and impartiality, will, we feel persuaded, enable the enquirer to arrive at a fair approximation to historical fact. Many Gordian knots regarding the character of the Prophet of Arabia will remain unsolved, many paradoxes will still vainly excite curiosity and baffle explanation; but the ground-work of his life will be laid down with certainty, and the chief features of his mind and of his career will be developed with accuracy and clearness.

* In illustration, it is sufficient to refer to the "Legends" contained in the *Life of Mohammed*, by Dr. Sprenger, and to the extravagant and absurd stories contained in a late article of this *Review* on "Biographies of Muhammad for India," No. XXXIV., Art. 6.

ART. II.—1. *Satires, Songs, Jokes, &c. of Ram Kisto Chatterjya. Various scattered MSS.*

2. *George Selwyn and his cotemporaries, with memoirs and notes, by John Heneage Jesse: 4 vols., 8vo. London. 1843-44.*

WE believe that we shall do a not unacceptable service to our readers, by bringing before them, in connection with a brief account of a man, who was, in his day, not a little remarkable, some phases of native life and character, of which the great majority of them have had no opportunity of obtaining a view, and of whose existence they have no suspicion. The kind of man with whom we have to deal is indicated at once by our placing the name of George Selwyn alongside of that of our hero. And, indeed, the resemblance between Selwyn and Ram Kisto, both in their character and position, is not a little remarkable. Both witty and humorous, both good-natured and popular;—notwithstanding their poverty, they secured for themselves a footing in the most exclusive society of their respective countries. Mingling freely with this society, they both kept themselves remarkably free from actual participation of the vices that disfigured it, and while it is not to be supposed that the one or the other could have very acute moral perceptions, or any strong feeling of the evil of those vices that impregnated the very atmosphere that they voluntarily breathed, it is at least something to know, that personally they did not practise those vices, on which, as committed by their patrons, they looked with no unfavouring eye.

But still more remarkable than the general agreement of the characters of these two men is the singular resemblance that subsisted between their tastes and oddities.

One of the most curious traits in Selwyn's character, his extraordinary and depraved love of criminal trials and executions, formed an equally curious feature in the character of Ram Kisto Chatterjya. Selwyn's friends made it a point to send him early intimation "of all crimes, criminals, trials, and executions," which came under their knowledge, and Selwyn loved nothing so well as to gulp their exaggerated, and monstrous "anecdotes." "I despatched a courier to White's for George, who, you know, loves nothing upon earth so well as a criminal, except the execution of him," wrote Walpole, when his house in Arlington Street was broken open. "It happened very luckily that the drawer, who received my message, had very lately been robbed himself, and has the wound fresh in his memory. He stalked up into the club-room, stopped short, and with a hollow trembling voice said, 'Mr. Selwyn,

‘ Mr. Walpole’s compliments, and he’s got a house-breaker for you.’ “The next time Mr. Selwyn calls,” said Fox, the first Lord Holland, as he lay grievously sick, “show him up. If I am alive, I shall be delighted to see him, and if I am dead, he will be glad to see me.” We do not know how many executions Selwyn saw, but he must have seen many. Ram Kisto Chatterjya was a constant visitor at the magistrate’s catchery in Mr. Redfairn’s time, in those days, when, according to Mr. Blaquiere, dacoits were executed by the hundred, and when *Baboos* Bissumbhur and Pittumber were the terror of the districts adjacent to Calcutta. Ram Kisto’s curiosity once even led him to the Supreme Court, a wearisome journey of many miles from Santipur. It was at the trial of three cadets of Baraset, for arson. We forget who the judge was, but we fancy it was Sir Henry Russell. The hall was densely crowded by native gentlemen, and civil and military officers, and barristers and attorneys, all interested, though by a variety of motives, in the fate of the culprits, who belonged to a body infamous through the land, many of them having been known to chase children with grey-hounds before dinner by way of amusement, and to dash cocoa-nuts on “nigger heads” to test their relative stubbornness and strength. Ram Kisto Chatterjya managed to lay hold of the jury rails, and raise his little head for a moment above the crowd. The judge’s red face and wig, for they wore wigs in those days—the accused in their uniforms in the dock—the demure cryer in his black gown—the briefs—the blue bags—the table covered with green baize, all floated for one instant before his vision. “Did you see the young man ‘before the fire?’” asked the judge of a witness. The crowd pressed round Ram Kisto, and hustled him from his elevated position, and he heard no more. He came out in a fit of perspiration, and vowed by all his three millions of gods, that he would never enter that awful tribunal of justice again, for it gave scanty welcome to spectators. “Did you see the young man before the fire?”—was his report of his reminiscence of the Supreme Court to the end of his life.

There was a similarity even in the very manner in which Ram Kisto and Selwyn uttered their jokes. They turned up their eyes with a demure and grave expression, which gave additional pungency and point to the laughable things they uttered. One expected little from their serious faces, and was the more startled and pleased on that account. It was a little theatrical trick, which both had learnt to practise to perfection. If an apparently solemn and drowsy fellow says something very witty, the effect is electrical; much more powerful, indeed, than the same thing would be, if uttered by a man that grins

constantly and is boisterous. A man that would be a Merry Andrew should, of all things, endeavour to avoid looking what he would be. No man understood these things better than Selwyn and Chatterjya.

We might easily push the comparison further. It would not be difficult to point out other points of coincidence in the characters of George Selwyn and Ram Kisto Chatterjya. We imagine, however, many of our readers would prefer a short sketch of the latter's life to any parallel, however good, that we could draw. Every body knows when George Selwyn lived, and how he lived, but we fear every body does not know as much of his rival. There are not many, even amongst Englishmen who have long lived in the country, and are familiar with the language and the habits of its people, who could tell much about him. And as for those who never came to India, we doubt if any ever heard his name.

Ram Kisto Chatterjya was born at Santipur, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The exact year of his birth is not known. There are differences on the point among those who knew him best, and we do not feel competent to give an authoritative opinion upon it. He was the only child in the family of his father, Nursing Chatterjya, a man renowned for his strength, wisdom, and piety, and intimate with many of the richest men in Bengal. As a Kulin Brahman, of the Nykushu order, Nursing Chatterjya was not without that pride of descent, which characterizes the aristocracy of every country. He never received gifts or money from the hands of Sudras, however wealthy, and he never condescended to eat at the houses of the lower castes. Though not very deeply versed in religious lore, he had studied the Shastras, and made up for all deficiencies by the quickness of his apprehension, the suavity of his manner, and the eloquence of his language. It was quite a charm to hear him speak. There was a freshness in all he said, that showed he said what he felt and thought at heart. He had travelled in many lands, and he liked to speak of his travels. He loved Ram Kisto as all fathers love an only child, and would have utterly spoiled him, but for the more judicious management of his mother, and Ram Kisto's own natural sharpness. In civilized countries, it is a common thing to hear of children, whose minds have been formed by their mothers. Sir W. Jones and Lord Brougham, in England; Curran, in Ireland; Schiller, Goethe, and Schlegel, in Germany; Victor Hugo, in France—all owed their intellectual greatness to the gentler parent, and it would not be difficult, with a little research, to point out other instances. In India, where the women are not educated, mothers exercise little

influence for good in the formation of their children's minds. Ram Kisto Chatterjya's case appears an isolated exception. We can hardly call to mind another to match it. As a child, Ram Kisto was eminently beautiful. His complexion was fair, and his features delicately chiselled. The small-pox, which, in after life, disfigured his face, had not committed its ravages when he was sent to the village patshalla to learn the rudiments of the Bengali language. The neighbours, nay even strangers, blessed his pretty face, as the little fellow, with large brilliant eyes, and curling black hair, bounded to, or from school, with his little satchel under his arm. Leigh Hunt relates, that one of his school-fellows was so handsome, that old apple-women, when he used rudely to push in the eager excitement of running through the streets, exclaimed, "Where are you driving to, you great, hulking, good-for-nothing?"—and invariably concluded with—"beautiful fellow—God bless you!"—as he turned round to appease them. Ram Kisto's pretty looks, we may be sure, similarly averted many a storm of abuse from him. The roguish expression of drollery in them—yes, even at this early age, was a charm that could not be resisted even by the quarrelsome fish-women of Santipur.

When Ram Kisto had mastered the rudiments of the Bengali language, he was sent to a very good Sanscrit school kept by Subdopody Bhattacharjya, a man of the most extensive knowledge, but eccentric habits. There was a large bell suspended in the passage to the school-room, which was of course miserable enough, the walls being of mud, and the roof of straw. As the school-house was not lofty, and the bell, a gift from a rich zemindar to the school-master, was large, it hung so low, that the boys had to bend their heads in passing under it, to prevent a collision between their heads and the metal. A new student, not familiar with the passage, of course, struck his head against the bell, and it was Subdopody's practice to commiserate with him on his mischance, on the first occasion—"My dear child, I hope you are not hurt; that bell hangs in a most awkward way." If the student knocked his head against it the next day, the school-master reminded him of his blunder, "My dear child, I beg you to remember that bell; you will dislocate your head, if you forget it every day." If the student became a third time oblivious, and Subdopody happened to observe him, he would dismiss the unfortunate fellow at once from the school—"My dear child, you cannot remember that there is a bell in the passage day after day, how am I to flatter myself, then, you will remember my instructions—you had better go elsewhere." And so entreaties or expostulation would induce the old man to relent. The

parents of the children, and Nursing Chatterjya among the rest, put up with such eccentricities, in consequence of the acknowledged learning of Subdono Bhattacharjya. He was versed in all the Shastras. There was not a better grammarian, critic, logician, or poet for miles around. No school in the vicinity numbered so many pupils, or turned out abler men.

Village Sanscrit and Bengali schools were conducted in those days much on the same principles as at present. The students paid their preceptor, some in money, some in oil, some in fish, some in vegetables, some in cloth, and some in fire-wood. If an unlucky urchin made a mistake in addition or blotted or tore the plantain leaf on which the question had been set him, up went the ratan of the pedagogue, but it generally glanced aside if he blubbered out, "Good master, my father has bought some cloth for you, which I shall bring you to-morrow"—or, "Here is a rupee, sir, which mamma sent you, and I forgot to deliver in the morning"—or, "Master, do you like tangra fish and tamarinds—we have plenty of both at home." Schools in England were conducted some years ago in a manner not widely different, and the hedge schools in Ireland are so still. We have heard of one in a remote agricultural district, where some of the children used to pay for their education in peat for the fire, and others in vegetables, the produce of their father's farms, and a butcher's son in meat. It was disgraceful, no doubt, to the teacher. It lowered his dignity with the boys. But what then? Such schools have sometimes turned out boys that have become men of no small renown. A village Sanscrit school received only the children of Brahmans: a village Bengali school received the children of all classes. The pupils in the former were generally young men, and in the latter, their ages varied from five to twenty-five, and showed chins of various orders, from Hebe's gloss to Mars's bristle. There were no boarders. If the school-master had no servant of his own, he used to permit one or two of the poorest boys to remain at his house, whom he fed and clothed, and who, in return, lit his fire, washed his rice, and cut and prepared his vegetables for the pot. The master of a Bengali school was always more ignorant, poor, and dependent than the master of a Sanscrit one; but it would be absurd to say, that the latter was, in any case, rich or independent, or, in all, learned. We have been told many anecdotes of teachers of Sanscrit schools, which it would be humiliating to the profession to relate. "You, sir, you come late every day," said a reverend Sanscrit professor to a big lubberly pupil; "I have warned you three successive times, and yet you are behind your time"—"Yes,

'sir, I was busy all the morning in catching these fish for you' — "Oh, oh!" and the irate preceptor was mollified. Such dialogues are, we apprehend, but too common even now in the village chaubaris; much more common were they in the days when Ram Kisto Chatterjya was a pupil. That Subdopody Bhuttachariya should have maintained a certain degree of independence in his day, that he should have preserved a rigid discipline in his house, that he should have made it a rule never to accept presents from his pupils, argues that he was a man above the rest of his profession; and that Subdopody's school was crowded to excess, argues that the neighbours in general appreciated him according to his deserts.

Ram Kisto Chatterjya never distinguished himself at school. He was not dull—his greatest enemies could not say that;—but he was idle. He loved mischief more than he loved his books. Subdopody was often angry with him, but he knew how to appease Subdopody's wrath. Soft speeches, and an insinuating manner, made amends for frequent absence and neglect. It is possible his master may have feared him, just a little. His talent for satire had already developed itself, and Subdopody had heard stray couplets against some of the elder boys, who had tyrannized over the young poet. It is possible, we can hardly say probable, when we recollect the tutor's character.

While Ram Kisto was a student, he was attacked with the small-pox. Vaccination was then unknown, and inoculation was not common. Many of the Hindu families had religious prejudices against it. The Mai Satola might be annoyed with those who thought her grace insufficient, and put faith in science. She might wreak her vengeance on such as would not wait for her help! To inoculate one's children, might possibly be construed by her as an act of treason against her authority. Nursing Chatterjya, much as he had travelled, seen and read, shared in these superstitions. He had not inoculated his child. The result was, that Mai Satola came down upon the little fellow in a manner which made his life, for a long time, doubtful, and which ended in the loss of one of his eyes. A long time after he had quite recovered from the attack, Ram Kisto remained weak as an infant, and his face for ever lost its beauty, though it continued to be lit up by the soul within him.

Many are the anecdotes told of Ram Kisto's boyhood. It would be tedious and profitless to give them all. He was always good-humoured, frank, and troublesome. When a mango-tape was to be robbed, Ram Kisto was the leader; when a chowkidar was to be thrashed, he headed the combatants; when a trick was to be played on an honest neighbour, he was

of course the inventor of, and the arch-mover in it. His father used occasionally to come to Calcutta on business, and Ram Kisto sometimes accompanied him. They lodged generally at the house of a rich man in Rambagaun. During one of these visits, Ram Kisto was seen on the summit of a very high nim-tree, to the great apprehension of their worthy host, exclaiming, "If I choose to fall down from this lofty branch and die, who can prevent me?" and swaying the little twig as violently as if he intended suiting the action to the word. The promise of a large sum of money to buy strings and flying kites, of which he was always fond, made him come down from his perch, and averted from the house and family in which he lived the great and grievous sin, which, in the respectable owner's opinion, would have attached to them, had a Brahman lad met with a sudden and violent death on the premises. Though Nursing Chatterjya loved his son much, he could not but feel, from the frequent recurrence of such freaks, that Ram Kisto was sometimes very mischievous and troublesome. Returning home one day, from a visit, in the company of a friend, Nursing observed a little chap seated on the top of a large *rath*, gaily decked with red flags. "Look there," said he, with a delighted look; "ye say that Ram Kisto is a troublesome, mischievous fellow; there is a monkey on the top of that car, who beats him hollow."—"Dear me! what a wicked boy!" said the sympathizing friend, "he is dancing on that slight and frail wooden cornice; I fear he will fall down and break his neck in a few minutes." On approaching, sure enough, there was Ram Kisto Chatterjya himself, dancing on the top of Jagannath's chariot, just as Bob Clive had danced on the spout of the church-steeple in Shropshire. The indignation of Nursing Chatterjya may more easily be conceived than described. Clive's father's anger was nothing to it. A violent box on the ear was Ram Kisto's reward on the spot. He never dared to mount over Jagannath's head again—in the presence of his father. Another wicked freak, for which Ram Kisto received summary chastisement, consisted in his shutting the door of his little apartment, and pretending to be asleep, for two whole days and nights together. Great was the alarm amongst his family and friends. "He must have been bitten by a serpent," said a good natured neighbour, "during the night;" "or taken opium," said a second; "or wine," suggested a third; "break open the door," ordered a fourth; while a fifth called him by name, with the voice of a Stentor. The wretched father went raving about for hatchets, to effect an entrance, and the mother gazed in speechless agony through a small window, upon the still and apparently lifeless corpse of her son. At last, an old individual,

whom Ram Kisto had often annoyed with his practical jokes, suggested that a long bambu stick, with a hook at the end of it, should be introduced through the window, and inserted in the ringlets of his dark hair, and then pulled from outside, a process which would be sure to wake him if living. The advice was taken, and was followed by a most satisfactory result. Ram Kisto started up as if from sleep, to receive a maternal caress and a paternal blow. But the best of his pranks was probably that which he played upon Babu Utum Chand, a wealthy up-country zemindar and merchant, who resided at Culna. Utum Chand feasted fifty Brahmans in a princely manner every day before he took his own meal. Fruits, sweetmeats, all sorts of dainties, that love or money could procure, he procured for the fat priests, and his name accordingly was renowned through all the land for piety and hospitality. It may well be believed, that Ram Kisto, who lived at Santipur, on the opposite bank of the river, was a constant guest at these noble entertainments. He came in and smuggled himself under various names, once almost every week. It was impossible to recognize him through his numerous disguises, and even if it had been discovered that he had come in several times, his punishment would not have been severe, for he was descended from Brahmans of the highest order. One day, Ram Kisto crossed over to the house of Babu Utum Chand, in a new dress which had been given him by his father. He had a pair of new shoes on his feet, thoughtless fellow! The house in which the Babu welcomed his guests was the outer court of a Hindu temple. Nobody was permitted to enter it with his shoes on his feet, for it was considered sacred ground. What was to be done? If he left his shoes outside, they were sure to be stolen. Beggars thronged at the gateway. If he attempted to pass in with them, the keeper at the door would forbid him entrance. "Thakurji, 'take off thy shoes,' he would say, unconsciously quoting the emphatic language of Scripture, "for this is holy ground." A remedy at last suggested itself to his fertile mind. He would wrap the shoes in his (*gumcha*) handkerchief, and carry them along with him. When Ram Kisto squatted down to eat amidst forty-nine other Brahmans, he laid the precious *gumcha* at his side. Our readers need hardly be told, that it is considered a grievous pollution and sin among Hindus, to touch any unholy substance like leather, while in the enjoyment of a repast, and that all the fifty Brahmans would have lost caste, and Ram Kisto himself been severely beaten—perhaps murdered—if it had been known that he had brought shoes into that sacred eating place.

Ram Kisto therefore kept his secret. According to his want, Utum Chand himself came in to see the reverend men transfer the various delightful viands from the plantain leaves, on which they were nicely arranged, to their enormous paunches. "Hallo, here are no apples on this leaf! and no mangoes on this; give our venerable Thakurji here some more thick milk, and this other some more curds."—Such were his expressions as he passed rapidly along the line of Brahmans.—"Good sir, you have not eaten any sweetmeats; honor my poor self by eating what has been placed before you, and calling for some more."—"What would you have, my master? you are lying on your oars, your lips and fingers are not busy. Surely you have eaten very little."—"And you, sir, you have no *kuchuri* on your leaf. Some more *kuchuri*, ho." At last he came to Ram Kisto's seat—"Youngster, why do you sit with these elderly men—you ought to sit separate in some other place, you cannot eat as much as they; why, your leaf is as full still as if you intended to observe a fast. What is that in your *gumcha*? Why do you attempt to conceal it?" Ram Kisto was not flurried. Not a whit. He was ready with an answer—"Maha Raja, it is the Bhagabat Gita."—"Bhagabat Gita! Do you read the Bhagabat Gita? Good lad! Good lad! I never saw a boy more intelligent. Here, Ram-kanai, look at this little fellow; he reads the Bhagabat Gita. Did you ever see one so young read that blessed book? Kishenji give you length of days, my child! More sweetmeats here, ho—sweetmeats for the pious boy here—not for that man, you fool. And, youngster, see me in my audience hall before you leave the premises. Don't permit him, Gopal, to go away, before he has seen me." And the host passed on. Ram Kisto could not gulp another mouthful. He thought Utum Chand Babu had shrewdly conjectured the contents of his handkerchief, and wanted *privately* to punish him, lest the Brahmans should all lose caste. When he again confronted the zemindar, he was in a tremor. But there was no cause for apprehension. The rich man had no suspicions. He would not even ask his guest to read a chapter of the Bhagabat. He gave him sixteen rupees on the spot for his intelligence and piety, and dismissed him. Ram Kisto went home, it may be imagined, chuckling with pleasure, at the success which had attended his trick. Our readers will no doubt consider these freaks sufficient to give them an idea of the boy, who, though very naughty and troublesome, was not much hampered, even at this early age, with the prejudices of his countrymen. At all events, we have not enough of the spirit of Boswell in us, to narrate more. A future orientalist may, if he chooses,

describe how little Ram Kisto, when his school-master asked him how much twenty plantains would cost at 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ pysa for seven, enquired whether the plantains were green or ripe; and how he placed cock-roaches in the spice box of his father, and how severely he was beaten for it. We have not leisure for the task.

We do not know where Ram Kisto picked up his Persian and bad English. It could not have been in the Sanscrit school, where he was placed, for no one there knew these foreign tongues. Possibly, he may have fallen in with missionaries, and learnt a little English from them. He did not do much credit to their tuition, however:—"Did you *saw*," and such like phrases, were great favorites with him all his life. We conjecture also, he must have taken some pains to learn Persian, as a knowledge of that language was, in those days, indispensable to such as aspired to Government employ. The proceedings of all the courts were written in the language of the former rulers of the soil. When Ram Kisto had completed his course of studies, he came down to Calcutta. He mixed with all classes of society, and was the gayest of the gay. Though his father's religious prejudices would not permit him to live at the house of one inferior in caste, he was a frequent visitor at the houses of the richest Sudras. The fathers of some of the greatest natives now living, of Ashootoss Dé, Raja Kali Krishen, Raja Radha Kant, and Russomoy Dutt, received him with the distinction which his descent and talents deserved. He was loaded with presents wherever he went, and his prejudices would permit him to receive them. He had no cares. A butterfly in a garden could not be more smart, inconstant, or happy.

It has been remarked by the author of Selwyn's life, that "no task can be more disappointing in its result, than that of collecting the scattered bon-mots of a man of professed wit, with a view to prove that his reputation is well deserved." We never felt the justice of the observation more keenly, than in attempting to collect Ram Kisto's witty sayings, at this period of his life. In the case of Selwyn, Mr. Jesse complained, that many of the best sayings of the wit "had probably been lost," and that others had perhaps suffered in the narration, and that in all, "the charm of manner, which must have greatly enhanced their value at the moment they were uttered, could of course be taken by Mr. Jesse's generation only on credit." In the case of Ram Kisto Chatterjya, we have not only to complain of these things, but of much more. If Selwyn's witticisms, uttered before men who regularly took notes of all they saw or heard, have

been lost, it cannot be expected that Ram Kisto Chatterjya's, uttered before men, most of whom hardly knew to read and write, should be preserved. If the point of Selwyn's jokes should have been blunted in narration, when such men as Lord March, Fox, or Walpole were the narrators, it cannot be expected that the point of Ram Kisto Chatterjya's should remain as sharp, as when first launched from his tongue, when we remember the hands—Ramtonu, Harihar, Bissessur, through which they have been transmitted to us. If Selwyn's inimitable manner can only be taken on credit, Ram Kisto's can hardly be taken even on that; for while we have good descriptions of the former, we have scarcely even had ones of the latter. The worst of all, is, Ram Kisto's jokes were uttered in a society, the constitution of which is utterly unknown to most of our readers, and in what is to them a foreign tongue. Now it is of the nature of all wit in some degree, and of that species of wit, which is embodied in jests more particularly, that it cannot bear transplantation. It would almost be as absurd to endeavour to translate most of Ram Kisto's jokes, as to endeavour to remove a large mango or tamarind-tree from India to England. The translation can be made, as well as the tree removed, but the wit of the joke will be lost in the process, as well as the greenness and beauty of the tree. There will be no life in either. What for instance would our readers make of such a joke as the following?

Ram Kisto was one day walking with a very rich friend on the terrace of his house. It was a very lofty house, and the prospect from the terrace was exceedingly beautiful. The huts, the trees, the hedgerows, the very river with its picturesque sweep below, appeared perfectly diminutive—

“A miniature scene—a fairy show.”

As it was late, the cattle were returning from the pastures. “The white and red cows resemble for all the world, our edible Chira and Murki,” said Ram Kisto to the friend at his side, who roared with laughter. None of our readers, we are sure, will be able to explain why Ram Kisto's friend laughed, or in what the point of the observation lies. It would, therefore, be little better than useless to attempt to give our readers specimens of Ram Kisto Chatterjya's wit. They will not probably see any thing humorous in them. Nevertheless, as we are on the subject, we shall attempt to describe some of the principal subjects, on which Ram Kisto was in the practice of discharging his missiles.

The Mofussil courts of justice were a perpetual butt and a perpetual source of merriment to him. He loved to relate

how his tutor, Subdopody Bhuttacharjya, had been taken to the court of the magistrate, and placed in prison; because thieves had broken into the old man's house; how the magistrate *at last* was made to understand that Subdopody was not the culprit, but the individual who had suffered the wrong; how the magistrate asked him whether he suspected any one as the offender, and how he answered he had no ground for *suspecting* any one; how the magistrate then enquired whether he ~~had~~ recently received any one into his house as a guest, and how his love of truth had compelled Subdopody to answer he had received one man, his son-in-law, and finally, how that innocent son-in-law was dragged, thana by thana, to answer the charge of theft, which nobody had made against him. He loved to relate how the new judge of the district had asked what a *gye* was, and persisted in understanding the word to mean *byal*, until the sheristadar was obliged to explain that there was a collector sahib, and that the collector sahib had a *mem*, and that the *gye* stood in the same relation to the *byal*, as the *mem* to the saheb. He loved to relate how the old judge had given a decree in a case between two sisters of the names of Jugudumba and Burmomoyi, under the impression that it was a case between a husband and a wife. He loved to relate how *pugla* Jones saheb always held cutchery under the shade of the banian, instead of the large and *pukka* court the Government had built for him, and how he never permitted his establishment to wear turbans and shoes. He loved to relate how *shikari* Harrington had a chariot drawn by toothless tigers, like the chariot of Cybele; and how every morning he made these toothless tigers drink water from the same pan as the kine of his household. He loved to relate how the veteran collector, Snooks, to cure a horse of impatience, when he heard a foot on the step of the buggy, and at the same time reduce the amount of business in the office, "regularly placed the vehicle across the kachari door and accepted petitions from those only who had passed through it." He loved to relate how the facetious assistant, Brown, "had the Naib Nazir, Hurri Ram, always weighed on pay-day, and told him if he exceeded 7st. 6lbs., to come for his *tulub* when he had reduced himself to the calibre suited to a good second spear!"—and how the humorous assistant got on, because the fact was reported to a sudder judge, who loved a joke.* All this, and much more, he loved to relate to delighted audiences, and we think, no

* The reader, if incredulous, is referred to page 152 of Mr. Ricketts's very admirable and useful book—*The Assistant's Kachari Companion and Guide to the Revenue Regulations*, in which he will find that Ram Kisto's jokes were not always built on imaginary foundations.

satire could be published against the Company's courts more bitter than Ram Kisto's anecdotes would be, if collected together.

The vanity and the eccentricity of Ram Kisto's neighbours afforded him even greater opportunities for the exercise of his humour than the Mofussil courts. He was constantly at them. There was one man of the name of Tarachand Nayabagis, who was in the habit of abusing all whom he visited, in their presence. Ram Kisto never met this man in company without drawing him out. "What a plain spoken man is our good Nayabagis Mahasai" he would say, in his quiet demure manner; "he fears no one; he speaks truth in the presence of every body." And away would rattle the flattered Nayabagis, grossly abusing all the parties present, to their great amusement, and sometimes to their anger. There was another man of the name of Kirtibas, who pretended to be very pious and holy, and who frequently declared that there was no Hindu boy that revered the religion of his fathers like his own son. It was Ram Kisto's delight to mortify this fellow, as often as he could, by proving to him that his son was a heretic and renegade. Once, he had the son invited into the house of an oil-merchant, a man of low caste, but supposed to be immensely rich; and to quiet the scruples of the youth, said he would be one of the guests himself. He came to the house as punctually as Kirtibas's son, but while the latter sat down to the meal, Ram Kisto made some excuse and went away, not to avoid eating, that would have been good enough, but to return with Kirtibas himself. The horror of the father at beholding his pious son, eating publicly in the house of a man of low caste, and the terror of the son at beholding his venerated parent, at the scene of his disgrace, cannot be adequately described by any one but Ram Kisto himself. There was a third neighbour, who was a great simpleton, and whom Ram Kisto delighted to regale with wild and improbable stories, which he would gulp down with avidity, and relate to others with a grave countenance. Once Ram Kisto told this neighbour, that the English, naturally brave, were timid as hares, whenever they had to cross the great Ganges. "The sight of the glorious river," he said, "so stormy and expansive, makes their hearts quail. Whenever they reach the middle of the river, they fall flat on their faces in the boats, and worship it like the Hindus. And they whirl their hats round their heads crying—*Puddaji ki joy—Puddaji ki joy!* (Glory, glory to the great Ganges!) when they reach the opposite bank in safety." Like a kind friend, he made his neighbour relate all this farrago of nonsense in public; and when the auditors laughed at the story, and the simpleton appealed to his in-

formant to confirm it, Ram Kisto, of course, stoutly denied having any knowledge on the subject whatsoever. It was this simpleton he brought with him to Calcutta, on the occasion of his penultimate visit. Joygopaul had often expressed a great anxiety to see the capital, and Ram Kisto considering his curiosity laudable, at last gratified it. As they passed through the crowded streets, arm in arm, for Ram Kisto thought he would otherwise inevitably lose his friend, a buggy dashed past, with two big, bearded and moustachioed military officers in it. "Brother Ram Kisto, which is the lady and which the gentleman in that gig?" asked Joygopaul. He had heard it was the custom amongst Englishmen in Calcutta to go out together with their wives in public. "They are both gentlemen. Don't you see they have both beards and moustaches?"—"Now, don't quiz me, good brother, because I am a poor villager, and never visited Calcutta before. Didn't you tell me, yourself, that English ladies had not a spark of modesty in them, and came out in the streets without so much as a veil, in the same buggies with their husbands? Do tell me which is the wife, like a good man." Ram Kisto treasured up the hint, and made good use of his friend's importunity in one of his masterly satires.

The popular superstitions of the day afforded Ram Kisto a good field for the display of his humour. No man in the world had such lots of amusing ghost stories. We regret that our space will not permit us to present some of his charming narratives to the reader. The stories themselves are not very long, but we fear they cannot be made intelligible, without long explanations. It would be necessary to induct the reader into the entire system of Bengali superstition, to enable him to appreciate Ram Kisto's stories with a proper zest. When a man does not even know, that a dead Mussulman becomes a *mamdo*, that a dead Sudra becomes a *bhut*, that a dead Brahman becomes (oh! name of terror, to the ears of Hindu children!) a *brahma-dotti*, that a dead warrior becomes a *kondokatta*, that a dead cow becomes a *gomukho*, when a man requires to be told that the *brahma-dotti* always prefers to live on champagne-trees, that he carries a brass pitcher, and has wooden sandals on his feet; that the *kondokatta* goes along the streets and plains, clasp- ing and closing its arms frantically for prey, and drinking the blood of those who fall in its clutches; that the *gomukho* cannot enter into a bed-room, and cannot harm infants;—when a man is absolutely unconscious that there are female devils as well as male,—*shuckchunnis* in the purest white, with heads that touch the ceiling, and *petnis*, dirty and foul as their crimes, and immoderately fond of fish; when he does not know, or knowing,

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does not believe, that there are mighty charms, by which not only these departed spirits can be subdued, but made the ministers of our purposes:—when a man, we repeat, is so utterly ignorant, what is the good of telling him stories, in which the devils we have named, and hundreds of others we have not leisure to name, play the most prominent characters. He will not understand such stories, or if he does understand them partially, he will only think them absurd. He will be blind to the humour that pervades them. What is the use of telling him the stories then, when we cannot make room for the explanations which should accompany them, in order that they may be properly appreciated?

The eternal quarrels between the rival sects of the Vaishnavas and the Shaktus, furnished another abundant subject for Ram Kisto's talents. There is scarcely any assembly among the Hindus, in which violent partisans of either sect are not to be found. It was Ram Kisto's practice, with ingenious stories, to set these partisans at loggerheads. He delighted to set a follower of Chaytanya and Krishna against a follower of *Kali Mai*, and watch the result. The treat was as good to him as a *combat des animaux*. The same reasons, which influenced us in keeping back the amusing ghost stories, preclude us from dilating on these scenes. Our readers would not understand in what their wit consists, and in what manner they were instrumental in exciting the feelings of the Vaishnavas and Shaktus. They would consider them dull, if not inexplicable.

It would scarce be just, however, to omit *all* Ram Kisto's jokes from our present paper. Some of them are so short, that they may be repeated in a very small compass. Would it not be as well to give a specimen or two of such? In the course of a few years more, they may all utterly vanish. We believe the anecdotes have never been in print, even in Bengali jest-books.

"Well, Ram Kisto," said a fastidious and rich Bengali Babu, "you are a great wag, but pray tell me how, as a Hindu, and the son of a very pious Hindu, you managed to eat your dinner at Babu Utum Chaud's, when you had the shoes in your cloth?"

"My good sir, leather is not unclean! It is not the external, but the internal impurity that defileth the man."

"Fie! fie! how can you, as a Brahman, talk in that strain?" The Babu was taking his evening meal, as he spoke, from a plate, and cups of silver. "I never could swallow a morsel, if I had shoes at my side. My gorge would rise at the bare smell of them. How did you eat, Ram Kisto? How did you eat? It is a perfect mystery to me!"

"Why, sir, even thus."

The Brahman suited the action to the word. He took a large sweetmeat from the Babu's plate, put it into his mouth, and swallowed it unceremoniously.

It is needless to add that the Babu was horrified beyond measure. He thought fourteen generations of his ancestors would be consigned to the lowest depths of the Hindu inferno, for the sin he had unconsciously committed, in permitting a Brahman to eat from his plate, after he had polluted it with his low-caste touch, and believed devoutly that he would share their fatal fate when he died. He spent some thousands to atone for his guilt, and, if possible, avert the calamity from his head. We may rest assured, Ram Kisto Chatterjya did not come empty-handed when the thousands were spent.

"The times are wofully changed," said another wealthy Babu, to Ram Kisto, in the course of conversation. "In the golden age, the Sudra had but to bow reverentially to a Brahman to be saved for ever. The fire in the Brahman's hand used to consume all his sins, as he stretched it forth to return the salutation. Where is that holy fire at the present day? What Brahman has got it?"—"Every Brahman that comes to you," replied Ram Kisto, naively: "does not your whole body burn with anger at the sight of the lazy beggars with the sacred threads, that throng your door for alms? And how can it burn, unless they have the fire of which you speak?"

Some natives are habitually most unfortunate in their compliments. Dwarkanauth Tagore may be cited as an instance. "How do you like our religion?" asked the Pope, of our friend, when he had seen mass at St. Peter's—"Very much, indeed, sir—it is so like my own." "Who is the best speaker in the house?" asked one of Sir Robert Peel's friends, when one night Dwarkanauth returned in high spirits from his seat in the gallery.—"That is not a difficult question," answered our friend; "Lord John Russell is a very good speaker, I was charmed with his eloquence; and Stanley is better still; but when Peel rose, I thought his speech would never end," meaning, of course, that Peel eclipsed them both. Ram Kisto Chatterjya was not of this ill-fated class. His compliments were choice and delicate in the extreme. If his satires could lacerate, his eulogies could heal. He had the arrows to wound, and the salve to cure, equally at his command. We are sorry to add, that none of his compliments are capable of translation.

We have already said, that Ram Kisto was a rare mimic; indeed, he quite equalled Theodore Hook in this respect. He had "fifty different faces, and twice as many voices," when he chose to indulge in the propensity. He once visited a private theatre,

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in Calcutta, in the company of a friend. When he returned, he gratified his circle of acquaintances with imitations of all the actors. Nothing could be more ridiculous than his Macbeth. Those that saw it, will remember it to their dying day. The grimaces, the hard breathings, the convulsive snatches at the air-drawn dagger, were all in the highest style of the burlesque. If the gentleman, who performed the part, had seen Ram Kisto's imitation of it, we fear he would have been inclined to stab him in a rage. It is said that Theodore Hook made but a dull companion at breakfast, and that he could only exercise his extraordinary powers of amusement after dinner. The bright light of the candles, and the continual bouncing of champagne corks, were the sources of his inspiration. He could not be all himself without them. The visitors at the humble house of Mr. Charles Lamb, or the gorgeously decorated mansion of Rogers, remember the contrast between the quiet man of the morning and the noisy one of the evening, when he made extempore poems on all the company round, full of puns and sarcasms, and what not ! There must have been something congenial in the natures of Hook and Ram Kisto Chatterjya; for the latter, like the former, seldom shone except in the evening, though he never had recourse to the bottle to sharpen his intellects. Individuals anxious to see Ram Kisto Chatterjya in his glory, seldom invited him to morning parties. They knew, as well as Hook's admirers, that he reserved all his brilliancy for the evenings.

Like all Hindus, Ram Kisto was married when a child, and before he understood the responsibilities of the tie. Nursing Chatterjya chose a bride for him. She was dark, and her face and her figure were not very beautiful; but she was descended from a long and illustrious family of Kulins. Ram Kisto loved her much, and she—but it is needless to add a word about her—what Hindu lady does not love her husband? It is currently rumoured, that Ram Kisto's wife shared his wit, and delighted the inner apartments of Hindu houses, as much as Ram Kisto the outer; but on this subject we have not positive information. The couple had three daughters, but no sons. One of the daughters, we were told sometime ago, still lives.

While Ram Kisto dandled his little girls at Santipur, or mixed with the most fashionable circles in Calcutta, he was not wholly blind to his own interests, or insensible to the glory of leaving a name to posterity, which should be looked upon with equal respect and love. He wrote at intervals. We believe his productions have never been collected together. Such a collection is very desirable. A native that would make it, would confer a service on his country.

His satires he wrote with great ease and celerity; he never took any pains with them; but his songs he elaborated with care, and polished and re-polished, until they glittered like diamonds. Every body that has seen specimens of both satires and songs, would know as much, without being told. There is a dash of playfulness in the former, which would be utterly destroyed by careful revision, and a gentle grace and elegance in the latter, which no amount of talent could have attained without labor. We have heard that the satires were sometimes written off hand. Were we asked to the compositions of what English poet they bear the closest resemblance, we would answer Churchill. They have not the perpetual loftiness of Dryden, nor the smoothness and conciseness of Pope, but they have the rapid flow, the vigour, and, we fear, the bitterness of Churchill. There is no effort apparent about them. We cannot give the reader any specimens of the satires, because the sons of many of those, who were ridiculed, are living, and we have neither the right, nor the will, to give pain to them by the resuscitation of the attacks on their fathers; but any one curious on the subject, may obtain specimens from intelligent native friends. The well known satire, written under the patronage of the Maha Raja Nub Kissen:—

Tore bap betta khaito juto,
Sheke jane lok lokuto,

"Your father, wretch, used to be beaten with shoes, what does he know of society or manners"—may bear a comparison with the Epistle to Hogarth for nerve and spirit. It is a perfect torrent of fierce invective. The manner in which the poet uses his bludgeon is appalling even to by-standers! The more elegant, but scarcely less bitter:—

Luckhi chara gadi khana, chara akta saz,
Cochmaner poshaker modhai, khali akta taz.

"A wretched broken carriage—tattered harness—the coachman's dress a skull cap—and nothing else"—for sly humour may match with the best parts of the Rosciad. As for the popular—

"Tar ma ashai, tar sheora boshai
Bolai O shurbo nashai!"

We hardly know to what to compare it! It is so national and peculiar, and withal so racy; but there is no use in going on thus separately giving the first or best-remembered lines of each satire. The obstacles which lie in our way, and preclude us from making any continuous extracts from the satires, disappear when we come to the songs. These are not

tinctured by any personalities, nor, what is still better, by any grossness. They are quite in advance of the age. No better proof can be given of Ram Kisto's purity of heart, than that living in a circle, most of the members of which had a love for all sensual and perverted pleasures above all things, he was able to write strains that might be sung in the ears of innocent children or bashful women. We were so well pleased with many of the songs, that we marked about a dozen for insertion, but on second thoughts, we came to the conclusion, that it would be best to confine ourselves to three or four. Our translations seemed so indifferent, and, when read along with the original, appeared to convey so inadequate an idea of it, that in justice to Ram Kisto, we could not muster courage to give more, lest our sins should be laid on his shoulders. Here is our first specimen :—

SONG.

Oh ! never look on woman's eyes,
 Their serpent gaze will fascinate,
 And then betray thee : Youth, be wise,
 And fly their lustre ere too late ;
 Or should'st thou linger—loth to part,
 Oh ! never, never trust her heart.

Oh ! never list to woman's voice,
 There's flattery in its every tone,
 To make thy pulses throb—rejoice,
 And leave thee then, to mourn alone.
 But should'st thou, &c.

Oh ! never let thy bosom heave,
 For woman's twin-born blush and smile,
 The glittering smile will oft deceive,
 The blush alas ! as oft beguile ;
 But should'st thou, &c.

However imperfect the translation may be, it will be seen, that the leading idea of the lines is eminently fitted for a song intended to be popular. We have endeavoured to preserve the tone and music of the original, as much as possible, but we cannot say with any success. A better scholar and versifier may turn out something more,—indeed much more approximate ; but we doubt whether any amount of talent will enable a man to produce an exact representation. The English language, we fear, will not admit of it. It is harsh, compared with the flexible Bengali—more fitted to convey large, stupendous, sublime ideas, and less fitted for soft, delicate, gentle thoughts.

RAM KISTO CHATTERJYA.

Our second specimen shall be of a different character.

A SONG TO MAHADEO.

To him, the mighty king of kings,
To him, to him, who rules supreme,
And from the cloud-surrounded throne,
On which he sits unseen, alone,
Bids oceans roll and sunlight stream,
And showers on earth its precious things,
Its fruits and grain crops—let us raise
Our grateful hymn of thanks and praise.

To him, who owns the ice-crowned hills,
Where spring for ever holds her reign,
Where varied buds perpetual blow,
And from their fragrant censers throw
Sweet odours on the air, that fain
Would play the lover with the rills
That dash in music—let us raise
Our grateful hymn of thanks and praise.

To him, whom Vishnu must obey,
Whom star-crowned Brahma must adore,
Who once appeared before their sight,
In all his majesty and might,
A pillar in the days of yore,
So huge, so vast, together they
With fear shrunk from it—let us raise
Our grateful hymn of thanks and praise.

To him, from whose resplendent brow
The sacred Ganga laughing springs,
And glides through earth by rock and tower,
That o'er its waters darkly lour,
And groves that spread their verdant wings,
Stretching each creeper clasped bough,
To view its image—let us raise
Our grateful hymn of thanks and praise.

To him, upon whose forehead gleams
The moon's white bark, whose curving throat
The sculptor's lofty art defies,
Whose melting love-illuminated eyes,
His grace-abounding heart denote,
And won by their attractive beams
His bright-haired Uma—let us raise
Our grateful hymn of thanks and praise.

To him, not beautiful alone,
But girt with terrors—him, whose hair
With fiery snakes is bound, that dart
Their glances to the gazer's heart,
And rear their horrid crests in air,
Roused by the viol's sprightly tone
From sleep lethargic—let us raise
Our grateful hymn of thanks and praise.

To him, the furious—him, who rules
 O'er demons that no tongue may name,
 Whose neck a grisly garland bears
 Composed of human heads; who wears
 Destruction's sword of darting flame,
 And quaffs his drink from empty skulls,
 And speaks in thunder—let us raise
 Our grateful hymn of thanks and praise.

There is much more of it, but perhaps thus much will suffice. The reader, versed in Hindu mythology, will hardly require to be told that the poet has availed himself of the various names of the god Shiva in his song or hymn, and used them as pegs whereon to suspend his floral wreaths,—that *Ugur*, one of Shiva's names, means furious—that *Chundru Shekuru*, another, means one whose forehead is adorned with a half-moon—that *Shrikan-tu*, a third, means one whose throat is beautiful—that *Kupalubhrit*, a fourth, means one whose alms-dish is a skull—that *Gunga Dhuru*, a fifth, means one who caught the goddess Gunga in his hair, and so on.*

Our third and last specimen shall be another

SONG.

Oh! worse the lot than his, whose fate
 Compels him far abroad to roam,
 Of one, whose hearth is desolate,
 Who dwells in solitude at home;
 No gentle wife his cares beguiling,
 No graceful children round him smiling,
 No smiling babe upon his knee;
 A heart which vacant thrones displayeth,
 Where Love with Gladness never playeth,
 Where not a gleam of sunshine strayeth,
 But evil passions wandering free,
 Impel to sigh for others' treasures,
 And scowling look on others' pleasures,
 And curse his own sad destiny.

Though Honor, Wealth, and Fame may bless,
 And crown him o'er and o'er again,
 He cannot taste of happiness,
 Alone upon a barren plain;
 No creeper to his rough bark clinging,
 No tender shoots around him springing,
 A leafless, seared, and blighted tree!
 And if in mart or street he greeteth,
 The children whom, by chance, he meeteth,
 It is with aching heart that beateth,
 With feelings of strange agony;
 Their smiles, their joyful looks, remind him,
 That he has nought on earth to bind him,
 And tears flow forth unconsciously.

* See Ward on the Hindus for other names.

In the latter part of his life, Ram Kisto Chatterjya shared the lot to which poets in every age, (except in our present iron one, when all things seem to run out of the usual order,) appear to have been doomed. He became poor, and somewhat dependent on his friends and admirers. Always of a generous disposition, he had wasted the greatest part of the property which his father had left him, ere he had past the prime of life; but there would have been still enough left to maintain him and his, in comfort, nay even in affluence, through life, if he had not imprudently lent a very large sum to a man whom he had known from youth. It was the old story. The trusted friend proved a rogue, and made himself scarce. Ram Kisto never recovered a pice of what he lent, and was thrown on the resources and the bounty of such, as knew the stuff of which he was made, and chose to open their purses to him in his evil days.

It was to be expected, that he should be thus thrown on the generosity of others after he had spent his own fortune. The good days of Bengali literature had not arrived then, nor have they arrived yet. Vernacular authors, that would not starve, must seek patrons; the public cannot feed them. Years ago, it was the same thing in England, and to a certain extent it is so still, although the advance of civilization has materially changed the aspect of affairs there. In time it may do as much or more in Bengal. The diffusion of a taste for the pure pleasures of literature, among all sorts of the population, may save our poets of a future day from the degradation of cringing to the great for money. When the mass of the population shall have learnt to read and write, and shall be placed in circumstances, in which they may be able to afford the gratification of buying books, Bengali poets and authors will become perfectly independent of patrons and other adventitious aids—but not before. Now they must struggle on with the help of rich men, and Vernacular Societies, and the like, as best they may. The hackneyed lines—

“ Alas ! what ills the author's life assail !
Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail ! ”

cannot well be applied to the author in England at the present time; but it can, very appropriately, to the author in Bengal. Ram Kisto Chatterjya, in his later life, felt their truth in some measure.

It was in the middle of winter, just eighteen years ago, that Ram Kisto, while living at the house of a friend in Calcutta, had an attack of fever. The disease was mild at first, but was accompanied by an utter prostration of spirits. Ram Kisto felt an

inward presentiment, that it would prove fatal to him. So apparent became his lowness of spirits, that those among whom he lived, determined to send him home without delay. A boat was hired for him, and the boatmen were directed to make all speed with him to Santipur. When they arrived at that place, his disorder had increased. He clasped his wife and children, as they came to him on board, and told them he had no intention of going to his house, as his end was near. He would remain on the banks of the Ganges and die like his forefathers. The waters of the sacred river (oh! the fell power of superstition!) would wash his sins away.

Three days after his arrival, he breathed his last, in the arms of those he most loved, and without any pain.

We have already informed our readers, that Ram Kisto Chatterjya was beautiful as a child, but plain, very plain indeed, as a man. He was short of stature, with dark, curling hair, and a complexion which, though originally fair, had become tanned by time, weather, thought, and perhaps care. The small-pox, which had committed its ravages on his countenance in early youth, left deep and indelible marks upon it, and the eye which it had injured never regained its power. Yet, plain as he was, there was something in his face more attractive than the freshest faces of common men. It was characterized and made peculiar, by an air of the utmost ingenuousness, and it glowed with the light that burnt within. No man of genius, sensibility, or heart, ever had a wholly repulsive aspect.

We have not leisure to depict Ram Kisto's character minutely. We leave the future Boswells and Lockharts of Bengal, to narrate that he was immoderately fond of mango-fish and tobacco; the future Gleigs to praise that immoderate fondness; the future Macaulays luminously and vehemently to point out the absurdity of that praise; and the future Carlyles to philosophise, in half-intelligible language, on the fondness, the praise, and the absurdity all together; but we cannot conclude our article without a word on its first and most prominent feature—its independence. What a contrast does that independence present to the ostentatious independence of many amongst us now! The rising generation of Hindus will brag and bluster about their independence in the Town Hall, as if they never cared a bit for your judges, your secretaries, and your members of council—but place them in a mixed committee of great and small men, and you will see how constantly they will vote with the former, and how they will overlook, and cry down, and oppose the latter. It is not those who have the semblance of independence that have

always the substance of it. Ram Kisto Chatterjya, never once, in his life, boasted of his independence; we verily believe, he never thought that he was independent, but he never spared the lash when justice required it should fall on the shoulders of the wealthiest and greatest. It is only necessary to allude to his satires, to show how little he feared or cared for the great ones of his time.

The genus, Young Bengal, had not developed itself fully, while Ram Kisto was living amongst us—it was but sprouting up then,—like a mushroom. Yet was it a constant theme for Ram Kisto's sallies. The immoderate love of wine and spirits and cigars, the very doubtful morality, the shawl turbans, and glittering rings and gold chains for the waist—the contempt for every thing belonging to, or produced in the country, and love for every thing foreign—the toad-eating,—the perpetual fawning upon those who have the gift of appointments in their hands—the want of any thing like decent self-respect—the quarrels for precedence—the contempt of their own fathers and mothers and wives, because they are not “educated”—the want of any religion—all this, and a thousand things besides, were endless subjects for Ram Kisto's ridicule. We remember that he once called on a native of the species, who loved nothing so much as to ape the manners of Englishmen. The fellow had a call-bell, as if he could not call his numerous servants (one bearer and one hurkaru!) by name, and when Ram Kisto was conversing with him, he rang it. “Saheb,” cried a servant in a hoarse voice out-side, and ran in with clasped hands. Ram Kisto started from his seat, and made hurriedly for the door. “Do not go,” said his host.—“There is a saheb coming,” said Ram Kisto, in apparent alarm; “I shall see you again.”—“What saheb?”—“Didn't the man announce one just now?”—“He cried Saheb.”—“Oh he merely responded to my call.”—“Did he? I thought you were a babu and not a saheb,” said Ram Kisto, quietly sitting down again. The *saheb* hung his head, and felt the rebuke. Such was Ram Kisto's constant treatment of Young Bengal when he had only partially developed himself, when he had not, as now, attained the summit of his glory, when he was lingering at the very foot of the ladder. What would his treatment have been, if he had seen him as we see him every day! Alas! we require a Ram Kisto now, to satirize and to correct the rising generation.

ART. III.—*Madras Quarterly Missionary Journal. June, 1852.*

THE following are the words of one, concerning whom India may boast herself the first cradle of his world-wide fame, and whose death we now deplore as a national bereavement:—"It has been my lot to live among idolators, among persons of all creeds, and of all religions; but I never knew yet of a single instance, in which public means were not provided sufficient to teach the people the religion of their country. These might be false religions; I know but one true one; but yet means were not wanting to teach those false religions, and I hope that we shall not have done with this subject, until we have found sufficient means for teaching the people of England their duty to their Maker, and their duty to one another, founded on their duty to their Maker; and beside, that we shall be able to teach the word of God to every individual living under the protection of her sacred Majesty." Happy would it be for England and India, were every one of us as wise in pronouncing, and consistent in fulfilling, public and individual duty as he was, whom the nation now has lost; and we trust that these sentiments of the late Duke of Wellington find a warm response in the hearts of many of our legislators, and will secure for them a coronet of glory when the most brilliant earthly honours shall be, like his, of nothing worth. They express the very pith of all we want to advance in this paper, that it is the duty of the people of England, the British Parliament, and the East India Company, each in their sphere, to do what they can to teach—their duty to their Maker, and their duty to one another, founded on their duty to their Maker; to teach the word of God to every individual living under the protection of her sacred Majesty in India.

Let us now ask with what degree of favour these religious principles are likely to be regarded, and what measure of attention the Christian interests of India are likely to receive from the Houses of Parliament. Every secular interest of England will certainly be duly estimated in the House, and provided for;—the cotton goods of Manchester, the silks of Norwich, the cutlery of Sheffield, the jewellery of London, and the merchandise of Liverpool, will each have their defenders in this discussion. Members of corn-law leagues at home will be stout protectionists in their efforts to hinder the ingenious hand of the Hindu from competing with the manufacturers in our English markets, while staunch protectionists will greet the proposal to glut with English manufactures, by means of Government fairs, a country which, to our disgrace, is still unprovided with the steam engine, railways, or even wind or water-mills.

Again, the interests of the Europeans in India will be duly represented. The civil, military, medical services, and merchant interests, will have their advocates; and even the ecclesiastical department will probably have weight enough in the House to constrain the Government to pay another bishop or two, to grant a charter to St. Paul's Cathedral, and strengthen the staff of chaplains; but can we look in the House with equal confidence for advocates in favour of the great Missionary interests of India? These are carried on not only by the Church of England, but by other denominations, as well in England, as in America and the continent, and in their united efforts not less than £187,000 was expended in the year 1850. What we want for India are members who will study the circumstances, and identify themselves with the interests, temporal and eternal, of the 150 millions of the land.

We want advocates for the interests of the East Indian, the Mahomedan, and the Hindu. We want an advocate for the uncovenanted clerks and officials in our public services, by whose toil and talents the affairs of Government are carried on. We want an advocate for the 250,000 native soldiers, who have faithfully served us, and ably helped to place us and keep us where we are. And we want advocates for the collective interests of 150 millions of our fellow-subjects, from whose means the entire revenue of the land is drawn. Let us hope that we shall find many such advocates in the newly assembled Parliament, who may identify themselves with these separate interests. But likewise let them duly estimate the eternal salvation of the millions of the land, for whom they are now about to administer the principles of Christian legislation.

Hitherto the spiritual interests of the natives have attracted but little concern in Parliament, and led to no result, except perhaps some general expression of approval and acknowledgment of duty on the part of the state, which were doomed not to be followed up by any practical results. Should nothing, or next to nothing, be effected for the cause of humanity and Christianity by the terms of the next charter, the Christian philanthropist will not relax his efforts or depress his hope. We are assured of the end for which India has been annexed to Christian Protestant England; and if we have still to proceed without the favour or assistance of the temporal powers, the greater will ultimately be the glory to God. Our hopes, however, from Parliament, under present circumstances, are more promising than they have hitherto been. During the last twenty years, the interest in the propagation of the Gospel has

advanced at home, and considerable outward success has followed the labours of missionary societies abroad, and questions which have been put to the witnesses, whose examination has already been printed, show that some consideration is being bestowed on the cause of religion.

Among the heads under which the inquiries of the committee of Parliament are to be conducted, two immediately affect the present subject:—The 5th, “The measures adopted, and the institutions established and endowed, for the promotion of education in India”—The 7th, “Ecclesiastical provision for the diffusion of Christian spiritual instruction.”

In furtherance of the interests of Christianity in India on the occasion of this enquiry, a conference has been lately formed in London, whose proceedings have been printed in a recent number of the *Madras Quarterly Missionary Journal*. Delegates from the Christian Knowledge Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Church Missionary Society, have associated themselves for the purpose of taking such measures as may seem to them best calculated to promote the efficiency and well-being of the church, and the interests of religion in India, on the occasion of the renewal of powers to the Hon'ble East India Company. The names of the persons forming this conference have been published, and with a few of the officials of those societies, include a list of old Indians, well known for the deep concern they have evinced in the diffusion of Christian truth in India since their return home.

The results of five of the meetings of the conference have been published, and include the following resolutions:—

I. “That any measures that may be taken by these societies, for promoting the designs of this conference, are likely to be more effective, if urged by the three societies severally and independently; but that in order to secure substantial agreement as to the course to be pursued, it is desirable that the representatives of the three societies should, from time to time, confer together.”

II. “That it is advisable (1.) to press for an increase of the episcopate of India. (2.) To represent the necessity of an increased number of chaplains and assistant chaplains, and to ask for grants in aid towards the support of clergymen in the smaller English stations, where there is no chaplain or assistant chaplain. (3.) To recommend the appointment of native sub-assistant chaplains, as already recommended by the Bishop of Calcutta, to minister to Native Christians connected with the Hon'ble Company's service. (4.) To point out the importance of increased means, and an improved system of educa-

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' tion in India, and to call attention to the especial claims of
' the poorer classes of Europeans and East Indians connected
' with the public service."

III. " That the object, for which a yearly sum for educational purposes is set apart by the East Indian Government, is to promote a good general education, to be ascertained on report of their inspectors, among all classes of the inhabitants of India."

IV. " That every school, in which such general instruction is conveyed, as shall reach the standard prescribed by the competent authorities, be entitled to share in the benefit of the Government grant."

V. " That any regulation or usage, which prevents the admission of the holy Scriptures into schools and colleges supported by Government, should be discontinued."

VI. " That the three societies be requested to put themselves into communication with the Board of Control, and with the Directors of the Hon'ble East India Company."

VII. " That a copy of the proceedings of this conference be communicated to the several Indian bishops, with a respectful request that their Lordships will communicate to the conference their remarks on the several points embraced in the resolutions, and any other information, which is calculated to promote the designs of the conference; also, that their lordships will suggest any further measures, which, in their judgment, may properly fall within the functions of the conference."

VIII. " That the conference desires to submit for consideration the importance of using every effort to ameliorate the condition of society in India, and especially of discountenancing such inhuman and demoralizing customs as are unhappily still too prevalent in that country."

While we sincerely congratulate ourselves on the existence and efforts of this conference, we fully concur in the expressions of the first resolution, that any measure, which may be taken by those societies, are likely to be more effective if independently urged by the three; and we place even still more hope upon the individual exertions of those who, whether in the House or out of it, may be led to study and further the Christian interests of India.

This conference, comprising, as it does, some distinguished public servants of the Company, is not likely to err on the side of pressing too severely their late hon'ble masters; and on the other hand we have confidence that the representatives of those religious societies will not compromise the spiritual good of the country, by limiting their wishes to the distinctive views of the

church to which they belong, nor in any degree fall short of the high aims which the occasion invites, and the eternal destinies of the inhabitants of India demand.

We shall now proceed to review some of those subjects which might seem to demand the attention of Parliament, in which the interests of Christianity in India are involved. We shall allude to the matters included in the resolutions of the united conference, and shall perhaps be the means of suggesting other matters for the exercise of their praiseworthy zeal; allowing ourselves more latitude in the choice of topics than could be embraced in the deliberations of a purely missionary body. If our remarks should savour too much of complaint, it is not that we are unmindful of the advantages which have hitherto been enjoyed,—and which shall be acknowledged in their place,—but because the present is the opportunity for enumerating and removing the defects and evils which the past has brought to light.

The first subject of enquiry, which commends itself to our notice, is—

THE ABKARI DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT.—This corresponds with our excise, and the enquiry is demanded whether it be, or not, the source of the great spread of drunkenness in India during the last fifty years. The excessive use of intoxicating liquors is contrary to the religious laws and habits of life, both of the Mohammedan and Hindu. There is no proper Bengali word to express drunkenness, to “eat madness” being the only phrase in use; and the habits of the natives are so free from it, when left to themselves, that in a little village we once lived in for eighteen months, a single man never appeared under the influence of intoxication. In larger towns, where the abkari system operates, drunkenness is almost as common as in England, and is becoming increasingly so; and the prevalence is generally imputed to the working of the present Government abkari. To do justice to this subject would demand an article of itself. We can only most briefly allude to its evils.

In this, as in other branches of Government, the increase of the present revenue is the one end sought by the Company, and, therefore, the great aim of the native subordinates. To effect this end in the abkari department, every stratagem is devised to establish drinking shops in villages, where heretofore there had never been such, and to put impediments in the way of those ceasing to sell who had once commenced. The case has sometimes occurred, that when a respectable man is entrapped into selling spirits, he is led to decamp and forfeit his duty.

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paid in advance, fixtures, and what outstanding debts may be left. Such a case, with many like grievous details, will only be understood by those who are acquainted with the proceedings of native subordinates, endowed with the greatest official powers, and the smallest possible salaries; for whose moral improvement not the slightest care has been taken, or concern shewn, and whose immediate covenanted superintendent is perhaps a hundred miles off, in Calcutta or Dacca. This spread of drunkenness seems the greatest evil, as it is one of the most prominent results of our connexion with India. And it is with thankfulness believed, that many, connected with the Government, who know best the working of the spirit license, are most averse to it.

The abkari system of operation, before the beginning of this century, was not objectionable. An oppressive tax on the toddy-tree, which formed the chief revenue, would have only checked the produce; and it is probable that a return to the old system, and a total suppression of the present abkari system, would, through the remaining habits and feelings of the natives, go far to bring about the happy state of things on this head that existed up to fifty years ago. But it is possible that under present circumstances a remedial measure of Government may be necessary to effect this: and the present evil is so rapidly increasing, and of such a crying character in its temporal effects upon the Hindu constitution, under a tropical sun, and the demoralizing results are such, as to call before all others for the interposition of the state.

II. INHUMAN RITES.—Among the inhuman rites of India, which still cry to God and man for abolition, the one deserving first notice is that of Entrajati, commonly called “Ghât-murder.” This rite enjoins the conveyance of the sick and aged away from their homes, to be exposed on the banks of the Ganges, and, before death, submerged beneath the waters of the sacred stream.

In a former article in this *Review* on the subject, it is calculated that, at the lowest computation, not fewer than a thousand natives per day are offered to this bloody idol. The details of this horrible rite are fully given in the above-mentioned article, the substance of which was supplied by Prize Essays prepared by intelligent natives in Calcutta. The following extracts, which mark the murderous character of the rite, would seem to prove the necessity for Government interference:—
“Moreover,” (proceeds the native essayist) “we turn round and challenge our countrymen to deny the fact, if they can, that in a great majority of cases, far from any wish to be carried

‘ to the river being shewn, an unwillingness is invariably display-
 ‘ ed. How frequently do we witness men, when that dreadful
 ‘ hour comes in which they are for ever to be separated from
 ‘ their much loved family and home, entreating their friends
 ‘ and relations in a most affecting manner to delay the ~~act~~ of
 ‘ their intended purposes for a while.” In another place, ~~he~~ says,
 —“ How often do we witness, with tears in our eyes, the sick,
 ‘ unconscious of the dangerous nature of their disease, talking
 ‘ and conversing with great cheerfulness; but no sooner are the
 ‘ heavy tidings brought to them that they must prepare to go to
 ‘ visit the Ganges, than they, drawing a sigh, turn on the side,
 ‘ and are never seen to speak any more.”

The native Hindu essayists naturally shrink from imputing to their countrymen the crime of murder from malice prepense, or covetousness. But who shall doubt, that a rite which affords such facility for wilful murder is frequently so employed? It has come within our own power to authenticate two such instances.

A gentleman, holding a distinguished position in Calcutta, was informed, some years ago, that the relations of a sick native had taken him to die at the river, though not in dangerous illness, in order to possess themselves of his wealth. He proceeded to the ghât, or burning place, accompanied by a medical practitioner, and, finding the case to be as reported, asked to see the “Will,” which being shown, he tore it, and threw it into the river, whereupon they brought the sick man home, and he was alive for some years after.

The second was given us by a gentleman, who happened to be the head civilian in a district at the time when the raja had been subjected to this rite under peculiarly disgraceful circumstances. This gentleman told us, that he abstained from showing the accustomed marks of respect to his son and successor, and when this young raja called, mentioned that he had so acted to mark his displeasure at the murder of his father. To which the raja replied, that it was not his fault, as he had nothing to do with it. The disgraceful circumstances alluded to, and which were generally believed at the time, were these. The deceased raja, who had gone in some state, when ill, to a sacred place on the Ganges, while walking out in the evening, saw his vast funeral pile erecting, and observed in the presence of others, that they should desist, as he was getting better and would return soon. The servant of the family, whose office it was, placed him in the water that night, and his remains were burnt next morning.

Unlike some other Moloch rites of the Hindus, the ghât murders rest upon weak and comparatively modern authority

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in the shastras. It does not appear that there is any allusion to the custom, whether preceptive, historical, or incidental, in any of the most ancient of these books. Professor Wilson says, in his lectures on the religious practices and opinions of the Hindus:—"The custom of carrying the dying to the banks of the Ganges, or some river considered sacred, has no warrant from antiquity, any more than it has from reason and humanity." And one of the natives before alluded to, attempts, with much learning and ingenuity, to show that the custom has not prevailed for more than 360 years. This period, however, we think far too short.

It is acknowledged that some difficulties are in the way of remedying, by act of the Legislature, an evil of such general prevalence. Still the attention of Government should be turned to so murderous a rite, and it is not improbable, that when attempted, the rite of "Entrajati" will be found to admit of as safe and effectual a remedy as did the sati, infanticide, Gunga Saugor murders, slavery, &c. &c.

The Government are engaged in the suppression of another Moloch rite among the Khond tribes on the southern frontier of Orissa. The "Merriah" sacrifice enjoins the tearing in pieces of a living human victim, as an oblation to the Earth god; and it is to be feared this cruel superstition prevails along the South among the Hill tribes, to an extent not yet realized by us. But this subject has already been discussed in our pages so much in detail, that there is little necessity for us now to recur to it.

Besides these are other cruel abominations, which, though not murderous, should certainly be put down by the strong hand of authority. In Bhowanipore, in the immediate precincts of Calcutta, may be seen, during the Churruck Pujah, a man swung round by the sinews of his back, to afford a barbarous excitement to the people; and the same is to be found in most of the villages of Bengal. We have seen among the palaces of Chauringhi, a procession of scarce clad devotees, each one having a long iron rod passed through his tongue or his cheeks, or having iron plates of fire on his head, or between the pierced wrists. We would not have such abominations banished from Calcutta and allowed elsewhere. The expression of a wish on the part of the Government, or Police magistrate, would effect this, and do the cause of humanity no good; but we mention such things to show, that there is too much indifference to such abominations; and there is still a necessity on the part of Christian England to persevere as much as ever in its humane and holy efforts for India.

To plead toleration on behalf of any of the foregoing inhuman rites were as absurd as to countenance the religious murders of the thug and dacoit, or protect the devotees from being taken up by the police for walking naked in the streets of Calcutta.

III. GOVERNMENT CONNECTION WITH IDOLATRY.—Upon this subject, which has so often called for the just zeal of the Christian community, it is scarce necessary to pause. The subject has been discussed at full length in a recent number of this *Review*, to which reference must be made. We may congratulate ourselves, the Government, and the country, on the efforts which have been made, and the success which have followed those efforts. And we doubt not that no less results will follow the like discussion of other Christian claims and grievances, if conducted by the friends of Christianity in the same persevering spirit in which this controversy has been conducted. We now possess "returns" relative to this question for the years 1847, '49 and '51. It is a great satisfaction to be thus fully informed of the state of the case and extent of the evil; but it is a still greater pleasure to witness throughout these returns and minutes but one spirit displayed, whether in the Home Government or Indian officials. All seem, earnestly and steadily, to persevere in carrying out the determination of the Parliament to separate the English Government from connection with heathen idolatry.

The pilgrim tax was at once resigned. The revenue officers ceased to be responsible for the collection of the rents, the repair of the temples and images, and the supply of the various commodities required for their use.

Still, however, a great deal remains to be done. The work is but half accomplished. The Government are still the managers of lands which afford endowments to heathen temples. Very large sums of money are paid out of the Company's treasury for the support of heathen idolatry and Mohammedan worship, and the patronage of some of these priestly appointments still remains at the disposal of the East India Company. In the Bombay presidency, the Government is concerned in the payment to heathen temples of £70,000 in money or land revenue, and in Madras the amount in money is nearly £80,000 a year, while in Bengal, among others Jagannáth, notwithstanding all that has been said and written against it, still receives out of the Company's treasury £2,333.

We are fully aware, that in continuing to manage the temple lands, the Government mean only to protect the ryots living upon them; and that the money paid is in most cases for value

formerly received. But these reasons will not satisfy Christian England for the permanent continuance of any connection between the Government and idolatry. We would not desire to deprive a heathen temple of any of its property or endowment. We would have every reasonable claim honoured, every just expectation realized ; but we would also insist that, as soon as may be, our Christian Government should wash their hands of any official support of, and connection with, heathen priests and temples. We can be grateful for any step made in this work. We can make allowance for the necessary difficulties, and patiently put up with needful delay ; but we can never cease to protest against the evil, until it shall be impossible to say, with the Deputy Governor of Bengal in 1844, " The temple of Jagannáth is only one of innumerable Hindu temples, the establishment and worship of which are partly maintained by payments from the public treasury."

IV. THE ECCLESIASTICAL DEPARTMENT.—The subject to which we shall next come, the Ecclesiastical Department of Government, is perhaps the most important that we have here to discuss. There is good reason to hope, that justice will be done before Parliament, in the inquiries which shall arise out of this subject. One head of parliamentary enquiry refers exclusively to " the ecclesiastical provision for the diffusion of Christian spiritual instruction," and the united conference make it the subject of their first resolution, in considering the interests of Christianity in the new charter. This is the centre to which we would fix our attention. The Government maintains a Christian ecclesiastical establishment ; we may fairly judge of their estimate of, and interest in, Christianity, by the strength and efficiency of this department ; and all that the Government are likely to do for promoting the spiritual good of the people will be done through this department.

Let us turn our attention to the strength of the ecclesiastical staff in the country, comprising three bishops, thirty-nine chaplains, and seventy-seven assistant chaplains. Every renewal of the charter has brought with it accessions of strength in this department, and there seems now to be a good plea for the unanimous resolution of the Propagation of the Gospel, Christian Knowledge, and Church Missionary Societies, to press for an increase of the Indian episcopate and the staff of chaplains and assistant chaplains.

If the character of the ecclesiastical body in India is to be episcopal at all, and episcopacy be any thing more than a mere name, it is preposterous to expect the oversight and

functions of one man to extend over a clerical establishment stretching from the vale of Cashmere in the north-west, to the island of Singapore in the south-east. The Court of Directors may calculate on not being let off this time with less than two new bishops, for Agra and the Straits.

The metropolitan bishop will press manfully, as he is well able, for these bishoprics, as well as the other necessities of his church; and past success should encourage him. Few bishops, in the history of the church, could say with him, that during the twenty years he has held office, his charge has been relieved by the creation from it of eleven new dioceses. On Bishop Wilson's appointment in 1832, he might have had to carry on correspondence, the only official means in his power, with the following places, which each have now their own diocesan:—Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, Newcastle, Tasmania, Cape Town, New Zealand, and China. It cannot be denied that the strength and extension of the Church of England are largely involved in the increase of the episcopate. The religious progress of India, during the last thirty years, exhibits a marked illustration of this, and not the least use of a bishop in our foreign possessions is, that it concentrates the Christian sympathies of England upon a locality. It is not perhaps too much to say that, were our metropolitan's charge (including a population of one hundred millions, more ready than the Irish to receive scriptural instruction) sub-divided into five divisions, it would get just five times more attention than it now does, from the religious societies and community at home. For the increased usefulness of the episcopal office, it is most desirable, that the nature of a bishop's jurisdiction in India should be legally defined. It is complained by some, that, under the present system, the bishop is powerless, the mere organ of Government or its secretaries, to give ecclesiastical countenance to their acts. By others, on the opposite side, it is averred that no Protestant bishops ever possessed half so great and irresponsible power. The fact is probably between the two. The Government maintains much the same principle in ecclesiastical matters as they did before bishops were appointed, but in practice they rarely find it worth while to thwart or interfere with the bishop in any of his known wishes. Yet, while this power and authority are conferred upon bishops, the usual appeal from such should be secured to the clergy on the spot.

The number of chaplains and assistant chaplains in all India is 115. And in Bengal and the North West Provinces, including the Punjaub, there are twenty chaplains, and of

assistant chaplains forty-two. The inadequacy of this number will be best exhibited by the following circumstances. In the cold season of 1849-50, we visited the following civil stations, which are consecutive on the main stream of the Ganges, between Bhagulpore and Chittagong, viz., Malda, Rampur-Bauleah, Pubna, Furridupur, Burrisaul, Tipperah, and Noacolli. These, with the numerous towns and contiguous indigo and sugar factories, were without one resident chaplain. In one of these places, where seventeen communicated, the Lord's Supper had been but once administered for twenty-two years. The one chaplain of the large civil and military station of Dacca, and the chaplain of the united stations of Murshedabad and Darjeeling, have to leave their posts to perform any occasional duty in the above-named places. We do not believe that this arises from any injudicious disposal of the available ecclesiastical staff, but simply from its scantiness. Another instance may be mentioned. At Rajmahal, we once met the left wing, or four companies of H. M.'s Royal Irish Fusiliers; an epidemic was raging amongst them, which had already reduced the number to little more than 300. Here the writer was called to minister to the sick by day and night for eight days, during which time twenty-six more were buried, and he had then to go on his way, leaving ninety-seven men in hospital, without a minister of any denomination to comfort the dying, or afford to the convalescent that counsel in respect to conduct, and even regimen and habit, which an experienced chaplain might well supply to European soldiers on their first march.

But a more fearful case is presented to us by the fact, that from the time of the departure of Lord Keane to the destruction of the Cabul army, there was not a single chaplain in Affghanistan, to attend to the various spiritual exigencies of that appalling period. The evil of too few clergymen at home is felt and admitted by all; but the miserable consequences of such, in a foreign and heathen land, can scarcely be exaggerated. The above instances,—and others might be supplied,—will sufficiently illustrate this statement.

The staff of the Company's chaplains needs to be largely augmented, to supply the crying spiritual necessities of the civil and military servants of the Company. We want no mere dribblets of one or two a year, made up by a reduction of full chaplaincies to supply salaries for more assistant chaplains; and we think the bishops should reproach themselves for having so quietly allowed an appliance so oppressive to the juniors in the service. What would the army say to having a

hundred of the divisional commands, colonelcies, and majorities reduced, in order to make new ensigns, lieutenants, and captains? Would they congratulate themselves on the multiplication of red coats before the enemy? And yet it was, in a great degree, by the appliance of this principle, that the secretary of the India House was able to report an increase in the number of the chaplains since the last charter. Were the number of chaplains three-fold what it is at present, the proportion to the Company's medical officers would still be as one to three; and who will say that the cure of the immortal is of less moment than that of the mortal part of man? Let the efforts of religious societies and individuals in London be strenuously directed to this point.

Scarcely second to a great increase of chaplains is the best administration of the patronage. At present it is vested in the individual members of the Court of Directors. It seems most advisable that a proportion of this patronage should be administered by the authorities on the spot in India. Were our bishops entrusted with any share of ecclesiastical patronage (as bishops at home are), we might expect the following good to result:—First, a higher standard of character and proficiency in the men would probably be maintained, from the superior concern in the appointments, and ability to select, which the bishop might be expected to possess. Secondly, it would afford the opportunity of employing those who might be found qualified on the spot; and who, if behind their English educated brethren in some respects, might have one chief essential for the ministry in India secured, viz., a knowledge of the language of the country. And, thirdly, were the amount of patronage exercised in India of any extent, it might warrant doubling the number of the clergy, by the creation of the office of curate, an official at present unknown in the country.

Respecting the qualifications of chaplains, so long as the office remains in the gift of the several Directors, their characters and qualifications will bear the stamp of their patrons. A Charles Grant, the Director, will be known by a Martyn, Buchanan, Thomason, or Corrie among the chaplains, and others accordingly. But though we may not be able to affect the character of the men before their arrival in the country, pains should be taken that they should be turned to the best purpose afterwards. The rule enforced on the civil, military and medical professions should be applied to the clerical, viz., a requirement of the knowledge of one of the languages of the country. Wherefore should this not be the case? It is scarcely as much to the interest of the state as it is of the church, that those

Government servants, whose previous training especially qualifies them to excel in study, should, like all the other servants of the Government, be required to pass in the native languages. But it is not a matter of political expediency and sacred duty only, it is a matter of legal obligation, enjoined in a clause of a former charter, which has never been revoked, which runs as follows:—"We do further will and appoint, that all such ministers as shall be sent to reside in India as aforesaid, shall be obliged to learn within one year after their arrival, the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native languages of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the said company, or their agents, in the Protestant religion."

If it be observed that the chaplains have too much to do to learn the languages, the same may be said of any other profession, and the case of one has come within our own notice, who preached in a native language in the tenth month of his residence in the country, having, in the interval, fulfilled the duties of a chaplain. Were a return required by Parliament of the number of chaplains, who minister in a native language, it is to be feared that the total number in the three Presidencies would be small indeed. An acquaintance with the vernacular is undoubtedly the first qualification, after scripture knowledge and godliness of character, in a minister of the Gospel in a heathen land. It was this knowledge of the native languages, ably employed, which called forth the eminent characters of former chaplains; and if a change does not take place on this head, we venture to predict, that the Company's ecclesiastical servants will continue to fall, until they reach the level of the Queen's navy chaplains, before the school-masters' appointments were added to their office. Let us hope, that this matter will attract the attention of our bishops and missionary societies at home, that they may influence the house, to induce the Company to require a knowledge of the language from the chaplains. We shall then see the ecclesiastical service in India not only keep pace with, but outstrip the advancing character of the church at home.

The question of salary in the ecclesiastical service next calls for our notice. Of the two evils,—an excessively paid and an ill-paid ministry,—we undoubtedly think the former the greater. Poverty may foster godliness, call forth the exhibition of self-denial, and secure the sympathy of others. Excess of wealth has nothing to commend it, for

"Gold and Grace they never did agree."

Still we protest against an unfair advantage being taken of our principle, to the injury of the most deserving of the clergy. And we think we see ground for this in the church in India. Young men are being invited out from our universities at home, to minister to Europeans, on salaries only one-fifth, or one-sixth, more than is deemed necessary for an organist in Calcutta. This is not, however, in connexion with Government. We regard church appointments, like those of any other profession, held by men taken from the same grade of society, having similar expenses and liabilities as others; and they should be remunerated for their services accordingly. Let us apply this principle to the ecclesiastical department of the Company's service. The first thing which strikes us, is that the salary of the metropolitan is but one-half, and that of the other bishops a little more than a third, of the salaries of the heads of the civil, military and legal professions, in their respective Presidencies. This must be severely felt at Madras and Bombay; where, upon a third-class grade of salary, they have to maintain themselves and family in the highest circle, to which the Royal patent of office ranks them. They must also take a lead in subscriptions, for which the European society in India is so conspicuous; and are necessitated to maintain hospitality, to the numerous chaplains and missionaries who may visit the Presidency. We really think the increase of the incomes of the bishops of Madras and Bombay should be seriously considered, before the salary of another bishopric is incurred. As to the chaplains' circumstances, it should be said, that since the reduction of the number of full chaplains, in order to provide salaries for additional assistant chaplains, the Company's appointments should be rather called permanent assistant chaplaincies; for by the time one obtains the head of the list of assistant chaplains, the full term of service will probably have been accomplished, and the chaplain be entitled to his pension of about £180 a year, which few, who are out of debt in the country, are likely to decline. And it will be admitted that this reduced pension is not too generous a support for a man of a liberal and expensive education; the best of whose days have been spent in a tropical climate, with, perhaps, a family to maintain. It would probably be found that the salary and allowance of the East India Company's chaplains are not very much better than those of our missionaries, whether in connection with the church, or societies, whose allowances are much the same. The best paid missionaries have not by one-half the chaplain's salary, but these have dwelling-houses provided for them; they are saved all the expense of a position among well-paid Europeans; the medical expenses

of their wives and children are provided; their travelling expenses paid, and above all, the passage to and from England, for themselves and family, so frequently required in consequence of the climate, and a home for their children out of the country, which is absolutely necessary for their preservation. These allowances will probably place the temporal circumstances of both much upon a par, and it will be admitted, that what would be paternal liberality with the narrowed and uncertain means of a religious society, is scarcely so in a Government, who are confessedly liberal pay-masters. The widows' and orphans' pensions in the chaplains' case are not taken into consideration, as these are of their own providing.

We have no personal interest in putting forth these remarks, nor is the question only to be regarded as of personal concern to the chaplain. It undoubtedly presses seriously upon the Company's best interest, by lowering the standard of the clergy in the country; as no one would be likely, from temporal motives, to accept a chaplaincy, who could maintain a family in his profession at home; and missionary motives are not, it is feared, often put forward in connection with these appointments.

But if the Government are to be put to the expense of good salaries, let us have the full benefit of this, in the best men, which the wisest disposal of patronage can provide. Let a high standard of scholarship in language, and ministerial devotedness, be required, and then let the number of bishops and clergy be increased to the full, and we believe the best interests of this country and the Government would be in the highest degree advanced.

V. THE LOCAL CHURCH.—The piety and benevolence of Christianity continually result in efforts to perpetuate its blessings in a locality. As might be expected, from the wealthy Christian community in India, we find everywhere churches built, and sometimes endowments collected and laid by, to secure the continuance of Christian ministrations.

It seems most desirable on the part of Government to foster such efforts when made, and to devise measures for their further increase, to preserve the independence of such undertakings, and to perpetuate the benefits which might result from them. That such religious efforts should remain unnoticed and be allowed to fall into decay, for lack of a fostering hand, would be manifest improvidence, that they should be impeded in their pious aims, or diverted from the purpose for which they were originally designed, would seem something worse.

This idea of a local church is probably a new subject to many

of our readers. But as we proceed, we trust it will commend itself to all, as not only deserving attention, but pregnant with far more good than has yet been seen from it; and for this end demanding assistance where necessary, and deserving always encouragement from the temporal powers. Let us now review what may be presented to us as the material of a local church around us in this country, and suggest what use can be made of such.

In the city of Calcutta alone, by the pious efforts of former inhabitants, the Old or Mission Church was built, endowed, and for many years served by distinguished missionaries, or rather local ministers. And in our own time, St. Paul's Cathedral has been completed at a large cost from the religious community here and at home, and supplied with an abundant endowment fund. Several of the other churches of Calcutta have been, in whole or part, raised by public subscription, and this we believe to be the case generally throughout the country.

The means which might be used in support of a local ministry is our next consideration. Besides the endowments, which a few churches possess, the attendants at most of the churches in Calcutta, served by chaplains, pay a high rate of pew-rent; and there seems no reason why the same method should not be adopted in all. The surplice and cemetery fees might be applied to the same object, and the amount of these will witness, that this may form an important item in a large congregation:—

Surplice fee, for marriage by license.....	32	0
Minister's, for ditto	50	0
Ditto ditto, by Banns	16	0
Baptism, out of hours of Sunday Divine Service	32	0
Interring in Pucka grave	50	0
Ditto brought on shoulders	24	0
Ditto in hearse or coach	32	0
Ditto on shoulders, Coffin ornamented.....	12	0
Ditto, Coffin unornamented	0	0
Clerk, for marriage by license	5	0
Ditto, by Banns	2	0
Chair at St. John's Church	3	0
Chair at the Cathedral	4	0

But besides this existing support, which would go far to maintain a local minister,—where circumstances required, a special subscription might be made, as minister's money, from those who could afford it, or the Government might be induced to grant sums in aid of other funds collected for endowments.

Once more, all existing local provision made for the clerical superintendence of schools, male and female military orphan asylums, European hospitals and gaols, might be directed to the support of a local clergy, instead of being added as perquisites to a chaplain's salary, as we have known such appointments. In fact we would have the Company guarantee, on the terms of their covenant, a sufficient maintenance to those clergymen whom they send out from England, and all fees and funds raised in the country should be appropriated to the further support of religion on the spot.

At present the seven churches in Calcutta, largely attended by persons not servants of Government, are, with one exception, ministered to by Government chaplains; while those few country stations, which have church services, though comprising exclusively Government servants, are mostly ministered to by Missionary clergymen, the Government giving no remuneration for such services. Were the present proposal ever carried out, most of the ten or twelve chaplains now engaged in Calcutta, as well as the others in all large towns, might gradually give way to the supply of locally supported ministers; and be disposed of by the Government in small military cantonments and civil stations, which could not be expected to support their own minister.

As the result of this proposition, we expect not only a large increase of the clergy, but those also we would hope of a superior stamp, and not a few of them raised in the country. They would be men specially selected for their qualifications, as teachers of large, influential, and highly intellectual congregations. They would have a permanent holding in their curé, and not, like the chaplains, be liable to removal from year to year, at the will, or for the convenience, of the Government. The incomes and influence of the clergy would depend on their diligence and success in ministerial work. But above all, such a body of local clergy would make India their home, having no temptation, like the chaplains, to leave the country after seventeen years of residence, at the very time of life when a clergyman begins to exercise most influence, and when, in a foreign country, his experience becomes most valuable. To such a local church as this (until the country admits of more national measures for the church establishment), we must mainly look for the growth and permanence of religion among Europeans and country-born Christians, for the spread of missions among the surrounding heathen, and the gradual relief of private missionary societies at home, from the support of the native church.

VI. GOVERNMENT PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—This is a subject, which, in one shape or another, we have had frequently to bring before our readers, and we are never tired of it, as we are sure our readers interested in India are not either.

It is not, however, the important extent or results of Government efforts in the cause of public instruction, which have called for this frequent notice and deep interest. It is rather the defects in such respects. There is no feature of the question so pressing as the meagre character of these efforts. A Government, which draws a revenue of twenty-six millions a year from a teeming population, spends about £45,000 in its public instruction. Although poverty is the characteristic of the country, such is the love of learning, that while the Government have probably less than 25,000 students in the three Presidencies, the missionaries are teaching 120,000, and the natives themselves, unassisted, afford the first elements of reading and arithmetic to many millions.

Nearly every one in India is able to read, and can understand a bazar account or a zemindar's receipt. Here was a country for public instruction.

But it will be said, that the few whom the Government instruct are from the highest and most influential class of the community, and that the standard of instruction is far higher than that afforded by the missionaries or the people. We admit that the former is the case generally, and the latter to some extent. But this admission we do not allow as a defence of the Government, but as the foundation of our next two complaints. *First*, they are spending the funds of the state upon those who can best afford to educate themselves, and upon those too, who, though they have most influence, it is well known are the last to exercise it. It is not the rich and great that influence a people; they are the last to be moved, and even when moved themselves, they are the slowest to act upon their convictions and set an example to others: every national movement springs from the mass. We see this in Christian history. Heathenism in the mass, too readily admitted into the outward church, debased Christianity into the Heathenism displayed in the middle and dark ages, and too palpable in the church of Rome at the present time. Again, the spread of general instruction among the people, by means of printing, and the translation of the Scripture into the vulgar tongue, was the strength of the Reformation in England, and is still our protection from superstition and infidelity. It is true that one great man in a cause is worth many smaller ones. For aught we know, the whole

Reformation may have depended on the protection which Wickliffe received from the Duke of Lancaster while translating the Bible; and so in India, when a man of good family, who has been brought up in a Government school, joins the Christian ranks, it is like a block from the citadel, which carries with it many a loose stone, and causes perhaps a fissure which shall not be restored. Still the mass of the people are the foundations of the wall, and against them we must plant our battery that the whole may crumble. Let the state help to instruct the poor, and the rich will instruct themselves; let the poor first move, and then, but not till then, the rich will lead them. It will not be said, 'that the trifle which those who receive Government instruction pay themselves should influence the state to afford them instruction; it is such a trifle (but 13 per cent. of the amount spent in Bengal, 2 per cent. in Agra, 7 per cent. in Bombay, and probably less in Madras) as not to deserve to be taken into consideration; and a system of teaching suited to the poor would be so economical, and so extensively resorted to, as probably to be far more productive on a very small fee.

Again, we complain that the standard of instruction is far too high-flown. A familiarity with Dr. Farmer's criticism on Shakespeare, a philosophical discussion of the politics of Modern Europe, and a head knowledge of the second and third year book-work in Cambridge mathematics, is surely no useful education to a Bengali; and yet we do but justice to the students and teachers in saying, that many at the Government schools have attained to this, as reference to quoted examples in this *Review* will show. We acknowledge one good resulting from such a highly intellectual course. It completely unshackles the heathen mind from the slavery of superstition, especially such a subtle and intellectual superstition as Hinduism, which a less erudite mental training would scarcely accomplish. It requires all the advances of modern science to make a Hindu know and feel himself superior to Brahmanism. There is where the Missionary gains greatly by Government education; learning is often their "school-master to bring them to Christ," but this good is certainly not the one sought and avowed by Government, and we are inclined to contend that the present Government instruction effects no other.

The present system has not yet appeared to qualify its students for useful employment in the state. The expectations of these youths are as far above, as their qualifications are below, the plain practical standard required by the heads of Government offices. We knew a youth, who upon passing

through college with distinction, was offered a situation under Government, with the usual salary of twenty rupees; this was not equal to his scholarship at college, and he declined it, not without showing his failings. For three years he remained unemployed, and then applied to the same gentleman for the same situation, obtained it, and has since filled it with such diligence and modesty, that he has been rapidly promoted, as his high talents warranted. It is much to be desired, that many would take timely warning from this very common case. But it is admitted that the heads of Government offices are afraid of employing these youths, even to the extent which their attainments would warrant; and that too many of those who do not find occupation as teachers in the Government schools, spend their time idly, dependent on their zemindar families, agitating the people with political sentiments, the result of their education, but tending by no means to the quiet and wealth of the state.

We have a graver moral charge against Government instruction. We think the system of secular and scientific English instruction, communicated chiefly by heathen teachers, is productive of vast moral evil. We are not so horrified as many are at the infidelity it almost universally begets. This is often, if not always, in a Hindu, an advance from a faith which so enslaves his reason, sense, and will, as almost to deprive him of free agency. And there is much of bold recklessness in his conduct, which is sometimes worse in appearance than in reality. Moral evil does, however, undoubtedly result. Idolatry has its religious sanctions and moral restraints; the very first effect of the Government system is to remove these, substituting nothing in their place. The result is, that in addition to all the vices of their country, many of these young men become notorious in their neighbourhood for haughtiness, discontent, abuse of superiors, drunkenness, and open profligacy, such as the country was not cursed with before.

We next complain, that the system is not adapted to the genius of the people and the circumstances of the country. We found in India an indigénous system of instruction, as universal in its character as is to be found in Germany or Scotland;—public universities, with numerous “moths” or colleges, having from ten to sixty students in each, as deeply read in their classics, sciences, and logic, as those of Europe, and throughout the whole country, the ramifications of the system in large town schools, village, road-side, and hedge “patshallas.” There was a sphere for Government to draw out the national energies, in bringing to light, through

these colleges, the too much despised native productions in ethics, law, logic, astronomy, medicine, surgery, science, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and history. These might have been made to blend with the higher advances of English literature, and by means of printing, with Government superintendence and partial support, Christian enlightenment might have been propagated, in exact proportion to the funds bestowed on such schools. Instead of this, until very lately in the North West Provinces, the whole of the indigenous instruction was neglected and despised, and the European system introduced, robbed, as it professes to be, of its Christianity.

Lastly, it is notorious, that the success which has followed the system, is greatly owing to a lavish expenditure, and the forcing of the Court of Directors, and a few earnest individuals in the country, not the most likely best to estimate the working and effects of native instruction. We have too often spoken in just praise of the unselfish energy of the leaders in this cause, to be accused of disrespect or disparagement, when we aver that most, if not all, the distinguished men, who have done what has been done for Government education, were not members of the Company's services in India. We may go back to Mr. Amos, Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Bethune, and those at present, or within a few months back, at the head of Government education in the three Presidencies, Sir J. Colville, Sir E. Perry, and Mr. Norton: every one of them men, who earned distinction, and trained the ability which has helped on Government instruction, not in an Indian experience, but at the English Bar. No doubt they were supported by some, and not a few, able public servants on the spot; and had the Government support in India been ten-fold what it has been, our objection on principle to the system would remain unmoved; but still we contend that the experience and official positions of the men who have led on this movement are not *prima facie* in its favour, and that at the present time the vast proportion of the public services in the three Presidencies distrust the system. Its great supporters are in Leadenhall Street, and not in India.

But can we say nothing in behalf of the Government education? Yes, indeed, with all its faults, it is the door of hope for India, second only to the direct missionary undertakings. The first step which Government took in national education was the most important measure for the good of India ever taken. It admitted the point of the wedge, which, by the grace of God, shall be driven home. There is no choice now, but either to undo all that has been done, or become directly the chief pro-

pagators of Christianity in India. Government efforts in native education have scattered to the winds the talk so often indulged in of the state not interfering with the principles of the people. They have actually undertaken, whether for good or ill, to train the minds of the young, and those from the most influential class. They must soon give up the boast which has been accustomed to be made, that their schools leave the religion of the students uninterfered with. The natives themselves are awake to this delusion, and acknowledge that the Government schools are quite as effectual as the missionaries' in upsetting the whole fabric of Heathenism. Neither will they be able, we think, to wash their hands of the crime of proselytism. The Bible, it is true, is discarded, and even the attempt has been made to cut out religious chapters and passages from English books, but who will succeed in robbing Shakespeare of his Protestant common sense, Bacon and Locke of their scriptural morality, or Abercrombie of his devout sentiment? Whether willingly or unwillingly, the Government must confess, that it has already accomplished much for the uprooting of Heathenism and spread of Christianity. If this has been intentionally, let the unworthy disguise be no longer maintained; if unwillingly, then we believe they will be constrained against their will to yield themselves to the accomplishment of the good it was their duty to fulfil. Nay, the very withholding of the Bible has, we know, impressed some of the natives, and those among the most intelligent, with an inkling that, perhaps, there is something in what the Queen and the missionaries say, that England owes its greatness to that book, and that this perhaps affords the Government a selfish motive for refusing that which they get so freely from the missionaries!

We believe our progress in this work is now merely a question of time and agitation; much has already been gained; we hear little now in India about "neutrality." The advocates of the system have not the face to profess it on the spot. Nor would it answer any purpose if they did. The attempt of culling out Christianity from English literature is, we believe, given up. Openly improper characters and infidel Europeans have been removed, and some pains are being taken for the better supply of their places. The next step is the admission of the Bible, the main difficulties in the way of which are already overcome. Then we shall have a voluntary class of those, whose parents may wish their children to be instructed therein. This must be entrusted to proper hands; and will lead, as we have witnessed with perfect success in Ceylon, to the whole school coming an hour before the ordinary lessons begin, to

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receive scriptural instruction from teachers with whom it will be a labor of love.

Much, however, in this great work has yet to be done, and this is the moment for effecting it. In appealing to Parliament, the first thing we ask is a vast increase of the funds to be appropriated to native instruction. In proportion to the vastness of the field, and the incalculably good results offered, the present means employed are actually contemptible, and ought to be multiplied. We really suspect that economy is one ground for the preference given to the present plan, for we admit it would be absurd to spend much on it; and the present answers the purpose of doing something, and making, too, not a bad show in England, with several hundred pages of an annual report. But this will not satisfy the Parliament: they will demand more money for native education, and far more return for the money spent.

Perhaps the greatest blunder committed in the management of India was in an act of economy in the cause of education. By the abolition of the college of Fort William, the civil service of India was deprived of an institution, which, under able management and strict discipline, was training them, on their first arrival, in the languages and circumstances of the people, and in habits of diligence, economy, morality, and religion. The loss India has suffered from this can be calculated by the good experienced for some thirty years, from those who had the benefit of the institution, during the few years of its existence; but we never can tell the evil, which has accrued from the lack of any general instruction for the natives, during nearly a century of our power in Bengal. We earnestly trust that Parliament will take into consideration the number of millions of the people, and the peculiar avidity on their part for public instruction, and insist upon a ten-fold increase of the fund available for this end, and that each £100 shall go at least twice as far as it does at present.

Secondly, let us obtain through Parliament permission for the Governments of the several Presidencies to carry on their own measures of education. Let us have an end of the present one uniform cut and dry Bengal system of public instruction. If there is any thing we hope for, and think we have a certainty of getting by the next charter,—it is the severance of the absurd bondage of the two other Presidencies to Bengal, which has been for the last twenty years a drag on all the wheels, to the impediment of progress in public business. Why should we in Bengal prescribe the system of public instruction adapted to the other Presidencies? Is it likely that one plan should at

once be hit upon exactly suited to all the local circumstances of the four great divisions of this vast empire? Should it not be rather the policy of Government to encourage each to strike out as openings might favour, and by tentative efforts to test principles, and exhibit results which would win the concurrence of all, and then admit of state confirmation? This would give to them the spur of emulation, to each the improvement of local opportunities, and to all the vigour of independent action. We have already seen some indication of their local predilections, despite the strait-laced bondage of the present system. Bombay, not without a warm conflict for the vernacular, has equalled any in English literature; the metaphysical Bengali has surpassed in science. The governor of the North West has been allowed to try his popular scheme of village schools, and Madras too has shown how its bias lies. Yes, "benighted" Madras, as it is called in reference to education, is to our mind bigger with promise of ultimate success than they all, and in the present Christian aspect of the subject, it alone of the three Presidencies deserves special notice.

In Madras, the Bengal system of Government education has been stoutly and successfully resisted; despite of all Government home influence exercised for five-and-twenty years, the system can scarce be said to have as yet got a footing in that Presidency. What is the cause of this resistance? The services which called forth the character of a Clive, Munro, and Wellington, has still men equal to any in India. And of the natives themselves, we believe that the better climate of the South produces scarce less intelligence and power of application, while there is certainly more sterling strength of mind and freedom from superstitions or caste bigotry. We confess ourselves, after a personal experience in teaching the natives both in North and South India, specially partial to the South, the natives of which have had the blessings of Christianity established amongst them from the earliest age of the church, and have attached themselves by so many tens of thousands to the scriptural principles of our Protestant faith. How then is this failure to be accounted for? The reason of the resistance on the part of the Madras Government to the Bengal system, we believe to be that they have struck upon a system better adapted to the circumstances of their own Presidency, and have not sacrificed their conscientious judgments to direct or indirect external influence.

The history of Government education in Madras is so instructive, that we will give a digest of it.

Sir Thomas Munro, as governor of Madras, was the first in

India to strike out a plan for general native instruction (for the Hindu College, Calcutta, was but a local effort.) The wisdom of that plan seems one of the main causes of Madras stubbornness. Sir Thomas's scheme was much upon the plan of village native schools, which have since been tried with such success in the North West Provinces. Madras, however, was not so favored as Agra, and the Bengal system coming soon after into vogue, was pressed, but unsuccessfully, upon the Presidency, and the funds which Sir T. Munro set apart for his scheme continued unemployed, and have since remained accumulating, until the interest has become as large as the original income. Lord Elphinstone made the next effort, and did all he could in advancing the school at the Presidency, which has since remained *in statu quo*, and affords instruction of a high standard to some 200 students. Lord Tweeddale next appeared, summoned a large and influential council of education, and disclosed his plans, which prescribed a system of provincial village schools, with the Madras predilection of a far lower standard of English attainment, and increased vernacular instruction. But it is probable this discrepancy was not the rock on which his plan was shipwrecked. To his lordship belongs the credit of having been the first to see and act upon what is now pretty generally acknowledged, and long ago proved by the missionaries, that the natives care as little for the admission or exclusion of the Bible as we in our school-boys cared for the mythology of Ancient Greece and Rome; and actually, on this conviction, he proposed in his famous minute, the teaching the Bible; and his council of education was at once disbanded from head-quarters. Next came the present governor, supported by an able and influential colleague as president of the educational Council, Mr. Daniel Elliot, who, as member of the Law Commission in Calcutta, had full opportunity of judging of the Bengal system; but instead of any thing emanating from this board opposed to Lord Tweeddale's measures, we were thankful to observe, in the late anniversary address of the governor, still further advances in the right direction than had ever before been made by the head of an Indian Government.

The governor announced among other things:—

“That vernacular instruction must be the foundation of all educational progress in India. There were,” he said, “already, in many parts of the country, excellent schools, superintended by missionaries. In all places where these existed, Government would be averse to establish other schools. It would be impolitic to do so, lest the natives should suppose that Government had one view and these gentlemen another.”

It is further reported in the public press, that the governor followed up this public avowal of his principles by an application to the Court of Directors to sanction the grant of Government funds to mission and other schools, calculated to advance and enlighten the people. And secondly, that the Bible should be introduced into the Government schools, which is confirmed by the fact that, a few days after this, a member of the college board tendered his resignation, on the ground that his colleagues had proposed to introduce the Bible. In these public sentiments and acts of the governor, he is, we doubt not, ably supported by his colleague, the president of the council of education. Nor are we left in the dark as to the judgment of the other members of the Government. The following passage from Mr. Thomas's speech, at the jubilee meeting of the Propagation of the Gospel Society at Madras, though bearing only on the general subject, so fully states our own views, that we transcribe it. The honorable speaker said :—" No man was

more ready than himself to acknowledge the value of intellect ; but however highly cultivated, it could not elevate the moral nature of man or woman. He could only express his deep conviction, that, whatever else we might impart, our literature and our science, or the just and equal spirit of our laws, if we denied them (the natives) our religion, if we failed to give them that which had raised our own country, we should be unfaithful to our great trust, and our connexion with this country would be a curse rather than a blessing. Whereas, with it, if we did our duty, India and her people would be raised to a rank, if not equal, yet next to England."

These sentiments of the governor and councillors of Madras will not be imputed to the inexperienced zeal of religious enthusiasts. Sir Henry Pottinger is not such an one. His name and abilities have been from earliest days associated with the East. He has successively filled with distinction the highest position in China and the Cape, and now, in the fourth year of his government of Madras, this is the public judgment which he puts forth in reference to Government instruction, supported as it would seem by his two colleagues in the Government ; and those names, happily for us, as well known and esteemed as any, after an experience of between thirty and forty years in the country. Here then is a Government putting forward a scheme, which they are of course prepared to carry out, a scheme which seems exactly to answer all the demands which the united conference contemporaneously put forth in London. We ask from Parliament to inform us what reception the judgment of the

Government and councillors of Madras has had at the India House. The *Madras Athenæum* tells us that the most important proposition of the Government has been shelved at Leadenhall-street, on the ground, first, "that as the Government schools were designed for the instruction of Hindus and Mahomedans, in the language, literature, and science of England, it was considered not expedient or prudent to interfere with the religious feelings and opinions of the people." And secondly, "that the systems so successfully followed in Calcutta and Bombay must be carried out in Madras; that as there is no need of Bible classes, &c., felt at the other Presidencies, therefore there is no need of such in Madras." We ask Parliament to inform the Christian public of England, if the Madras Government have made their propositions to the East India Company, and if they have received a reply to that effect. And if so, we shall not be satisfied with imposing on the Court of Directors the entire responsibility of the benighted condition of one whole Presidency, but we press in the name of the millions of South India, that these better principles of education be allowed a free course of trial; and we anticipate from them such success as shall lead each of the other Presidencies willingly to follow in its wake.

This discussion of the Madras question has completed our view of sound Government education. As far as the public can judge, there is here a Government prepared to carry out a scheme of public instruction, national in its application to the whole people, practical in the standard of its study and its appliance to the existing indigenous efforts, and Christian in its character, so far as a Government can administer Christian principles in a heathen land. Under such a system of national instruction, Government would no longer stand antagonist to the vast religious efforts in native education. The missionaries would not be invidiously reflected upon in the public reports of a Christian Government; their efforts ignored and defeated by the opposing contiguity of state schools boasting a non-scriptural education; but the Government would help and foster such schools, so far as they were found to answer to the useful requirements of the state, and were resorted to by the people. This we presume to be the principle on which Sir H. Pottinger and the three-fold conference propose state-support to missionary schools, not as teaching Christianity, but giving instruction useful to the state. To imply the former would make the Government inspector the arbitrator of religious instruction, in which few, if any, of our missionary societies would concur. In its own Government schools, the Bible would be freely

offered and commended to all whose parents and guardians might not object to such instruction. The existing vast system of indigenous instruction would be brought to light, and at a comparatively small expense, the whole be remodelled on a better plan, inoculated with moral and religious teaching, by means of Government vernacular books, official superintendence, and partial support and patronage. We would gladly see this national and Christian system enforced by Parliament on the East India Company, but the experience of Madras makes us distrustful of this forcing method even in a better cause. We believe more success will follow the removal of all impeding obstacles, and the free administration of the respective Governments.

We are certain that a scriptural system of instruction will alone duly educate the native. By it alone the poor will be enabled to resist the oppression of the zemindar, or escape the snares of the money-lender. By it alone will the Government be able to administer justice through its native officials, or conduct with economy the affairs of the state. By it alone will one-half of the human race, the women, be raised from cruel degradation, to fill the position for which God has qualified them, and which the Bible has assigned to them. By it alone the slavery of priestcraft, and the inhuman cruelty of idolatry, will be overcome. And in lieu of these, by the teaching of the Bible alone, the millions of India, shall be made nationally, socially, and individually,—temporally and eternally—happy.

This is the great work entrusted by God to the English Government in India. It is the great mission of our nation in the present age, the dissemination of the teaching of God's word throughout the world. Whether we look to Ireland, India, or the Continent of Europe, the Bible, in the hands of our Protestant teachers, is exhibiting itself as the power of God unto salvation. Not the least wonder, in the world's late Exhibition of Industry, was the 147 versions of the Holy Bible, translated or circulated among the languages of the world during our last forty years of national peace. This is God's great work for us to do as a nation, and if the powers of the Government will not engage in it, the children of the Sunday schools shall accomplish God's work. Let us judge this nation as posterity will judge it, as we should ourselves judge it in the hours of national peril or repulse. Will not the offerings of the poor, the labours of the missionary in India for the spread of the Bible, be then a source of national comfort and confidence? Will not then the principles of the Duke of Wellington—that it was our duty as a nation to provide sufficient means to teach the word of God

to every individual living under the protection of her sacred majesty, display the secret of his success, and confer more honor than his titles on the memory of this illustrious man? Will not the avowal of our mighty sovereign "that England has become 'great and happy by the knowledge of the true God and Jesus 'Christ,' reflect a halo round her sacred office, and secure the hearts and lives of her subjects for the defence of the crown? And will not our past proceedings in now, for nearly a hundred years, withholding the Bible from the perishing millions of India, be esteemed a blot upon our national character, a curse inflicted on our unenlightened fellow-subjects, and an insult put upon God's holy name and His word?

VII. THE OPIUM MONOPOLY.—The mode in which the revenue is raised from opium in the Bengal territories, and the position which the East India Company occupies with respect to it, are points imperatively requiring attention on the present occasion.

Opium is, by the existing regulations of the Chinese Empire, a prohibited article. It is not without reason that the Chinese authorities have so dealt with it, because of the ruinous consequences which the use of it entails. The Chinese use it largely, numbers of them of all classes have become infatuated by this drug, and are impoverished and demoralized. This contraband trade is actively prosecuted by English merchants and others along the Chinese coast, and since the last war, the action of the Chinese Government to repress it has been paralyzed. Receiving ships, so strongly armed as to bid defiance to any force which the native authorities can bring against them, are moored at convenient places, and, unmolested by the British cruisers on the one hand, or Chinese interference on the other, the trade flourishes, to the injury both of vendor and of consumer, and the nations to which they respectively belong.

It is discreditable that the East Indian Government should be identified with this illegal trade; yet the mode of raising the revenue from opium in the Bengal Presidency renders it so. Opium in the Bengal territories is a Government monopoly, no one is allowed to grow the opium except on account of Government. Such ryots as desire to cultivate the poppy enter into annual engagements with the Government; advances are made to them at certain periods to enable them to raise it, and gather in the produce, which is delivered to the Government at a fixed rate. There is a profit on the sale of it by the Government of about Rs. 7-6 per lb., and the revenue raised on it is considerable. Thus, the Government grows and vends the article,

and that with the patent fact that it will be used all but exclusively for contraband purposes on the Chinese coast. The merchant is encouraged by this to leave fair trading, and embark in illicit speculations. He considers that he has a tacit permission to pursue such a course. The Indian Government is the salesman, the Home Government acquiesces in the arrangement. The retaining of the monopoly he looks upon as a pledge of non-interference, and so he finds it to be. He uses Hong-Kong as a depôt, and his receiving ships are unmolested by British ships of war. Under such circumstances, the Chinese regard the actual smuggler, the Company which furnishes him with the drug, and the Government which permits the whole procedure, as alike guilty parties in this nefarious trade.

This principle of Government monopoly is found not only to encourage the exportation of opium to China, but to increase the growth of the poppy, and so give extension to the trade. There were sold in Bengal:—

In 1840-1	17,858 chests.
„ 1848-9	36,000 „

And on this increased sale, there has been a corresponding increase of revenue. The net receipts on the above quantities amounted to—

In 1840-1	64,96,324 Rs.
„ 1848-9	1,95,82,562 „

But with this increase of revenue, there has been an increase in the smuggling trade, and a corresponding increase of criminality to all parties concerned in it.

In the Bombay territories, the opium revenue is otherwise collected. The growth of it is discouraged by a heavy duty of Rs. 12 per Surat seer on opium brought either by land or sea within the Presidency of Bombay or its dependencies. In Ahmedabad, the cultivation of the poppy has ceased. In Kair and Candeish nearly so. In Scinde, its growth is prohibited. The small quantity grown is purchased by the Government, and through licensed retailers, applied to home purposes. The Malwa opium, in passing through the Company's territories, is subjected to a heavy transit duty. If 1839 this amounted to Rs. 125 per chest. On the conquest of Scinde, a channel of communication with the sea-coast, by which much of this opium found its way to Kurrachee and escaped the British transit duty, was closed, and the duty was raised in 1843 to 200 rupees, in 1845 to 300 rupees, and in 1847 to 400 rupees per chest.

On opium exported from Bombay, there has therefore been

no increase in quantity since 1840-1, but rather a slight decrease. The statements are as follows :—

1840-1	16,773 chests, of 140 lbs. each.
1848-9	16,509 ditto ditto.

But there has been no decrease of revenue, nay there has been a very remarkable increase, little inferior to that which has accrued in Bengal. The net receipts on the above quantities amounted to—

In 1840-1	22,46,452.
„ 1848-9	88,75,066.

This comparative statement of Bengal and Bombay proceedings seems, to our mind, to relieve this question of difficulty. The action of the Government in the Bombay Presidency is humane, and consistent with its dignity. The increased production of a drug, which is disposed of in contraband trade, and in its consumption is destructive and demoralizing to the bodies and minds of a great heathen nation, has been prevented. The price of it has been increased four-fold, so as to render it less accessible to the industrial classes of China, *i. e.*, the great mass of the community, and yet by the increased duty, an increased revenue has been obtained.

Let then the Government monopoly, which has prevailed in Bengal, be abandoned, in consonance with the fiscal regulations of the Bombay Government—and let the revenue be raised by the imposition of heavy duties. The Government will thus be disconnected from its growth and sale, and the stigma of having any direct connexion with this illicit trade removed from English authorities in the East.

VIII. THE SALT REVENUE.—The subjects, which we have hitherto treated, have been fraught with moral crime, or are of direct spiritual importance. We now come to a class of topics of no such crying importunity, or of a less immediate religious character. There are matters on which we would wish to bring rather the feelings of philanthropy than the principles of Christianity to bear in seeking a temporal relief for the natives.

In alluding to the salt monopoly in this article, we would not discuss what may be called its political aspect,—as to whether or no the Government could go on without the income raised by this tax, or obtain it more desirably from other sources; whether the article of English produce could not be imported, so as to admit of a duty equal to the present income, and yet be much cheaper to the people. We will not allude to the pressure of the salt tax on our fisheries, agriculture, pastur-

age, or tillage. Nor shall we allow ourselves to dwell upon the severity on the poor of this, which, with the excise, is the only tax in India, and which exacts the same sum from the ryot, the rajah, and the millionaire of Calcutta. These topics must be left to other hands, as being too extensive for our outline, and not so immediately within our subject.

We take up the salt revenue, as presenting an evil by which the health and lives of the community are seriously affected. Salt is a main essential of health and life in a tropical climate; to deny it to the human frame, or deprive it of the necessary supply, is as certain an evil as the want of food or water. In Indian languages, to "eat one's salt" has the same import as in English to "eat one's bread." Now we do not complain that this essential of life is taxed to the extent of perhaps 600 per cent. on the cost at which the natives of a great part of Bengal could make it from the soil of their gardens. But we complain that, owing to the tax, and evil administration of it, the price to the poor is actually double this amount, and that it is generally impossible, even at any price, to obtain pure and wholesome salt. In a country where pepper, sugar, spices, curry stuffs, and drugs are obtainable in every bazar with singular purity and cheapness, in not one of twenty towns is it possible to get such salt as could be guessed from its colour or appearance to be intended to represent the crystal sent out of the Commissariat or Government ware-houses. We knew one of the highest officials in India, on sending his servant to a large bazar for salt, to learn in reply that there was only black salt to be had in the town, which could not be brought on the table. At the time we wished it had been produced, that he might have still further experienced the working of his own law.

We have reason to believe, that the following is a pretty correct account of the working of the salt monopoly in Bengal. About 24 per cent. of the whole quantity of salt used in the country is imported. The remainder, 76 per cent., is manufactured by Government, or rather by the natives for the Government, at the high price of about one rupee a maund for best boiled salt, and half-a-rupee for that produced by solar evaporation, which is above twice what it would be made for with free competition. A tax is added of two and three-quarter rupees a maund, and the salt is sold to wholesale dealers in Calcutta, in quantities of not less than fifty maunds. Now commences the chief iniquity of the system. A great proportion of the salt, for inland consumption throughout the country, is purchased by large wholesale merchants, at less than four rupees the maund. These mix a fixed proportion of sand, chiefly got

a few miles to the south-east of Dacca, and sell the mixture to a second, or (counting the Government) a third monopolist, at about five or six rupees. This dealer adds more earth or ashes, and thus passing through more hands from the larger towns to villages, the price is still further raised to from eight to ten rupees, and the proportion of adulteration from twenty-five to forty per cent.; the imposition being most severe in the more distant places to which there is no water carriage. Suppose, however, any of the licensed dealers were, for the benefit of his business, to sell a purer salt than others, a combination is formed against him, and a false case is got up before the superintendent of salt chowkies, which ruins him.

The curse, which this tax thus proves to the country, is manifest to every one intimately acquainted with the condition of the poor; not only do they suffer from the ruinous price at which it is sold, but from its deleterious character. They eat, but they are not satisfied; they heap on salt, for which they have paid dearly, but there is no savour in the rice. And those who cannot afford to purify it, are compelled, in violence to their habitual cleanliness in diet, to consume a large proportion of injurious sand and filth. Disease is the inevitable result, especially in a low country, and where vegetable diet is the universal food. Every one acquainted with the constitution of the Bengali knows that the prevailing complaint of the country is worms. A missionary of twenty years' experience in dealing with the bodies, as well as the souls of the natives, once told us—"If ever I am at a loss to know what is the matter with a man, I prescribe salt and pomegranate bark, for he is sure to have worms, whatever other complaints he may have." To this state of the native constitution are to be imputed many diseases of the digestive organs and bowels; that general debility, which induces recurring fever, and causes fatal results to accrue from cholera and other violent attacks, while it is the immediate producer of that most loathsome judgment, not unfrequent amongst the poor, of being literally eaten up of worms.

We object then to this monopoly from its inhumane operation upon the lives of the people. We cannot, however, politically see the necessity or expediency of the tax. It chiefly works for the advantage, not of the revenue, but of an iniquitous trade; the Company having only 300 per cent., and the trade 800 or 1,000. But even did the Government gain the whole nine millions a year, which the people probably pay for salt, it would ill compensate for the human misery and loss of life now entailed. But it is objected, that the im-

portant tax raised from salt is necessary for the maintenance of the revenue. It is granted that the necessary revenue must be raised; but would it not be wiser to obtain such revenue from any other source, which does not affect the health and lives of the subjects? A tax, like that lately adopted in England, on pukka houses, according to their value, would afford an income equal to the fulness of our wants, not touching the abject poor, nor so liable to oppressive administration, and without additional machinery for its collection than that of the existing land revenue. And if such a tax were made to fall upon the Europeans in the country occupying such houses, it would be submitted to more cheerfully by all the people. The necessity of revenue is therefore no argument, in a country where there is the choice of any other tax.

But the remedy of this national malady does not necessarily demand the abandonment of the tax; nay, we do not insist on its reduction. If it were in the power of the Government to reduce the tax twenty-five per cent., instead of doing so, let the surplus be spent in opening hundreds of Government agencies (like the few now existing in the manufacturing districts,) to retail pure salt at the fixed prices. And further, while Government retains the monopoly, let the superintendent of chowkies (but not his native officers) be empowered to seize and proceed against all who offer for sale adulterated salt. This would effect more good than a reduction of cent. per cent. upon the tax, which reductions, it is calculated, take from four to six years before they affect the price in the village bazars.

In fine, were the same pains taken to distribute salt, and secure its purity, which are taken to distribute intoxicating drinks and secure their strength; and were the sale of spirits as limited as the present Government sale of salt, the two greatest enormities which owe their existence to the East India Company in India, would probably be greatly alleviated, if not removed.

IX. THE CHARACTER OF GOVERNMENT NATIVE SERVANTS.—Under a strictly despotic Government like that of the East India Company, the state is in a peculiar degree responsible for the character and conduct of its public servants. Not only is the power of the executive irresistible, and administered at pleasure, for the punishment and reward of the employed, but the continuance of this state of things for ages has begot in the natives a character corresponding with their condition. The Hindu is patient and discriminating, the object of his life is to penetrate the mind, anticipate the wishes, and secure the favour of those upon whom he depends. The effect of

selfishness upon the worldly and unimpassioned mind, brings about a most accurate estimate of their own real and ultimate personal interests, from the attainment of which no law or skill on earth will keep them; nay, their most besetting sin shall be sacrificed to this end. This character of the natives admits of being lawfully improved. Were the Government to make *honesty the best policy* in their service, there is no reason to doubt that their native officials would be as faithful as the sepoy, or* as the high-caste bearers of Calcutta are to their masters, in whose hands loose money may be left untold with perfect safety. This morality will be, however, only partial, for there is no universal antidote for human depravity but in the Gospel of Christ.

The moral character of the servants of the Government is of as vital importance to the happiness of the people and well-being of the state, as it is to the interests of true religion; and yet there is no single point upon which the Government of India will bear less inspection. The missionaries have a closer insight into this state of things than perhaps others. Identified with the poor of land, they sympathize with their every suffering; intimately acquainted with their language and circumstances, they acquire the best information; and isolated from connexion or influence with the European Government servants, there is no attempt before them at that disguise which to this day effectually blinds many in the country to the true state of things.

To attempt to discover the corruption of the public courts, and the oppression of public officers, would be impossible in our space; and this is now so notorious, that it is scarce necessary. The whole may be seen laid bare in an article in this *Review* on the "Revelations concerning the Police and Courts," and still more amply in the autobiography of Paunchkouri Khan, to which we therein referred. This pamphlet, which is evidently the work of a European, of scarce less experience and ability for his task than Mr. Shore, gives a vivid and graphic account of native character and circumstances under our Indian rule, and more perfect directions for the proceedings in the Hon'ble East India Company's courts of Bengal and the North West Provinces than will be found in all the "Government regulations," "Circular orders," "Decrees of Sudder Dewan," &c. &c. In this book is revealed the course of cases in the judicial, revenue, and magisterial and police departments. You are introduced to the working of the abkari, opium, police, ferry-funds, river-tolls, registry of deeds, public survey, and the whole zemindari system; and though strong cases are brought to light, there is no ap-

pearance of wilful untruth or even exaggeration. The burden of the whole is to show how a man, who commences on Rs. 4 a month, under the English Government, may, through the magic of his office, by the employment of Paunchkouri's tact, in any of these several departments, raise himself to be the rider of an elephant, and owner of a zemindari, with ample substance, until he, or his immediate children, are again ousted from their dignity by another, who, like Paunchkouri, began on £5 per annum Government salary. The revelations of bribery, perjury, forgery, oppression, exaction, and even torture carried on under the authority of the immediate servants of Government, in the administration of what is called justice, would go to the heart again and again of every honest man who reads them; but the contents of the book have been fully revealed in the before-mentioned article on the police and courts.

There is a peculiar misery in this state of things under English rule. Our European power and integrity cast a perfect shield over the oppressors of the people. When once visiting an independent native state, we saw in the dewan, or prime minister, a perfect Bengali tyrant. By oppression, he had accumulated great wealth in a very short time. He was the second person in the country, and except through him, there was no access to the sovereign, who was completely held under his influence. About a twelve month afterwards, we enquired for the dewan from one who had been in the country, and learnt that soon after we had left, his house was surrounded by a mob at night, set fire to in several places, and the inmates murdered as they rushed out. The dewan fortunately remained among the burning buildings till morning, and then fled from the place, leaving only an awful warning to those who might succeed him. Suppose, on the other hand, a Bengali darogah, or native head police magistrate, over a district of one hundred thousand inhabitants, who, on a salary of Rs. 50 a month, is fast accumulating a large fortune, and consequently is engaged in more pillage than a gang of dacoits;—suppose such an one to meet his death by some chance Mussulman from the North West Provinces, what would be the result? The Government would feel its honour concerned, and as the first and most fearful consequence, would send three more darogahs and their bands to gloat themselves like harpies over the doomed neighbourhood of the crime; and then, are we wrong in suspecting that the usual absurd proceeding of judging according to sworn evidence (when every witness worth anything upon appeal is a hired perjurer) would be changed for the more cruel

process of punishing some one or other for example's sake ? The passage of Scripture applies fearfully to Bengal as it is now governed :—" I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun, and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter."

Another evil of this oppression is its influence on the spread of the Gospel. These men, who like the publicans in the Bible, are classed with the harlots, as the vilest in the community, are the representatives of, and have the nearest intercourse with, our Christian Government ! These courts, which are so degraded, that one of the greatest defilements a respectable native can be subjected to is to have to enter them even as a witness, these are the seats of justice of a Christian state. This is a stumbling block to Christianity felt by the whole people.

But we next come to the remedy for this disease, which is, we believe, plain to all acquainted with its working—make it worth the people's while who serve the Government to be honest to their trust. The natives have not got religious principles to sustain them ; there is not the slightest public opinion against dishonesty and oppression. The first thing imperative, if Government means to wipe off the present foul stain on their public service in India, is *to raise the salary and position of the native officials*. Until this is done, the statement of Paunch Kouri is irresistible. " The Sirkar Bahadur (Company) gives me four rupees a month, and the offer of a sum equivalent to six months' pay, whether often or occasionally, ought not to be resisted by an orderly." Would it be otherwise with ourselves in such a case ? While the member of council's salary was £300 a year, the late Mr. Brooke was spending £10,000 in India, and General Carnac and Mr. Summers received £22,701 each, the share for two years' salary in one office, in the society of trade, entered upon without the sanction of the Court of Directors. The first thing, which raised the moral character of the English from a state lower than that which the natives occupy now, was the due increase of official salaries.

But we shall be told they have been largely increased. In the police, some have been doubled and even trebled, and the head native judge has an income equal to that of a junior civilian. We are aware of that, and it is of this greatly improved state of things, and not of the past, we now speak. Compare the very best salary now paid with the amount of power

and responsibility. Take five per cent. (not a large "dusturi") from the value of the cases decided in the year by the sudder amin, and how many fold will you multiply the best native's salary? But in most cases, we have still men on from twenty rupees to fifty a month, invested with judicial, revenue, magisterial and police authority, over hundreds and thousands of a timid people. A large number of these officers possess the power to fine and imprison; all use that power; and the Europeans are too few to exercise any real personal control.

But the case is confessed in what Mr. Saville Marriot, late member of the council of Bombay, states, that a collector of Nuddya advertised for an official on a salary of less than £50 a year, who should supply security to the amount of £3,500, and adds that similar instances had occurred in his own Presidency. We need only remind our readers that probably the whole income was spent as interest on the keeping up this security. In fact, it would appear as if the badge of office in the Company's native service was intended, by those who confer it, as it is certainly esteemed by the recipients, as a mere license to live by their wits upon the people, either by the sale of justice, the enforcement of presents, or the exaction of black mail from the villagers within their charge. The salaries ought therefore to be largely increased, and this need cost the state nothing, as the people pay far more for injustice and oppression now than the most liberal salaries would require for justice and protection. Let us look this evil in the face, sift it to the bottom, and determine to purge, at all cost, the present corrupt state of the Company's native service.

In order to do so effectually, not only must the salaries be raised, but the position of the native officials. As long as there is an insuperable bar of station between the Europeans and natives, the latter will not have self-respect enough to raise themselves, and the Europeans will not have that close intercourse with the natives necessary to influence them. Besides, the evil is of such magnitude, and universal prevalence, as to require the knowledge and experience of a native in authority to meet it. Place such an one with European colleagues as collector of a district, and he will do more to disentangle the registry, protect the ryot, expose bribery and perjury, and withal improve the revenue, than many more Europeans would accomplish without him. We want an amalgamation of native knowledge and experience of the language, people and country, with European and political wisdom and Christian integrity; and they will amalgamate if united. The Englishman will

acquire the native's information, and the Hindu, in a great degree, copy the Christian's practice, even before the heart is touched by his principles, as nominal Christians now maintain their superior integrity. It is, therefore, most desirable that the native officials should be brought more into contact with the Europeans in the public services.

But we shall be told that this too has been accomplished, that a clause in the last Act runs thus :—" Be it enacted, that ' no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of his majesty, resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment ' under the said Company." And we believe it was the intention of this Act that the natives should be promoted to all places of emolument and dignity, as they were found worthy of such. But what has been the fact ? For the last twenty years, with the exception of one judge of the Small Cause Court in Calcutta, and the unpaid members of the Council of Education, we know of no natives placed as colleagues with covenanted servants of the Company. It will be said, that there are not such to be found equal to this power and confidence, and there is truth in this to a considerable extent. But there are materials enough for a beginning to be made ; and as the system must be introduced by very slow degrees, the sooner such a beginning is made the better.

It is impossible for the Government of India to be carried on with efficiency, until her authorities on the spot can employ and reward those whom they find worthy. A considerable proportion of the best patronage, in all departments of the Government, should be at the disposal of the Governor, or the Governor in Council, at the several Presidencies ; and it should be insisted upon, that a certain proportion of this patronage should be exercised in favour of natives, a certain proportion in favour of East Indians, and the remainder in favour of Europeans.

The whole subject of this chapter has an intimate connexion with the religious aspect of India. The corrupt condition of the native public servants, as we have said, is a great scandal to the Christian Government set over the land. Not only the economy of the state, but the cry of humanity, the sacred character of justice, the spread of true religion, and the glory of our God of goodness, truth and justice, all demand the reformation of the public courts and native offices in the country. Again, the ill-paid and subordinate position of the natives severely affects the cause and progress of Christianity. The

natives do not attempt to separate, as the Company think they can, the English Government and its religion. The one is identified with the other in their estimate, whether for good or for ill, and in the language of the *Edinburgh Review*, which frequently and ably pleads for this cause:—"Humanly speaking, their (the Hindus') liberation from the thralldom of superstition, and their reception of the doctrines of liberty and light, are incompatible with their present position of political degradation." But it is the opening of places of honor and trust to the natives, and yoking them with Europeans in their public duties, which would most immediately affect Christianity. In doing so, the Government would not relax one whit of that most high standard of purity and integrity, which at present obtains in all positions of trust in the Company's service. The natives would soon find out that the best and only security for themselves, and their children, to maintain this high character, is to be found in the spiritual strength of Christianity; and they would not be more ready to seek, than the Indian Government would be anxious to afford to those eligible to advancement in their service, the improving blessings of scriptural instruction. And thus each sadder station would become the scene of a chaplain's labours, among the native servants of the Government, and their children, and would soon become the centre of a self-supporting native church.

X. STATE OF THE POOR.—When entering upon the condition of the mass of the people, we shall have to give a gloomy picture. Still, it would be admitted on all hands, could we but draw the comparison, that things are now in a better state, more prepared to receive improvement, and that the people are happier, than when under Mohammedan power. If the country be far more impoverished than it was, the little wealth which still remains finds freer circulation. Formerly, the treasures of the land were laid by, buried in the forts of the princes and the gardens of the poor. This is not now the case. If the people are suffering from the cruel tyranny of the zemindar and the court officers, under the power and protection of British rule, still the lives of the people are their own, and in a great measure their liberty too—"when persecuted in one city they can flee unto another." This was not the case when the law of the land gave its sanction to the oppressions of the great.

The poor have not forgotten, and we should not forget, the deliverance wrought by God for India, in the advent of the English. For one great man, who is the poorer by the presence of the English, a thousand poor men are the happier.

In former times, desolating war, and pillage by foreign foes, were a continual scourge. Cruel blood-shed and civil war, which found its way to every village, laid the foundation of each new sovereign's title to the throne. The wealth and industry of the plains supplied booty for the periodic inroads of the more warlike hill tribes, cruelty, slavery, gang robbery, and murder were openly conducted, so that there was no security to life but penury, no protection to property which did not lie buried in the ground. This is not the state of things now and we certify that the interval of above two generations has not done away from the native mind a grateful sense of their happy deliverance.

But because things are in many respects better than they were, we must not be satisfied, but rather be encouraged to make them better still, and remove every obstacle in our power to the prosperity of the country committed to our government.

There can be no doubt upon the mind of any unprejudiced person, that the wealth of the country is fast and visibly declining, and that the temporal circumstances of the poor are wretched in the extreme; and this decline is especially marked in its most fatal results upon the industry of the country, and the condition of the peasantry. The caste system enables us to observe this. The house of the goldsmith, the jeweller, the merchant, the weaver, &c. remains the same as it was fifty years ago: his station in society is acknowledged by all, but extreme poverty has set his fang on him, and certain extermination of the caste must follow in time, as they cannot compete with our steam manufacture, find the former demand for their goods, or change the occupation of their family for another. So also among the still poorer class. The use of money is fast passing away, the cowrie, or little shell, of mere nominal value, is the prevailing currency in the bazar, and barter is more and more their custom; while the zemindar finds it every year increasingly difficult to turn kind into revenue for the Government, and by the pressing urgency of the collector, resorts continually to new and more cruel means to draw the last penny from the poor. What with the destruction of local trade and manufacture, the decay of former roads, bridges, canals, aqueducts and tanks, and lack of new ones, or of markets, harbours, railways, steam, water, or wind-mills—what with oppressive river tolls, a severe system of export and import duties, and above all, the abstraction of specie in home charges to the amount of between three and four millions a year, besides the vast sums sent to England in private fortunes, transmissions,

and trade,—these combinations of causes, working for many years, have brought one of the richest countries of the world into the very extremest state of poverty, which finds a kind of relief in the devastations of periodic famines.

We shall now suggest a few measures for the alleviation or removal of this wretchedness. The poor might be protected from the trammels of debt, which keeps the whole population in slavery to the mahajans (money-lenders) and zemindars. Ryots on two-pence a day inherit the encumbrances of their forefathers, paying as far as they can the standard compound interest of one anna a rupee per month, equivalent to simple interest at the rate of 107 per cent. per annum. A law to deliver the poor from any legal claim of debt, of above a very short duration, seems called for by the circumstances of the country.

The Government has adopted most rigorous measures for putting a stop to dacoity or gang-robberies. A few years ago, there was, within a mile and a half of where we lived, a dacoit village. No secrecy was attempted; every one knew them, and their calling. The zemindar afforded them protection as such, and, we feared, shared in their plunder. Our own village watchman could, and if we pleased, would have given us the names of the whole gang, and we would have put his own name at the top of the list as one of their chief leaders, as we believe many of the village watchmen are. Scarce worse than the gangs of robbers, are the bands of armed fighting men, openly maintained by the native zemindars and European settlers, and often employed for the worst purposes in the oppression of the poor. Surely such forces should not be allowed to exist under an English Government.

The zemindari system is too vast a source of misery to the poor to admit of its being omitted. The sub-letting, which has caused more middle-men than existed in Ireland, increases greatly the exactions of the heavy land revenue; and the legal power in the hands of the zemindars, to seize the persons and property of ryots for their own rent, is above all, perhaps, the most prolific source of misery to the poor. It matters not what may be the cause of fault, real or supposed, in a ryot, whether great or small, against state, priest, people, or zemindar, the process is usually the same. It commences with a formal summons, sealed and signed by the zemindar, delivered by the head man of the village, supported by the zemindar's peons, with brass badges of office, and armed with sword and spear. The summons charges the man for default of rent, and seizes his person and all the property in his possession. This latter is the chief infliction, as he has not a chance of seeing any of it again,

and the process often ends here. But if the case requires an example to be made, he is brought to the rajbari, or zemindar's house, and, as was once described to us by a native, "beat, ' put in the godowns, tried in a day or two, beat again, and dismissed." Their cruelty seldom, we believe, proceeds to worse, though there was an instance within our knowledge, of a man who had been kept so long in an under-ground cell, that he was thought to be dead, and when recovered by a somewhat similar device as freed "Cœur de lion," his appearance was most frightful to those who witnessed it.

The only remedy for all the evils of the zemindari system is for Government to acknowledge the position and fulfil the duties which are due from it, as the real and only landlords of the soil. The zemindars are but middle-men, scarcely more than agents between the Government and the ryots, and in retaining such a class by the permanent settlement, a decided advantage seems gained above the ryotwar system in Madras and the North West, but duties should not be expected from them which their stake in, and constantly changing holding of, the land cannot be expected to call forth; nor should the ryots lose the protection and help of the state. The Government must therefore become responsible for permanent outlays for roads, buildings, bridges, tanks, irrigation, drainage, and relax its claims in time of famine. We have in one instance, and only one, witnessed the favourable working of this system. We were recommended to visit a townland nearly opposite Cutwa, on the Ganges, as exhibiting a model zemindari, and we were not disappointed; the estate was large and land of best quality, the ghats, which were numerous, were in perfect repair; the roads (for there were such) were wide, and as good as turf roads could be; the streets open and regular; houses large and substantial; the wells protected by walls and supplied with wheels in good repair; and somewhat of Christian comfort seemed all around. The people were planting and manufacturing indigo, and breeding silk-worms. The zemindar, a fine-looking hoary-headed brahman, conducted us through it all to his own house, which we were surprised to find small, though neat; in fact, we had seen several others in the place, evidently built in imitation of it, and nearly, if not quite as good. We expressed our surprise at this, and remarked that though he told us his soil was rich, we feared he was poor himself. The old man said, "No, I am not poor; I am very rich; these are all my riches, ' which my children enjoy." Several of the people around prostrated themselves, and three times touched the dust with their foreheads, and for the first time in India, we beheld this

act of gross superstition and idolatry without loathing and indignation. He cheerfully allowed us to speak to the people, and distribute some portions of Scripture; and gratefully accepted himself a large Bengali Bible, which he manifestly treated with respect. But one thing afterwards struck us with surprise—we do not remember having seen a single temple in the village. Here was a picture of temporal comfort, the like of which we have never seen before, or since, in India. But might we not hope to see many under the liberal and efficient direct administration of a powerful Christian Government?

We shall here be met by the objection, that the relief of the ryots, like all our other propositions, involves sacrifices and outlays which the revenue of the state cannot afford. We would only propose such outlays as are necessary, or yield an ultimate but certain return, and the expenses for such are as imperative as the million we may, any day, be called to expend on war, in consequence of our opium skippers on the coasts of China. But why should the Government of India be ever hampered in its income, and unable for lack of funds to advance the happiness of the people? Here is English legislative wisdom, endowed with supreme power, in the richest country in the world: over a hundred and fifty millions of subjects, within a sea-girt peninsula, whose inhabitants comprise the remarkable qualities of being the most peaceful, ingenious, and persevering. There is nothing in art or industry in which the Hindu will not excel; it matters not what it be—Birmingham plate, London upholstery, or French dishes. Give the Hindu the specimen and name the price, and he will return such an imitation, as you shall not know from the original, and if of hand labour, from one-third to one-fourth of the European price. A market for its produce is the want of India. They are also most ready and sagacious in adopting into their trades, what they see in ours, to their advantage. Thus we knew a Dacca merchant send the incomparable cotton of that district to be spun by Fiffe and Co., of Liverpool, that he might receive it again, to be woven by children's delicate fingers into muslins of the most exquisite texture. If Government would but spend, in directing, protecting, and increasing the resources of the country, one twentieth part of the funds and organization which it now employs in exhausting them, India might yet speedily recover itself. The country is no longer subject to the periodical devastation of the foreign foe, or the still more wasteful scourge of civil war and petty insurrection. The whole Peninsula is free from even the fear of war, save on some distant

frontiers, ready to co-operate in all measures for Government, finance, trade. There are no taxes, a national debt equal only to a little more than two years' revenue, and the state is the landlord of the whole soil; surely this is no country, which should claim sympathy on the score of poverty, especially when the appeal for outlay is made for the permanent good and enrichment of the people.

In thus pleading for temporal provisions to relieve the wants of our fellow-creatures, we are but pressing that which it has ever been the characteristic of Christianity to confer upon a heathen land. But we cannot lose sight of the fact, that it is only by Christian knowledge, in union with these measures, that the state will be able to advance the true prosperity of the people, and propagate that godliness which 'has the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.'

XII. RETROSPECT SINCE LAST CHARTER.—The present is a fitting occasion for looking back upon the results of the last charter, and the proceedings, as affects our present subject, during the last twenty years.

Perhaps the most important religious result of the last charter was the appointment of the two new bishoprics of Madras and Bombay, and the end of this boon has been most effectually answered. The cause of the increase of the episcopate in India is thus described:—"Whereas the present diocese of the bishopric of Calcutta is of too great an extent for the incumbent thereof to perform efficiently all the duties of the office, without endangering his health and life, and it is therefore expedient to diminish the labours of the bishop of the said diocese." This cause for the additional bishop was not assigned without good grounds, four bishops of Calcutta having been cut off in the discharge of their duties during the preceding fifteen years. Since the partition of the diocese, the present bishop has outlived the duration of his four predecessors, and may, through God's mercy, be yet long spared; and of the five other bishops, since the charter appointed to Madras and Bombay, but one, the revered Missionary Corrie, has died. This is to be observed in our retrospect, and acknowledged with thankfulness.

A clause in the last Act referred to the slavery then prevailing in the Madras Presidency and elsewhere throughout India: "LXXXVIII. And be it further enacted, that the said Governor-General in Council shall, and he is hereby required forthwith, to take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the said terri-

'tories, so soon as such extinction shall be prudent and safe." There is a degree of hesitation about this clause, which we should now be glad to see away. Slavery is a hateful crime, which even in a heathen land, does not deserve a moment's tolerance from a British-Christian Legislature. And the Act was carried out in this spirit. There was found to be no need for mitigating the state of slavery, or ameliorating the condition of the slaves. Slavery was at once extinguished. The Madras Government emancipated many thousands in South India from hereditary serfdom. Let this be told ; it is infinitely more to the honor of the East India Company and the British Legislature, than if, retaining our fellow-creatures in bondage, we had enriched the revenue of India, and driven from the home market the produce of America with the slave-grown cotton of India. And let it also be told to the glory of God, and credit of the native landholders, that the emancipation of these slaves, like every other act of humanity and religion we have attempted, was effected almost by a stroke of the pen, without delay, opposition, or difficulty. This should surely certify to us for what end we have been sent to India, and encourage us to advance. But men are slow to learn God's lessons.

Other matters have been gained, which were not express stipulations of the charter, but have arisen out of the discussion either at the time or subsequently. Among the first of these was the relief of Christians from forced acts of homage and reverence to heathen gods, paid by them in their civil and military capacities on public duty. With this happy achievement, the name of Sir Peregrine Maitland, late commander-in-chief at Madras, will ever be honorably associated in India.

The measure of progress made in separating the English Government from the heathen idolatry, deserves to be acknowledged, as we have already done, though sufficient of evil still remains to call for the severe attention and determined legislation of Parliament.

A most important Government measure was accomplished by Lord Hardinge, in stopping all public works on the Lord's day, which measure has been fully successful. It has witnessed to the glory of God before the heathen by the sacrifice, on the part of Government, of the service of one day out of seven to the obedience of God's law. It has also led to the more general observance of Sunday, and an encreased attention to the devotional service of that day, now conducted in most stations by a pious layman, in the absence of a neighbouring chaplain or missionary. And it is evidently preparing the way for the natives to appreciate, and themselves adopt, that

Christian temporal blessing, second only to the relief of the female sex, a scriptural sabbath day. Several shops and offices of heathen are now habitually shut up on the Lord's day.

We greatly rejoice in the relief from the sentence of outlawry, which has hitherto hung over the proselytes to Christianity, and the threat of which probably more effectually checked any general movement in favour of Christianity than the fiercest persecution would have done.

We have to acknowledge thankfully the measure of progress made in public instruction, such as it is; and especially look with interest upon some of the principles avowed by those in authority during the last twenty years upon this subject. The justly celebrated minute of Lord Hardinge, which has been repeatedly noticed in our pages, although it has become a dead letter, in the meantime, through the influence of Sir T. H. Maddock and the Council of Education, has had its uses. It is not dead, though it sleepeth. There it stands in black and white before the public, and, coming like Lord Tweeddale's minute on the Bible question, and Sir H. Pottinger's recent recommendation, from high and independent authorities, will be duly estimated in the debates of Parliament. We trust the proceedings and correspondence, which have arisen out of these three communications on education, from Lord Tweeddale, Lord Hardinge, and Sir Henry Pottinger, will be called for by the House. Also, as in close connexion with this same subject of native education, the correspondence which may exist between the Government and the trustees of St. Paul's Cathedral. It seems to us most strange, that our Venerable Diocesan should have been so long denied the charter necessary for the protection and conduct of his institution, (which we suspect would have been long since conceded, if found necessary, for a gigantic distillery in Calcutta). The funds contributed by the public to this object, amounting to nearly £90,000, make it a subject of public interest and parliamentary inquiry, independent of its spiritual character and objects.

There is but one more subject to which we would advert in our retrospect of the last twenty years, not having elsewhere alluded to it. In the year 1847, a despatch of the Court of Directors was received by the Council of India, purporting, as was generally reported, to contain the court's views of Christian missions in the country, and forbidding the servants of the Company to connect themselves, directly or indirectly, with missions—refusing to recognize any distinction between acts in their public and private capacity.

We willingly believe this to be an incorrect report of the Directors' despatch. But we press for information as to the true opinion and wishes expressed by the Court as respects Christian missions, in direct connection with which, whether as managers of them in committees, or agents for them in examining schools, distributing scriptures, and helping translations, or supporters of them, to an amount collected in the country of above £30,000 a year, the servants of the Company take a most conspicuous part. That there is some ground of anxiety on the part of the friends of missions as to the contents of the despatch is manifest by the fact, that on its arrival, which happened just before the anniversary of the Church Missionary Society, not a single covenanted layman could be got to appear in support of that truly popular Society, lest, as was said at the crowded meeting, such a display might provoke the execution of the despatch.

We do the more complain, because we believe the existence of such an instrument held *in terrorem*, as at present, to be infinitely more injurious to the cause of Christianity than if it were attempted to be enforced. The heathen and opponents of Christianity can, and do now, claim this despatch to be more in their behalf than it will probably be found; while sincere, but weak, men find it a snare and stumbling block to their consciences in deciding upon their duty to Cæsar and to God; whereas, were the despatch such as it is reported to be, or any thing to that effect, the only result of its publication would be, first, the more unmistakeable and conspicuous coming forward of the many and distinguished direct supporters of Christ's missions in the country; secondly, the additional support of many conscientious men, at length reminded, by such an injunction, of the last command imposed on them by a higher Master, to whose prior covenant they morally pledged themselves afresh, when presenting their baptismal certificates at the India House. And are we wrong in believing that many more would insist upon having their names added to the supporters of missions, for very shame, lest they should be judged by the heathen as having disposed of their souls, with their bodies, for the salary and allowances of the Company? We sincerely persuade ourselves that the despatch is not as reported, but still the reiterated and uncontradicted imputation demands from us this conditional, but most emphatic, condemnation. In this, as in most other cases, we believe the Company would gain far more by the due publication of their proceedings, than by the present attempt at secrecy.

CONCLUSION.—The present is an important moment to In-

dia. On the 30th of April, 1854, the charter of the East India Company will terminate. In the mean time, the affairs of this vast empire will be brought before the Legislative Council of Christian England. Decisions will be arrived at, affecting the temporal and eternal interests of 150,000,000 of our fellow-subjects, probably for a period of about one generation in that land. May we not hope, that we shall at least now have none of the apathy with which the subject of Indian affairs is usually received in the House, and that the religious aspect of the question will be mastered by some of the members, and perseveringly advocated.

We have long looked forward to what the cause of Christianity might gain in the new charter with sanguine anticipations, and we have now enumerated them. We trust the Missionary Societies, and individual members, will make the most of the short time which remains, in advocating such of the matters which we have proposed as may meet with the cordial co-operation of each. We cannot expect them to be all of one mind. Let each press his own special views upon the attention of every member of the Legislature, and we may yet hope to get much for the furtherance of Christianity in India. We want a check to be applied to the spread of drunkenness. We want to see abolished the inhuman rites of India, by one of which it is probable that a thousand souls a day are even now hurried into eternity—to see removed all connection between our Christian Government and the heathen temples. We want to see strengthened and made more efficient the ecclesiastical service and the local church, and especially that the chaplains may do something for the people from whom they receive their salary. We want to see our Government take the place which becomes it in the vast missionary field, furthering, by direct and indirect means, the happiness and salvation of the people. We look forward with special interest for a grand move in the right direction upon the subject of native education. We want to see corrected the crying evils of the salt and opium monopolies—to see improved the moral character of the native public servants, and the temporal welfare of the whole people. And, encouraged by the success on every previous occasion of the renewal of the charter, we fully trust to see many of the above objects, and other matters besides, which have escaped our notice, attained. It seems impossible that matters can be fully discussed, in time for a definite renewal of the charter, before the expiry of the present one. We therefore hope that the present charter will be extended for two years, so as to afford full time for the fullest enquiry, and that

in 1856 we shall enter upon a new and greatly improved constitution.

But even should we fail of seeing our wishes fulfilled in the terms of the next charter, nor obtain an opportunity of pressing them at some future time, we may still go on as heretofore to urge our views on the Court of Directors. One Charles Grant, in that body, might get most of them before another twenty years are passed; and we have every year more and more chance of success in the Court. The time was when the pressing of these Christian measures upon the Government would have aroused feelings of fear, if not of hostility. We most thankfully acknowledge a better spirit in receiving such questions now. Still, whether from lingering prejudice, or want of experience in the actual present state of the native mind, it is undoubtedly a fact, that the feeling in favour of these religious measures is much more strongly entertained by the authorities in India than in England; and the friends of Missions must still display the uncompromising and persevering purpose, in which spirit every step hitherto, in the cause of Christianity and humanity, has had to be won for India. And above all, our work must be a work of prayer. It is not our cause at all—it is the Lord's cause. Let us in all our views and efforts in this cause, seek His grace, depend on His promise, in obeying His command. The times are in His hands; and while we know that kings may be the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers, of the Gospel church, we know also that the spread of Christianity in India is "not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord of Hosts."

ART. IV.—*Indian Newspapers and Blue Books, 1852.*

THE year opened peacefully. In Europe, the audacious vigour of Louis Napoleon, who extinguished in a night all the turbulent freedom of France, seemed for the moment to have secured the continent against the chances of a general outbreak, which, in 1851, was deemed so imminent. The great War of Opinion, which Canning predicted, and which many believe to present the only possible solution of the political complications of the continent, appeared to be postponed for the present, and “as France was satisfied, Europe was tranquil.” In India, the extreme frontier of the North West alone furnished employment for our soldiers, and anxiety for our statesmen. The restless Mohammedan population, who dwell on the southern slopes of the great Suleiman range, and on the broad plain which sweeps from the mountains to the Indus, have always found in their courage, poverty, and system of clan organization, the means of a tumultuous independence. Their principal idea of freedom, too, like that of all other mountaineers, consisted in the unrestricted liberty of robbing their neighbours, and they chafed at the neighbourhood of the great Empire, whose organized policy could not brook such excesses, as appeared to be scarcely worthy of the notice of Runjit Singh, or the Ruler of Cabul. It had, however, been easily perceived that these tribes, even if united under one head, and roused into enthusiasm by the idea of a religious war, would be utterly incapable of contending with the great army which lay coiled up in the Punjab, with every fortified town and military position in its grasp, holding the navigation of every river, and able to bring up reserves equal to the entire population of the mountains. The frontier disturbances, therefore, though expensive and annoying, can scarcely be said to have interfered with the general condition of peace.

There was a little cloud looming in the distance, which seemed to observant eyes to portend future campaigns: but at present it appeared as if the crisis had passed away, and the dynasty of Alompra was to be at liberty to pound infants to death in chemists’ mortars for another generation. True, Commodore Lambert with his squadron was still in the Rangoon waters, and the Governor of Rangoon was still unpunished, but the Court of Ava appeared to have suddenly awakened to the imminence of the danger, and had returned an answer to the demands of the Governor-General, as nearly resembling conciliation as was possible for the proudest Court in Asia. In Southern India, the Moplah

fanatics, who had so frequently disquieted the province of Malabar, seemed at last to have been tamed into submission, and the dangerous Arab mercenaries of the Deccan were occupied as usual in collecting their debts, seizing jaghirs, and oppressing other mercenaries less powerful or less united than themselves. There was peacefulness everywhere, and financiers began to dream of that Indian surplus, which is to effect so much when it arrives, and philanthropists hoped somewhat vaguely that "something would be done" to "develop the resources of India," two stock phrases, in which no one, save griffins and Young Bengal, entertain more than a passive faith.

The horizon was soon overcast, and the principle of our Empire, which even Sir Robert Peel allowed to be irresistible, and which gave us Calcutta only as a *point d'appui* to the conquest of Bengal, and Bengal only as a stepping stone to that of India, again came into operation. The "profound tranquillity," which English newspapers predicated of India, was merely a breathing moment.

" So ere the tempest on Malacca's coast,
Sweet Quiet, gently touching her soft lute,
Sings to the whispering waves the prelude to dispute."

We have given a history of the Burmese war so recently, that we shall allow ourselves only the rapid sketch indispensable to the completeness of these Annals. Its origin was, unlike most of our Indian wars, a mercantile dispute. Two ship captains were grievously oppressed by the Governor of Rangoon, the only port in Burmah which boasts of any thing like external trade; and both, instead of quietly submitting to the indignities offered to them, laid the case before the Indian Government. The head of that Government, though dreading above all things a Burmese war, was thoroughly acquainted with the fact, that half our power in Asia depends upon our prestige. The insolence of the subordinate officials in Burmah had now reached a point, which rendered it indispensable either to abandon all trade with a nation of barbarians, or to compel them to observe the ordinary rules of commercial intercourse, and the special treaties formerly ratified by their own Government. Towards the end of November 1851 Commodore Lambert, the second in command in the Eastern seas, arrived in Rangoon, charged to require from the King of Ava redress for the injuries sustained by British subjects, the removal of the official who had demonstrated his hostility to a friendly power, and the admission of a Consul at Rangoon to prevent the recurrence of such untoward accidents. The appearance of the fleet alarmed the Governor and his suite. He had been accustomed to

speak with contempt of "that little man in Calcutta," and to declare that although in the last war, the Burmese were unprepared, and had consequently been beaten, they were now again ready for the conflict, and it was "time to recover Arracan and Assam." The arrival of the squadron changed all this. Well aware that if the Court were once acquainted with the facts of the case, his life would not be worth an hour's purchase, and knowing that he could not rely upon the Peguers even for neutrality, he was thrown into the most abject terror by the arrival of the squadron; and had the original demands of the Governor-General been persisted in, it is probable that he would have at once paid over the money required, and thus terminated the affair without any necessity of a reference to the Court. Commodore Lambert did not, however, afford him the opportunity. On his arrival, the British merchants, resident in Rangoon, offered to him representations of such a character, that he resolved at once to take more decisive steps. The letter to the King of Ava was despatched at once, instead of being held in reserve; and this brings us to the beginning of the year. The reply received from Ava to this communication was, as we have said, as conciliatory as could well be expected, but though courteously expressed, was deemed unsatisfactory by the Indian Government. The total silence of the Court upon the question of the Consulate, and the promise to send a Plenipotentiary to Rangoon, invested with full powers to examine and settle the disputes of the merchants, were interpreted as devices to gain time. It appears to have been suspected, too, that the reply was the work of the faction which then ruled in Ava, and that its moderate tone arose simply from the fact, that the King was utterly unaware of its contents. The notoriously haughty character of the Burmese Court, rendered it peculiarly improbable, that the King should at once assent to demands urged by a foreign power, and remove a functionary appointed by himself; still, however, the Government, true to its conciliatory policy, resolved to await the arrival of the Plenipotentiary. The person selected for this office was the Governor of Prome, or Viceroy of Pegu, and he arrived at Rangoon on the 4th January, with all the parade which, in the eyes of his own people, could add dignity to his mission; but it was regarded as an ominous circumstance, that he did not even attempt to disgrace the delinquent Governor. The omen was soon fulfilled. From the moment of his arrival, every variety of insult, which the formal etiquette of an Oriental Court could suggest, was heaped upon the British Representative. The Viceroy ignored his presence for days, laughed derisively at his officers, and

finally refused to receive a deputation from the Commodore. It would appear probable that he did not really intend to decline the interview, but simply to impress his people with a strong idea of his grandeur and dignity, by keeping his British suitors waiting at the gate. In either case, the insult was the same, and Commodore Lambert felt himself justified in suspending all farther communication with the Viceroy, until he had received fresh instructions. Moreover, as an immediate warning to the Viceroy of the danger of the course he was pursuing, and in reprisal for the insult offered to the British flag, he carried away an unpainted teak hulk, belonging to the King of Ava. What mysterious virtues resided in this vessel, it is impossible to understand; but perhaps it was the immediate property of the King, and as such, sacred in the eyes of his servants. The Viceroy had previously warned the Commodore, that if this ship were touched, he would open fire; and he kept his word. The fire was of course returned, and the squadron sailed out of the mouth of the river, after destroying the stockades on both banks. The ports of Rangoon, Bassein, and Martaban, were then declared, under instructions from the Governor-General, in a state of blockade, and Commodore Lambert departed for Calcutta.

The Indian Government, tardy to a proverb in many respects, is sufficiently prompt to meet all military emergencies; and no sooner was the real state of affairs known in Calcutta, than active preparations were set on foot for the impending conflict. It had arrived at no opportune moment. The Commander-in-Chief, upon whom the conduct of operations would naturally have devolved, was a thousand miles away,—at Simlah, and seemed likely to remain there for the remainder of his command. The Governor-General, who had been actively occupied in changing the Punjab from a conquered kingdom into a British province, was leisurely marching down from the North West; and Bengal itself was almost without available troops. Moreover, it appeared exceedingly probable, that the Burmese, having once determined to begin the struggle, would prosecute it with vigour and determination. The Tenasserim provinces were open to invasion at any moment from Martaban, and Arracan might be menaced from the Aeng Pass. Lastly, there existed in the minds of all Indian officials an indefinable terror of a Burmese war. The length to which the last campaign in that country had been protracted, and the small advantages finally obtained, had disgusted politicians. The financier dreaded a new war, which might cost another fifteen millions sterling, and at once destroy

all hopes of a surplus; while even the soldier scarcely desired a war in a country, which he had heard was one colossal swamp.

All these difficulties, however, yielded to the energy of the Supreme Council, which, for the first time in its history, proved that it was not unequal even to executive duties. The absence of the Commander-in-Chief was not so great an evil as it would have been had he been a less aged or more capable man; as it was, with a military member of Council, and a large staff in Calcutta, his absence was scarcely felt, except in an occasional delay in filling up appointments. The Governor-General hurried down to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 29th January, and at once took the entire conduct of the war into his own hands. Fortunately, he had already been compelled to manage all the details of one campaign; and his confidence in his own resources, occasionally perhaps amounting even to rashness, and his persevering energy, soon made themselves felt in every department. Meanwhile, troops were instantly concentrated towards Calcutta. Maulmain was reinforced, a wing of H. M.'s 18th R. I. having been warned for service, and despatched across the bay with almost unprecedented speed. Arracan was placed in a state of defence, and Commodore Lambert was once more entrusted with a despatch for the Court of Ava, with an offer of accommodation. In this, the second attempt to avert the necessity of actual hostilities, the Governor-General scarcely increased his original demand. He demanded, it is true, an apology for the insults offered to Commodore Lambert, but the general tone of his communication was moderate to the verge of concession. In passing up the river, the Commodore was fired upon, but the letter was at length delivered, and its excessive mildness appears to have convinced the Viceroy, that the British Government was not in earnest. His answer was merely an objection, on personal grounds, to Commodore Lambert, most offensively worded; and preparations went on ashore without cessation. The Viceroy, who appears, though an arrogant and dull man, to have been possessed of considerable activity and energy, exerted himself to place Rangoon in a position of defence.

Meanwhile, the Viceroy's reply had of course convinced the Indian Government of the hollowness of all the Burmese professions of amity; but the Governor-General was still reluctant to abandon his policy, and still refrained from the final measure. He would not meditate the conquest, which all now knew to be inevitable, but determined to strike a sudden blow, which should demonstrate to the Court of Ava, that a power, which they were without the means to resist, was in earnest in exacting

reparation. A combined expedition was to be set in motion from Calcutta and Madras, supported and conveyed by a fleet of war steamers from Bombay; Martaban and Rangoon were to be seized, and then it was hoped, that in sight of such a force, the arrogant Court would submit, as it had before done, to necessity, and pay a sum sufficient to liquidate the expenses of the war. Two regiments of Europeans and one native regiment were ordered from Bengal, and one European and three native regiments from Madras, a force which was afterwards largely increased. The expedition from Bengal left Calcutta on the 29th March, but that from Madras was delayed by a circumstance which reflected little credit upon the authorities at that presidency, and which suggests the necessity of an important reform in the constitution of India.

The Governor of Madras was Sir Henry Pottinger, an old officer, who had gained high reputation in the China war, but who certainly has not added to it by his conduct of the Government of Madras. The Indian Government had not, he thought, treated him on this occasion as it became a statesman of Lord Dalhousie's rank and character to treat an officer of his experience and renown. He was pettish accordingly. Moreover, another cause contributed strongly to foster the ill-feeling between the Governments. Although by the Charter Act of 1832, the British Empire in India was placed under one head, and all separate powers of legislation denied to the smaller presidencies, the innovation has in no degree had the effect of amalgamating them. The three presidencies remain as much apart as separate monarchies. The Europeans of each, whether official or otherwise, are acquainted only with each other, marry among themselves, and are generally in a state of profound ignorance as to how the other sections live, and with what they are occupied. Moreover, although the Legislature of one is the Legislature of all, the systems of Executive Government are widely different, and a strong degree of jealousy has sprung up to divide them still further. This feeling is exasperated in the minds of the officials by the pecuniary dependence in which they are kept upon the Government of India, and in Madras particularly, seems likely hereafter to interfere to some extent with the general welfare of the Empire. Sir H. Pottinger, supported by the existence of this sentiment among his subordinates, and personally irritated by the presumed absence of the respect which he considered due to himself, gave expression to both feelings by refusing to move one step without distinct orders from Calcutta. His contingent was in readiness at Madras, but he declared that, as he had not been con-

sulted, he would not take upon himself the responsibility of engaging transports; and thus its departure was delayed for several days. The dispute, though exceedingly inconvenient, and destructive to Sir Henry Pottinger's dearly purchased reputation, would not have been of any great importance, but for the dangers which it suggests for the future. Suppose Sir H. Pottinger, going one step farther in disobedience, had, instead of delaying to obey, refused obedience altogether. This has occurred once in the early history of India, when Lord Wellesley ordered the Madras presidency to declare war on Tippú, and was met by a distinct refusal. Would Lord Dalhousie, in such a case, have been compelled to follow his predecessor's example, and visit Madras in person, or would the commission of Captain-General, which he is believed to hold, have been sufficient to enable him to depose the Governor? A crisis might occur, in which a step of this description would be indispensable to the safety of the Empire, and some such power should be reserved to the Supreme Head of the Administration.

Another occurrence, however, almost as inconvenient, had nearly delayed the movements of the contingent from Bengal. The earlier founders of the Empire, alarmed as they were at the magnitude of their own acquisitions, and unable to foresee that in their conquests lay the germ of an empire larger than that of Rome, had never contemplated the necessity of conveying native troops by sea, and perhaps scarcely noticed that the terms of the sepoy oath only bound them to march whithersoever they might be directed, thus by implication exempting them from the obligation to proceed by water. Five general service corps had, however, been raised, and the difficulty attracted for a time but little attention, and it was even believed that the prejudice had disappeared. The superstition, which forbade a Hindu ever to cross the Indus, was at least equally strong. Yet it had been overcome, and there are few more striking scenes, even in the history of British India, than that when, in the first Affghan war, our sepoys arrived on the bank of the Indus. The officers dreaded, lest a panic should seize their men, and a refusal should be given, which would amount to mutiny. All was prepared for the contingency, but the sepoys never hesitated, rushing forward with a shout of '*Kúmpāni ka ikhbal*,' *the destiny of the Company*, a phrase, by the way, implicitly believed in by almost all natives, and which has no slight effect on the maintenance of British prestige in India. A similar feeling would, it was hoped, have enabled the Government to count upon its sepoys even for an expedition across the sea. The volunteering of the

38th Regiment N. I., however, upon which the experiment was first tried, was mismanaged in some manner, which has never yet been explained; and even the Mussalmans declined to go. The Government refrained from putting in force any measure of compulsion, and the regiment was ordered to proceed to Dacca, where it was speedily disorganized by disease.

This, however, is a digression. Unaffected by the example of Sir H. Pottinger's tardiness, the Bombay Government, aided by the able Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy, Commodore Lushington, exerted themselves with such energy, that within thirty hours after the receipt of the order, the steam fleet was on its voyage, and despite all difficulties, the Madras contingent was not much behind its time.

General Godwin, an old Queen's officer, who had acquired some knowledge of the country in the former campaigns, and who was believed to possess ability, was selected to command. Though an old man, he was as active as the youngest subaltern. The rules of the service forbade a different choice, and the extreme Toryism, which forbade his attempting anything which had not been tried by Sir Archibald Campbell, was not then apparent. It is superfluous to notice the personal bravery of an English General; but we have heard many anecdotes of the marvellous coolness with which General Godwin would chat and smile while the balls were pouring round him like hail in the attack on the Pagoda. The nomination, therefore, was not very unpopular, except with the press, which has always been disposed to condemn the system of employing antiquated Generals to command armies, which perhaps more than any in the world require vigour in their leaders.

Under such circumstances, and with such a chief, the Bengal division of the army arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon river on the 2nd April. The Madras division, delayed by the untoward dispute on which we have commented, had not arrived; but no time was lost, Martaban was stormed on the 5th with but little loss, and garrisoned by a force, sufficient to deter the enemy from any attempt to regain it. Meanwhile, the Madras contingent had arrived, Commodore Lambert had destroyed the stockades at the mouth of the river, and on the 10th the expedition was at Rangoon. This town stands on a long flat bank of the largest mouth of the Irrawaddy, twenty-five miles from the sea, capable of indefinite expansion to the North and East, but bounded on the South by the Pegu river. It resembles Calcutta more nearly, perhaps, than any city in India, the Pagoda occupying the place of the Cathedral. This Pagoda is in fact an artificial mound, ascending in ledges, with ter-

races all round, covered with small shrines, and tapering towards the top. Into the Pagoda itself the only entrance is by flights of steep stairs, with landing places broad enough to mount cannon, and which, if defended by a brave and resolute enemy, would be utterly impregnable. The attack commenced on the 10th. The steamers did their work well. All the following day and night, the fiery rain of shell never ceased. The stockades were destroyed. The new town built by the Viceroy was cleared of the enemy. The Pagoda remained alone, but the Pagoda was the most defensible point in the town. The General resolved to take it by a flank movement. He landed his troops to the Southward—where in Calcutta, Garden Reach would be—and stormed a well-built stockade which lay in his way. It was defended with a gallantry never again displayed in the war, and were we writing a Military Chronicle, much might be said of the individual feats of daring displayed. The loss was considerable, the men were wearied, and almost worn out, and the General resolved to halt for the night. His guns were not on shore, and he remained over the 13th. The sun was overpoweringly hot, the troops in full uniform, and the force lost nearly as many officers from *coups de soleil* as from the bullets of the enemies. On the 14th, the force was again in motion. The guns were planted opposite the Eastern side, the farthest from the river, and by noon, the road appeared practicable, and the assault was made. Under a terrible fire, the troops crossed the space between the jungle and the Pagoda, and dashed up stairs, which are almost perpendicular, and whence they might have been swept by regular platoon firing. The Burmese, however, were cowed. They fired a volley or two, which cost us some of our bravest officers, and decamped. The Viceroy had fled before. During the halt on the 13th, the guns from the steamers had not been silent; they kept up a rattling fire, and he soon fancied himself not safe even in the Pagoda. He went to the other side, where the entire mound and its buildings intervened between himself and the ships. Even there, a lucky shell, which had crossed the Pagoda, fell among his party, and he fled again. He crossed the river, and reached Dalla on the other side, and again the shells fell by him. He declared "that they knew him, and followed him," and disappeared finally from the scene. His fate is still unknown, but it is scarcely to be supposed, that he escaped the vengeance of his royal master. The fall of the Pagoda was the fall of Rangoon. Resistance disappeared, the officers took up their quarters in old houses, or rebuilt others; a Police Magistrate was appointed, and Rangoon soon wore the appearance of a city at peace. The

inhabitants crowded into the town, which soon regained its former magnitude, and the admirable regulations of the General and the Commodore produced a degree of confidence among the people, which was never afterwards weakened. The Pegu-ers, accustomed to our rule in Maulmein, and tired of a Government under which no man was safe for an hour, were as strongly inclined to the British as an Oriental people is ever inclined to any thing, which has no immediate religious or financial connection. They brought in food without stint, and were regularly paid. Both the naval and military commanders exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the introduction of spirits, and discipline is always sufficient to restrain Europeans so long as drink is not to be obtained. So great became the confidence of the people, that the women would go up to the lines to sell fruit or fish, without the slightest fear, and in a stay of months, but one outrage occurred, and even that was not laid to the score of the military. The provident care of the Governor-General had ensured admirable arrangements for the Commissariat, and in a short time, the harbour was studded with masts. Whatever may have been General Godwin's offences on the score of tardiness, he deserves abundant credit for his administration of Rangoon.

And here the force remained inactive till the middle of May. On the 14th of that month, an expedition was despatched against Bassein. This town, situated on a high bank of one of the mouths of the Irrawaddy, sixty miles from the sea, was once the head-quarters of the Portuguese in Eastern India. It was from hence that they sallied on those piratical expeditions, which desolated the Sunderbunds, and turned what had once been a flourishing province into a desolate swamp, the home of the tiger and the boa. Its importance has departed, but its natural advantages, even the Government of Ava has been unable to destroy. A channel, many fathoms deep in the driest season, offers a safe passage for ships of almost any burden, and the country around is rich with all the inexhaustible fertility of a Delta in the tropics. The town was taken with the ease which has been characteristic of all the operations of the campaign, and thus the entire sea-coast of Pegu passed under the control of the British.

Thus far, in spite of delays and mistakes, we had been successful. The stroke had been struck. The expedition had conquered the maritime provinces of Pegu, had demonstrated to the Burmese that the power of the English was even more irresistible than of old, and had proved the enormous accession of strength, which had been gained in the acquisition of steam

by the only power in the East competent to employ it with advantage. But the policy upon which the expedition was based, had failed. The Court of Ava manifested no sign of repentance or submission. Their troops were still hovering round every point held by the British, their Generals were raising stockades all along the river, they forwarded no offer of accommodation, and implored no terms. It was evident that conquest was inevitable, and to conquest Lord Dalhousie at once directed his attention. It was now July, a month perhaps more dangerous to troops in India than any other; but the emergency had been foreseen, and the army of Ava was in readiness. It was only necessary to extend the old plan of the campaign. Instead of three regiments, each presidency was to send three brigades, and a force of sixteen thousand men was placed under the command of General Godwin. Steam had enabled us to transport both troops and stores to Burmah with greater ease than in our own dominions, and this resource was stretched to the utmost. The additional troops arrived in Rangoon in August, and the war of conquest re-commenced.

Meanwhile, the army at Rangoon had remained utterly inactive, and a cry arose in India, which was soon repeated from England, that the war was unnecessarily protracted, and that General Godwin was obviously unequal to the command. For nearly five months he had remained quiet at Rangoon, while the waters of the Irrawaddy had remained open as far as Ava. Meanwhile, his Lieutenants were all activity. One Captain attacked and occupied Pegu, though being without troops to garrison it, he was compelled to abandon his prize, and it was retaken by the Burmese. Another captured fifty pieces of ordnance at Prome, a town on the river, half way to Ava, and only lamented that his instructions did not permit him to make a similar attempt on the capital itself. The long inertness seemed to give fresh courage to the Burmese, and armed bands of dacoits, styling themselves the royal troops, committed the most horrible excesses. The Governor-General himself visited Rangoon, and, it is believed, urged on the General. All was useless. The gallant old man would not stir, till his own time. At last, on the 19th September, he started, carrying with him in the steamers a force of nearly five thousand men. The event proved that the anticipations of his subordinates were correct. Prome fell almost without a struggle, and the great table land, which divides Pegu from Burmah Proper, was in our possession, and the struggle of the Burmese was now for Ava itself, and no longer for their outlying provinces. The remaining events of the campaign, included within the year, are of the slightest possible impor-

tance. Pegu was taken a second time, not to be abandoned, and a desperate effort made by the Burmese in December to recover the town, was baffled by the skill and valour of Major Hill of the Madras Fusiliers, who, after an exhibition of courage and ability altogether unparalleled in the history of the war, was relieved by General Godwin. Expeditions were sent to crush bands of dacoits, which were frequently attended with marked success, and finally, the war was for the year terminated by the following decree:—

PROCLAMATION.

The Court of Ava having refused to make amends for the injuries and insults which British subjects had suffered at the hands of its servants, the Governor-General of India in Council resolved to exact reparation by force of arms.

The Forts and Cities upon the Coast were forthwith attacked and captured; the Burman forces have been dispersed wherever they have been met; and the Province of Pegu is now in the occupation of British Troops.

The just and moderate demands of the Government of India have been rejected by the King; the ample opportunity that has been afforded him for repairing the injury that was done, has been disregarded; and the timely submission, which alone could have been effectual to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom, is still withheld.

Wherefore, in compensation for the past, and for better security in the future, the Governor-General in Council has resolved, and hereby proclaims, that the province of Pegu is now, and shall be henceforth, a portion of the British Territories in the East.

Such Burman Troops as may still remain within the province shall be driven out; Civil Government shall immediately be established; and Officers shall be appointed to administer the affairs of the several districts.

The Governor-General in Council hereby calls on the inhabitants of Pegu to submit themselves to the authority, and to confide securely in the protection of the British Government, whose power they have seen to be irresistible, and whose rule is marked by justice and beneficence.

The Governor-General in Council, having exacted the reparation he deems sufficient, desires no further conquest in Burmah, and is willing to consent that hostilities should cease.

But if the King of Ava shall fail to renew his former relations of friendship with the British Government, and if he shall recklessly seek to dispute its quiet possession of the province it has now declared to be its own, the Governor-General in Council will again put forth the power he holds, and will visit with full retribution aggressions which, if they be persisted in, must of necessity lead to the total subversion of the Burman State, and to the ruin and exile of the King and his race.

By order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council,

C. ALLEN,

Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

20th December, 1852.

Language more haughty was never employed by Roman Dictator or American President, but it is suited to the people

addressed, and enunciates nothing but the simplest truth. The Burmese Empire has come for the second time into hostile contact with the Saxon race, and continues to exist, of course, only by its sufferance. The English having conquered the great Peninsula of India, have been impelled by that same inexplicable fate, which has apparently driven them onwards for the last century, into Indo-Chinese Asia. The consequence—is not for an annalist to predict.

In the beginning of the year, an occurrence of a different nature added another district to the dominions of the Company. The public mind was startled in January by the intelligence of a sudden order for the march of a force towards the South East of the Punjab, the destination of which appeared to be known only to the highest officials. All that was apparent was, that a small and compact army of nearly ten thousand men was in motion, and the most absurd rumours were afloat as to the designs of Government. The army was intended to suppress a rising in Scinde—to invade Beluchistan—to threaten Dost Mahomed,—to interfere in the squabbles of the chieftains of Kandahar. All kinds of suppositions were hazarded, until at length it became known that the Government had resolved to dethrone Mir Ali Morad, the Amir of Khyrpore, the most northerly province of Scinde. From the extent of the preparations, and the mystery which encircled the movements of the force, it appears probable that the Government expected resistance, but they were mistaken. The country was occupied without a stroke having been struck, or a shot fired, and the following proclamation announced the dethronement of the Rais, and the annexation of his dominions to those of the British power :—

The Government of India had long seen cause to believe that his Highness Mir Ali Morad Khan of Khyrpore, by acts of forgery and fraud, had deprived the British Government of territory in Scinde, to which it was lawfully entitled.

Reluctant to condemn the Amir unless upon the clearest proof of his personal guilt, the Government of India directed that a full and public enquiry should be made into the charges that had been brought against him.

His Highness attended the enquiry in person. Every opportunity was afforded of eliciting the truth, and of establishing his Highness's innocence of the crime of which he had been accused.

His Highness Mir Ali Morad Khan entirely failed to rebut the charge. On clear and complete evidence he was convicted of having destroyed a leaf of the *Koran* in which the Treaty of Nownahar was written, and of having substituted for it another leaf of a different tenor, whereby his Highness fraudulently obtained possession of several large districts, instead of villages of the same name, greatly to the prejudice of the British Government, to which the said districts lawfully belonged, and in gross violation of good faith and honour.

The Government of India sought no pretext to interfere with the possessions of his Highness Mir Ali Morad Khan. It desired that his Highness should continue to rule the territories he held in peace and security, and it was slow to entertain and to urge against his Highness accusations which place in jeopardy his reputation and authority.

But the Amir's guilt has been proved. The Government of India will not permit his Highness Mir Ali Morad Khan to escape with impunity and a great public crime to remain unpunished.

Wherefore the Government of India has resolved, and hereby declares that Mir Ali Morad Khan of Khyrpore is degraded from the rank of Rais, and that all his lands and territories, excepting those hereditary possessions only which were allotted to him by his father, Mir Sorab Khan, shall henceforth be a portion of the British Empire in India.

The inhabitants of those territories are hereby called upon to submit themselves peaceably to the dominion under which they have passed, in full reliance that they will be defended against their enemies, and protected from harm; and that, unmolested in their persons, in their property, and their homes, they will be governed with just and mild authority.

By order of the Most Noble the Governor General of India,

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,

21st January, 1852.

Commissioner.

The causes of this singular and almost unprecedented act, are well explained by the papers contained in the *Blue Book*, published by order of the House of Lords, but as usual with those productions, in a form almost unintelligible to the ordinary reader. We will endeavour to make our narrative as clear as the original papers will permit, a task rendered none the more easy by the antiquated mode of printing adopted. About the middle of the year 1843, Sir Charles Napier expressed to the Governor-General his desire to recognize the right of the Amir Ali Morad, who had steadily adhered to us during the recent war, in all his patrimonial lands, in all the lands which had descended by patrimonial inheritance to his brother Mir Rustum, and in all the lands which were in the hands of the Khan at the outbreak of the war. The remainder of Scinde was "annexed," and thus, in fact, whatever the British Government made over to Ali Morad, it sacrificed itself. To carry out the latter clause of this treaty, it would have been necessary to place Mir Ali Morad in possession of certain tracts of land north of Kori, of considerable value. These lands were proved to have been in his possession by virtue of a treaty executed in 1842, when he vanquished his brother Mir Rustum, and nephew Mir Nussir Khan, and obtained the districts in question, in return for a promise to abstain from further hostilities. This treaty was called the treaty of Nownahar, and according to a custom among Mahomedan Princes, was written on a leaf of the *Koran*.

The phrase which subsequently became of the greatest importance in this document, bears reference to a place called Mahtelah, which was ceded by Nussir Khan to his uncle, and which was, unfortunately for one or both of them, the name of a small village and a large pergunnah. According to the version of the treaty shown to Sir Charles Napier, the pergunnah appeared to have been made over to Mir Ali Morad, and he was therefore placed in full possession, though the Governor of Scinde appears at a very early period to have entertained the idea that a fraud of some description had been perpetrated. The matter, however, was allowed to rest, although the officers of Government appear never to have totally abandoned the investigation, till the visit of the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, to Scinde in 1849. The documents relating to the affair were submitted to him by Mr. Pringle, the Commissioner, and the Government of Bombay, under instructions from his Lordship, determined on a full investigation into the circumstances of the alleged fraud. It was declared, that the territory originally ceded by the vanquished amirs, contained merely a few villages of little or no importance, and that Ali Morad had at first interpolated certain words, conveying to himself a large territory, and afterwards had removed the leaf and substituted another. On the 5th January, 1853, therefore, a commission, consisting of Mr. Pringle, the Commissioner, Major Lang, the Political Agent in Kattywar, and Major John Jacob, Superintendent on the Frontier of Upper Scinde, was appointed to investigate the share which the amir himself had in the forgery. They examined all the witnesses in the presence of the Amir himself, compared every document, and finally came to the conclusion, that he was guilty. The evidence upon which they rested this conviction was far more complete than is usually obtained in such cases, and would, we are inclined to believe, have satisfied an English jury of ordinary intelligence. Two of the amir's most confidential servants, who had subsequently become estranged from him, deposed upon oath, that they had assisted him to alter the treaty, and one of them actually produced a certificate of indemnity which he had compelled the amir to make out before he would lend his assistance. The interpolated leaf, which had been subsequently removed to make way for the new one, and which one of them had preserved, was also produced, and corroborated their story in the minutest particular. Nor was collateral evidence wanting. Ali Morad himself, Mir Rustum, and Mir Nussir had all written to Captain Brown on the day of the battle, and in every instance they spoke of the cession in terms utterly incon-

sistent with the latitude which the forged treaty assigned to it. Various other circumstances were adduced, all tending strongly to criminate the amir, and to rebut which he offered nothing beyond an assertion, that the whole affair was a conspiracy. We republish his defence entire, partly because it is in itself a most singularly able production, and partly because we have not remarked that the amir's own history of the affair has ever crept beyond the *Blue Book*, except it be in some of the Western Journals:—

It is known to the Sirkar that I suffered from the enmity of my brothers and my brothers' sons, which I incurred owing to my having made friendship with the British Government, and adhered thereto with sincerity, allowing nothing to sway me from my resolution to that effect. I was in the habit of performing service for them with heart and soul, like one under their allegiance; and when I went to meet Mr. Ross Bell, Political Agent, at his Camp at Bhutti, and my brothers heard that he had shown me much kindness, their enmity towards me became greatly increased, and they began, beyond measure, to exert themselves to injure me. They also wrote an account of this visit to the amirs of Hyderabad, and endeavoured, in every way, to do me harm. They wrote that the English Government was their enemy, and Mir Ali Morad, joining with them in friendship, was bringing calamity on his own house, as the English Government was evidently determined to ruin them and to take the country of Seindo, and had on that account taken Mir Ali Morad into favour; they therefore proposed first to exterminate me as being the enemy of their house, and, after making the necessary arrangements, to put me to death, in order that no member of their family might ever after form an alliance with the English Government. They were then to enter into agreements with the rulers of Khorasan and Lahore, and to shut up the road for the Government to pass to and fro. Having formed this determination, they commenced by taking measures to ruin me. Mir Nussir Khan and Mir Mahomed Hussan Khan therefore combined for this purpose. The latter then making an excuse of the dispute with his father about the turban, left Khyrpur and went to Behorti, and there raised troops. Nussir Khan at the same time assembled his people near the fort of Kunduran, on pretence of the Sunderbeli and Uzizpur business. It was agreed to between them that Nussir Khan should bring his army against Diji Ka Kote from the north, and Mir Mahomed Hussan advance at the same time from the south, and that they should thus surround Diji Ka Kote. Hearing of this, I likewise assembled my troops, and marched immediately against Mir Nussir Khan. When I arrived at Kundra, I heard rumours of Mir Nussir Khan having proceeded with his army against Diji Ka Kote, by the Khyrpur road. On this account I countermarched upon Khyrpur, and when I got to Tandea Buksh Ali Talpur, within a coss of Khyrpur, Mir Mahomed Ali and Mir Gholam Mahomed came out with their troops to Nownahar and entrenched themselves. Through the blessing of God and my good fortune, I was victorious over them, and surrounded and detained them. Mir Rustum Khan, who had in the meantime left Khyrpur to join in the fight, hearing of what had happened, and seeing how many people had been already killed, abandoned his intention of fighting, and came forward to make peace. With this view he sent Pir Ali Gohur and Mir Zungi Khan to me, stating that the British Government was our enemy, and wished to ruin our house, for which rea-

son we ought not to assist with our own hands in bringing this about. I refused, however, to entertain his proposals. After this Mir Rustum Khan, with his own confidential followers, came with Pir Ali Gohur to me; seeing him, my elder brother, with his white beard, do this, I became ashamed and remained silent. Pir Ali Gohur then talked to me, and I replied that Mir Nussir Khan, and Mir Mahomed Hussan, from their own folly, regarded the British Government as their enemy, and wished to ruin me, because I was a friend of the said Government. That he was aware, since my meeting with Mr. Ross Bell, they regarded me as an open enemy, and had several times assembled their troops to attack me, and that I therefore, being alarmed and alone, had had to expend lacks of rupees to preserve my own life, by which means I had escaped; also that Mir Rustum Khan had frequently interfered to restore peace, but never abandoned the enmity which he entertained in his own breast. I therefore told him that without making a satisfactory arrangement, and recovering the lacks of rupees I had expended, I could not listen to terms. Pir Ali Gohur then told me that he had explained the whole of this to Mir Rustum Khan, who replied, that he had no ready money to give, nor had Mir Nussir Khan; but if Mir Ali Morad was willing to take a cession of country instead, they would make a settlement on these terms. When Pir Ali Gohur brought me this proposal, I consulted with Sheik Ali Hussan, who told me not to be satisfied with verbal agreements, but to have the engagement ceding any places that were to be given, written in the *Koran*. Upon this I consented to accept of a settlement of this kind, and Mir Rustum Khan agreed to give me seven villages on his part, and the pargannahs Mathela, Mirpur, and Mchurki, and the village of Dadlu on that of Mir Nussir Khan, and had a writing to that effect inserted in the *Koran*, and sealed with his own seal, and those of Mirs Nussir Khan and Ali Ukhbur Khan. This is the very writing which is entered in the *Koran*, which I have produced before the gentlemen of the Commission. No alterations or erasures whatever have been made in it. It was not only written before Sheik Ali Hussan and Pir Ali Gohur, but in the presence of many other respectable persons who are still alive, and should their evidence be approved of by the gentlemen of the Commission, I will send for them. The circumstance regarding Sheik Ali Hussan and Pir Ali Gohur, are as follows: The former was first employed by me on seven rupees a month as a Bhargir, and afterwards I raised him to places of honour and dignity, till at length he became my principal Munshi and adviser, and he was intrusted with the charge of all my business with Government. He was also fully empowered to transact all the revenue and other management of my country, and had charge of my treasure; whatever he required in money he took, without having to ask my permission. Formerly I knew but little of Pir Ali Gohur, but the Sheik formed a friendship with him, and told me he was a good and intelligent man, and deserved to be taken into our counsels. I immediately agreed to this, and they became still greater friends, and were fully intrusted with the sole and entire management of all my affairs: my seal remained in their charge, as I was generally employed in those days with my troops, owing to the enmity of my brethren towards me, and attended but little in consequence to the affairs of my districts, which were, therefore, entirely in their hands. When they settled anything, they put my seal to it with their own hands, and sometimes when I intrusted any particular business to them, they were in the habit of getting my signature in the words "Bahal ust" (it is confirmed), on blank pieces of paper, and my own seal remained with them, and they put it to any writing or

agreement they chose. To this extent were they trusted by me, when I attacked Melleh Mahomed Chandya on this side of the river, and seized him, and went to Hydrabad to meet Sir C. Napier, the Governor of Scinde; I saw that the Sheik was disposed to play me false, and had made common cause with Munshi Ali Ukhbur, who had given him advice to get from me, in writing, half of the country that the British Government had given me, telling him at the same time that if I refused to give this writing, he (Ali Ukhbur) would devise some means of ruining me. The Sheik then visited me in Hydrabad, and spoke to me to this effect at a private interview, to which I replied that I was going to Khyrpur, and to come there, and I would arrange about a jaghir for him according to his pleasure. I added, however, that it was very unbecoming in him to entertain any desire to get half of the country, inasmuch as he was a servant, and not a shareholder with me. After this, the Sheik being perplexed, told me, that in this business Munshi Ali Ukhbur was in concert with him, and therefore, if I would not agree to the arrangement proposed, he would devise some means by which I should be ruined; notwithstanding this, I tried by mildness and conciliation to make him understand, and promised to arrange about a jaghir for him when I returned to Khyrpur, but told him that I would never consent to give him half the country. After this, agreeably to Sir Charles Napier's orders, I started at night in the direction of Dullilderi, in order to arrange about Mir Shere Mahomed. On meeting Colonel Roberts, who had also come near that place from Sewistan, I told him that Sheik Ali Hussan had become inimical towards me, and that, therefore, I was of opinion that he (Colonel Roberts) should inform Sir Charles Napier of this, and that an officer should be appointed as a Resident between me and the British Government, when there would be no further necessity for any other vakil. Colonel Roberts then wrote a note to General Napier to this effect, and he agreed to the arrangement, and appointed Captain Malet to the situation of Resident of Khyrpur. Upon this the Sheik became more my enemy than ever, and, in conjunction with Ali Ukhbur, began to devise means for my ruin. From Dullilderi I hurried to Khyrpur, to put a stop to the disturbance which Mir Mahomed Ali had raised in my district of Dubba, and when I got near Pir Subreh, I met Captain Pope, who told me that the Sirkar's troops were ready to assist me as I might require. I replied that as it was the hot season, I did not wish to give the Sirkar's troops trouble, and that I had men enough of my own to punish Mir Mahomed Ali. After this, having arrived near Dubba, I defeated Mir Mahomed Ali, so that he fled and crossed the river, and the ryots of that country were relieved from all apprehension. Having arranged every thing there, I returned to Khyrpur, and about the same time Sheik Ali Hussan came there from Hydrabad, and told me that as I had not given him half the country, the whole of the Government servants employed in the Duftur, together with Munshi Ali Ukhbur, were of one mind with him, and he would devise means of injuring me to such an extent, that I would be involved in the calamity all my life. This at last was the length to which he got, that the letters which I wrote to Sir Charles Napier were lost on the way, and the letters of that officer to me did not reach me in safety. At length Captain Malet arrived at Khyrpur, and I informed him of all the enmity of the Sheik towards me, and of his friendship with Ali Ukhbur, and of the claims I had upon him for an account of all he had received from me. That officer, in consequence, saw the necessity of making some arrangement for me, and as it soon appeared that the Sheik had also gained over the Pir (Ali Gohur) to his own evil ways, I put a stop to their using my seal, and

some time afterwards the seal was lost, of which I gave information to Captain Malet. I likewise sent my people to resume the Jaghir which Sheik Ali had near Budakeh, but his men opposed them, and he would not give it up. I then informed Captain Malet of this further disrespect which he had shown me. Shortly after this, Sir Charles Napier, the Governor, came into this part of the country, and Captain Malet informed him of all the proceedings of Sheik Ali Hussan, and of his having allied himself to Moonshi Ali Ukhbur. The Governor then forbad Moonshi Ali Ukhbur from interfering in my affairs, and told Captain Malet that I was the owner of my own country, and the Sheik was my servant, and his jaghir situated in my country, and I might therefore resume it whenever I chose. Upon this I sent my people to his jaghir, and the Governor himself told me in the meantime, near Sukkur, that if I wished it, he would hang the Sheik, or give him any other punishment. I replied that whatever appeared proper to the Sirkar should be done, but that I had claims on him for lakhs of rupees, which I could prove by my accounts. About this time the Governor determined to go into the Hills, and I got ready and accompanied him. When I returned I wished to settle accounts with Sheik Ali Hussan, but he took an opportunity of escaping during the night to Multan. Pir Ali Gohur also, having been desired to accompany me to the Hills, refused to do so, and became my enemy; and he and the Sheik continued to be of one mind, in consequence of which the Pir became as inimical as him; and when I demanded my account from him, he also left my districts during the night, and fled across the river into the Sirkar's jurisdiction. I likewise told the Governor of this. I had given my seal to these people in the purity of my heart, and placing entire confidence in them; and I never conceived that they would raise any such conspiracy against me. Government should therefore take all this into consideration, and weigh all the circumstances well, whether it be proper to listen to the accusations of such enemies against me. If the evidence of enemies like these is accepted, then the whole world would become my enemies, for ever since the time I abandoned the cause of my brothers, and made friendship with Government in the time of Mr Ross Bell, my brothers have raised their heads to the skies in enmity towards me; and besides the British Government I have no friends or well-wishers. The whole world are my opponents and enemies. For the rest you are possessed of all wisdom.

Dated 12th of the month Jumadul-sani in the year of Hijri 1266. Camp Sukkur.

Whatever may be thought of the justice of his sentence, it is evident that in trying the amir,—acknowledged to be a sovereign prince,—by a commission of its own servants, by recording sentence against him, and by making that sentence equivalent to a forfeiture of his rights and privileges as a sovereign, the Government of India declared itself the absolute master of every prince in India, all treaties to the contrary notwithstanding. It is not merely that it possesses the power of deciding disputes and preventing quarrels, but that it claims also to be at once accuser, judge, and jury, and to sweep down independent states by its mere recorded fiat. The same pretension has frequently been advanced, and almost all our public acts have of late years been based upon the principle,

that the Governor-General rules the entire peninsula, and not only British India; but it has seldom been so nakedly set forth. We notice it in this place, though somewhat beyond our province, because we are inclined to believe that, as our power becomes stronger from consolidation, it will be found necessary to dispense with the intermediate authority of the tributary princes, without much reference to any thing except the Imperial duties which attach to us as the paramount power, and which Lord Dalhousie has so frequently shewn his readiness to fulfil.

In our summaries for the years 1849 and 1850, we described how British rule had been introduced into the Punjab, and how initiatory measures for all branches of the administration had been taken. We have now to chronicle the progress of these arrangements towards maturity during the years 1851 and 1852.

Our thoughts are turned first towards the Trans-Indus Frontier, of which some journalists, we think injudiciously, have recommended the abandonment. It might indeed be said that the acquisition was originally forced upon us by political circumstances;—on whom could we bestow it? Not on Golab Sing, who had shewn himself unable to manage Huzara—not on Dost Mahomed, who had misbehaved during the second Punjab war. But there exist many good reasons for its retention. The advantages of commanding, by such posts as Peshawur, the mouths of the great inlet passes, the gates of India, in the event of an European invasion, are obvious. By holding the country “en potence” up to the foot of the hills, we keep the mountaineers to their mountains, and prevent them from mustering in strength, or organizing aggression. It has been well said, that by abandoning the Trans-Indus Frontier, we should only be furnishing our enemies with a parade ground. Then, if our Frontier line were moved back to the left bank of the Indus (and we presume no one would propose our receding further), there would be no suitable localities for the cantonment of troops or the formation of a defensive line, and obviously the river itself would not constitute a barrier. What would the moral effect be on the Belochis that hover about Scinde, and the Huzara tribes that overlook the Sind Saugor Doab, and the Northern section of the Grand Trunk Road? Furthermore, is the revenue of this territory, amounting to nearly twenty lakhs, of no consideration? And lastly, is there to be no return for the capital already laid out on the territory, for the money sunk in the great Peshawur road, in the cantonments, in the military police posts?

It cannot be said that there reigns perfect peace on the Frontier, external or internal. Still the British have succeeded in introducing the only semblance of Government that has been known there for generations. In our summary for 1850, we adverted to the disturbance created by the Afreedies in the Kohat passes. In the present annals, the contest with the Momunds assumes a prominent place. This tribe inhabit the hills immediately North of the Khyber, but they also possess a tract of country in the Peshawur valley, at the foot of their hills. The clan has several sub-divisions, but the hereditary chieftain of the whole is Saadut Khan of Lalpura. During the Affghan war, the British authorities were dissatisfied with his conduct, and a force was despatched to depose him and instal a successor. When, however, the British had returned to India, he regained his position, but it may be supposed that he continued to cherish hostility against the British.

After the annexation of the Punjab, those Momunds who dwelt in the plains became nominally British subjects, while those who dwelt in the hills, and among them Saadut Khan and his retainers, remained independent. There was, however, constant inter-communication between the two divisions, and the hill-men made common cause with their brethren of the plain. But the latter had not to pay a very strict allegiance, and they held their lands free of revenue. They always evinced a lawless spirit; no myrmidons of the law durst enter their villages; no legal process, not even a summons, could be executed, except by negotiation. One or two accidental circumstances contributed to raise a flame in this combustible neighbourhood. The wife of a petty chief fled with a paramour. The husband claimed that murderous revenge which the custom of the clan allowed. This claim the British authorities of course resisted. And though he has subsequently succeeded in effecting the murder, yet the denial of this revenge at the time created a feeling of irritation. Next a quarrel arose regarding a mortgage of land. The mortgagee being the stronger of the two parties, insisted not only upon enjoying the usufruct of the land, but also that the mortgager should pay the Government revenue on the mortgaged holding, and that the profits should not be credited to the liquidation of the principal and interest of the original debt. This claim, though obviously unjust, was also sanctioned by the custom of that vicinity. The case came before the Peshawur Court. During the investigation, the mortgager sent a body of armed retainers to dam up the canal that irrigated the village, in which the mortgaged land was situated. A signal

for resistance having thus been given, the contagion spread, a force was despatched against the rebels, and a petty warfare commenced. A series of operations was conducted under Brigadier Sir C. Campbell, during which the Momunds were driven into the hills, and their harvest and villages destroyed. At length, during August, 1852, the chiefs surrendered; and were re-admitted to their lands on the condition of paying a moderate revenue,—the first time perhaps for ages that they have yielded their fiscal independence to any Government. And a fort has been built at Dubb, on the ruins of one of their principal villages, destroyed during the campaign. The material advantages gained by the British are not great, but the moral advantages are *considerable*, and calculated to strengthen our dominion.

A similar episode has recently occurred in Huzara. The reader probably knows that this is one of the most mountainous districts in the Empire. Many parts of it consist of a series of precipitous defiles; among these one of the most unapproachable is Khagan. The inhabitants are Gujurs and other aboriginal tribes; the aristocracy are fanatic Syuds, who for some years have acted as middle men between the people and the Government. They held lands exempt from revenue, some on account of their fiscal duties, and others on a tenure of feudal service. It was customary for each chief either to be in attendance himself on the district authorities, or to depute a son or brother, or some near relative, as a kind of hostage. The conduct of these fierce religionists towards the villagers entrusted to their management appears to have been tyrannical. Complaints were loud and frequent, and the oppressed ryots were continually flying to the district officer for protection. At length some of the chiefs in waiting, conscious of guilt, deserted, took refuge in their fastnesses, and threw off allegiance. Forces were promptly concentrated on the disturbed district. A Rawul Pindi force was speedily marched up from the South, some allied troops from Cashmere in the North, and some militia levies from the East. The passes and defiles were blockaded, and the beleaguered rebels straightway surrendered. The Syuds have now been deprived of the trust which they had abused. Their service grants have been resumed, but they have been permitted to retain the lands which they held in virtue of their past connexion with the Government.

Besides these, no *emeutes* of consequence have broken out on the Frontier during the last two years. Occasionally, raids and forays have been attempted in the Derajat by the Beluch

tribes and by the Wuziris, Orakzyes, and other clans near Bunnū. But these affairs have not proved more numerous or serious than might have been expected. Indeed, it is probable that for some time to come these mountaineer races will be to the Indian Government what the Kaffirs are to the Cape Colony, the Algerines to France, or the Circassians to Russia.

The Frontier fortifications have all been completed. There are forts at Hurrapur in Huzara, and at Jumrud (mouth of the Khyber), Dubb and Shubkuddur in Peshawur, besides minor posts in both these districts. Then in Kohat there is a fort; at Bahadur Kheyl, the great Trans-Indus salt mine, also at Bunnū, at Lukhi in Murwut, and at Dera Ishmaelkhan. There are also fortified posts to keep open the passes communicating from Bunnū with Kohat in the North, and with Jank and Dera Ishmaelkhan on the South and East. Then all along the Derajat Frontier, at the base of the Sulimani range, down to the borders of Simla, a distance of about 300 miles, there is a line of posts twenty-four in number, at intervals of fifteen miles, and strengthened by some native forts, recently put into efficient repair. Each of them may be held by four men, but they are ordinarily garrisoned by parties of fifty, partly cavalry and partly infantry. They are connected together by a good military road. Two new cantonments for the Punjab Irregular Force have been placed at Dera Gazikhan and Asni, near the Southern Derajat boundary.

The strength and probable distribution of this force we gave in our last summary. The following distribution has been finally determined on:—

Station.	Infantry.		Cavalry.		Artillery.		Total of all arms.		
	Regi- ments.	Men.	Regi- ments.	Men.	Guns.	Men.	Regi- ments.	Men.	Guns.
Kohat.....	{ 3 and 1 company sappers. }	2,872	1	584	15	212	{ 4 and 1 company }	3,668	15
Bunnū	1	928	1	584	26	195	2	1,707	26
Dera Ishmaelkhan ...	1	1,072	1	584	9	33	2	1,689	9
Dera Gazikhan... ..	1	928	1	584	1	3	2	1,515	1
Asni	{ 1 com- pany saps pers. }	88	1	584	7	113	{ 1 and 1 company }	785	7
Ensufzyen Peshawur.	1	576	1	306	..	..	1	882	..
Huzara.....	1	910	..	..	6	72	1	982	6
Total..	{ 7½ and 2 compa- nies. }	7,374	5½	3,226	64	628	{ 13 and 2 compa- nies. }	11,228	64

The corps of all arms have been fully organized, equipped, and disciplined. On the whole, they are equal to any irregular force in India. Several of the regiments have already won distinction. The entire arrangements have been carried out under the Board of Administration, for all the Frontier districts, except Peshawur; but even there, the Eusufzye boundary, seventy-five miles long, is held by the guide corps.

No changes have been made since 1850 in the arrangements of the regular army cantoned in the Punjab. The great cantonments at Mian Mir, Sealkote, and Peshawur, are rapidly approaching completion. Sealkote promises to be one of the most favourite stations in Upper India. It is estimated that these three cantonments, with the European barracks built on Sir C. Napier's enlarged plan, will cost the state a million pounds sterling. The 3rd dragoons have left the scene of their many triumphs for England, amidst a shower of congratulatory General Orders. Sir C. Campbell has been succeeded at Peshawur by Brigadier General A. Roberts, an officer of Affghan experience. The military police, and the civil detective force, were described in our summary for 1850. Since that year, the rural constabulary and the city watch have been greatly improved. The village policeman is nominated by the landholders and paid by them in cash, grain, or by a grant of land, according to the circumstances of the village. No village is now without its constable. The aim of all arrangements has been to make him an efficient policeman, while he retains his original character of a village functionary. In the town and cities import duties have been substituted for the house-tax, to the extreme satisfaction of the citizens. The duties, though they embrace a great variety of articles, are yet very low, less than 1 per cent.; and being distributed between producers, dealers, and consumers, are felt by no class. The tax is sanctioned by the customs of the country, and the duty, though inappreciable to the tax-payers, is very productive, and most easily collected. After the cost of the city watch has been defrayed, a surplus fund is left for municipal improvements. The house-tax was an unpopular innovation, and did not work well in the Punjab. Dacoity and gang robbery have been suppressed. With the Sikhs, this was a favourite and national crime. The founder of every noble and powerful family had been first a robber, then a bandit leader, and then a chieftain. In the days of political adversity, the unemployed retainers of fallen chiefs betook themselves to that crime, so resembling the rude exploits which had raised their sept into power. The roads were scoured by bands of armed and mounted highwaymen,

dwellings were plundered, and the inmates murdered. But the law soon stretched forth its arm. Many dacoits were seized, others were pursued by police cavalry detachments, under experienced leaders. Some were driven into Rajputana—another was apprehended in Lucknow—another, after two years of outlawry, was heard of at length in the Cis-Sutlej states, but the agency of the protected Rajas was employed against him, and he was captured after a hot and even chivalrous pursuit. When proof was forthcoming, there was little hesitation either in regard to conviction or to punishment. In cases where murder or serious wounding had occurred, the robbers would be executed. And even when death had not ensued, still the fact of robbery with violence having been committed by persons armed with lethal weapons, was considered sufficient to warrant a capital sentence. The effect of these measures was decisive. The crime was frequent during the first year, especially in the Manjha, the second year it greatly decreased, the third year it ceased to appear in the calendar, and now it may be pronounced extinct. Let Bengali magistrates ponder over these facts. This is the way to stop dacoities.

Towards the close of 1850, thuggi was discovered to exist in the Punjab, not shrouded with mystery and superstition as in Hindustan, but with more overtness, and with more sanguinary violence. A special commission of enquiry was immediately appointed under Mr. H. Brereton of the civil service. The operations were conducted under the direction of Capt. Sleeman, general superintendent of thuggi. The investigation was conducted with great energy and success. The scattered gangs were tracked and broken up. The origin, habits, and pedigree of the thugs were minutely ascertained. Mutual confidence among the different members of the fraternity was destroyed by the skilful employment of approvers. In a little more than six months, the names of upwards of 1,400 thugs were discovered, of these 300 were ascertained to have died, of the remaining 1,100, 550 have been apprehended, and of these latter, nearly 200 have been committed and sentenced to transportation for life. These measures have not only checked thuggi, but also diminished highway robbery and violent theft. A branch of the thuggi department has now been located in the Punjab, under Major Graham, assistant superintendent. Cattle stealing has much decreased since the wooded wilds of the Central Doab have been intersected with roads and interspersed with police posts. The following statistics would seem to show that round Lahore and Umritsur, and in the upper part of the Bari and Reckna

Doabs, there is somewhat less crime than in the populous neighbourhoods of the North West Provinces.

N. W. P.	Year.	Persons apprehended.	Convicted.	Proportion of detected criminals to population, 1 to	Proportion of convicted criminals to population, 1 to
Lahore Division.....	1849-50	9,009	5,144	274	480
	1850-51	9,998	5,423	247	455
Delhi.....	1849	2,179	1,653	140	186
Agra.....	1849	4,079	2,313	203	358
Allahabad.....	1849	3,476	1,424	204	498
Benares.....	1849	3,620	1,776	204	423

The internal pacification of the province is one of the most remarkable features in its administration. When the state of the country at annexation is considered, it seems wonderful that so much security should have been obtained both for life and property, and that, with the exception of Huzara, not a single outbreak should have occurred anywhere on this side the Indus.

Prison discipline has advanced. During the first two years, it was impossible to find adequate accommodation for the prisoners: before the first twelvemonth was over, and before a single jail could be prepared, 10,000 malefactors were incarcerated; now however a jail has been, or is being, built in each of the twenty-five districts under the Board. There will be twenty-one third class jails, costing, at 7,000 each, 1,50,000 Rs., and accommodating, at 258 each, 5,418 prisoners; three second class central jails, costing, at 60,400 each, 1,81,200 Rs. and accommodating at 800 each, 2,400 prisoners, and one first class central jail at Lahore, costing 1,42,000 Rs., and accommodating 2,400 prisoners. In all there will be twenty-six jails at a cost of 4,73,000 Rs., and with accommodation for 9,800 prisoners. Much attention has been paid to classification and dieting of prisoners, the sanatory arrangements, and the regulation of labor. The Great Lahore jail, in respect of its wards, solitary cells, work-shops, and general plan, is on a par with the best jails of the North West Provinces.

The administration of civil justice has been simplified. Suitors have been encouraged to plead their own cause without the aid of counsel; technicalities have been abjured. Reference to arbitration has been resorted to, under sufficient checks and

regulations, and to save both time and money to the parties, native local officers have been extensively vested with judicial powers to try petty suits. The main object of all these arrangements has been to render justice near, cheap and easy, to popularize its administration, and to ensure cases being decided upon their merits, and not upon technicalities.

The last two years have been fertile in measures for the physical improvement of the country. A regular civil engineering department, with a large and scientific staff, has been formed. This establishment, consisting of twelve executive officers, twenty-seven assistant civil engineers, and fifty-nine overseers, are charged, directly or indirectly, with the construction of canals, roads, bridges, and viaducts, cantonments, forts, and other military buildings for the Punjab Irregular Force; public buildings, including court-houses, treasuries, jails, dispensaries, conservancies and salt mines. Among these works, the Bari Doab canal claims prominent notice. This canal is to extend from the foot of the lower Himalayan range, till it meets the Ravi about fifty miles above Multan. The main line is to run through the heart of the Manjha and through the wooded wilds of the Lower Doab, with branches towards the cities of Kussur, Umritsur and Lahore. The total length will be 466 miles. The canal is not only to furnish irrigation for about 6,54,000 acres, but is also to be navigable: the total outlay is calculated at fifty lakhs, or half a million sterling, and the net annual income at fourteen lakhs. The first thirty miles (which include all the chief engineering difficulties) are nearly complete, and it is expected that the canal will be opened in about five years. With the aid of Government, old canals are being re-opened, and existing ones repaired, in Pakpattan, Multan and the Derajat. More canals might be undertaken, were it not for the fear of over-stocking the country with grain, and providing more water for irrigation than the people could use. Among the new roads, the grand Peshawur line stands pre-eminent. The engineering difficulties, which occurred chiefly between the Jhelum and the Indus, have almost entirely been overcome, great progress has been made with the road, which promises to be a monument of science and enterprise. Its cost will be not less than twenty-five lakhs. Besides this, numerous other roads, both military and commercial, have been taken in hand; 1,349 miles have been cleared and constructed, 853 miles are under construction, 2,487 miles have been traced and surveyed. Plans are furnished to the local committees for the making of branch roads. In the same manner civil buildings are being constructed by the district officers, according to the plans and under

the general direction of the civil engineer. The cutcheries, the tanks, tehsils, serais and police posts on the chief roads are all either constructed, or under construction. The estimated cost of the various works in progress aggregates eighty-five lakhs, nearly a million sterling, of which twenty lakhs have been already expended, and this upon an annual revenue of a million and a half ! What other province of India can boast of such liberal and public-spirited outlays ?

Nor has the period under review been barren in minor miscellaneous improvements. Extensive enquiries have been made into the existing state of popular education, with a view to the promulgation of some large and liberal scheme. A central school has been established at Umritsur for English and vernacular studies, the latter both classical and practical. Arrangements have been made to facilitate timber traffic, to encourage the plantation of trees, and the preservation of copses and forests already in existence. Before the present generation has passed away, the roads and canals will be adorned with avenues, and all public buildings and stations will be shaded by groves. Sanatoria have been established at Murri and on the Budruddi mountain near Bunnu. Dispensaries have been founded, and district daks have been greatly improved, both in speed and regularity. Much attention has been given to the wheeled-carriage question ; the breed of draught cattle is improving ; the number and build of carts is increasing ; their employment has been better regulated, and thus remuneration secured ; arrangements have also been made for reviving the breed of horses at Dinji and Dhunni, which used to be the great depots of Runjit Sing's cavalry ; municipal conservancy has advanced in the chief cities, especially in the two capitals of Lahore and Umritsur ; a geological survey has been conducted in the Sindh Saugor Doab, and a botanical survey of the whole Upper Punjab ; and the Agri-Horticultural Society has been established.

In our former summaries we gave some account of the various branches of revenue, and must now note the progress which has been made in this important department. The land revenue has suffered slightly from the extraordinary depreciation of prices. The assessments were moderate, much lower than under the Seikh regime ; the harvests were magnificent, but the prices of agricultural produce fell 30, 40, even 50 per cent. This cheapness arose partly from a superabundant supply, and partly from the political revolutions which had swept over the country. Copious and fertilizing rains had rendered comparatively barren and slightly taxed lands very productive. The markets were glutted with grain, advantageously compet-

ing with the produce of highly taxed lands, and thus much fiscal derangement ensued. These causes had, in some districts, produced discontent and even distress. Prompt steps were taken to afford relief. A revision of the summary settlement was made in the districts of Gujerat, Huzara, Rawal Pindi, Peshawur, the Derajat, and Multan.

The questions relating to the excise and customs were dealt with in our former summary. The salt revenue continues to range from twelve to thirteen lakhs per annum. The stamp revenue is gradually increasing.

Considerable advances have been made in the regular settlement, and in the professional survey. In the Trans-Sutlej states these operations have been concluded, in the Cis-Sutlej states they are drawing to a close. The upper divisions of the Bari and Rechna Doab will have been surveyed by the end of the present cold season; the settlement in both these tracts is half done, and preliminary operations have been extended on to the Jhelum river. During the last two years, in the old and new territory, not less than sixty-five lakhs have been assessed for periods of from ten to thirty years: a vast number of suits regarding land and record of rights have been disposed of. Rent-free tenures of every description, whether secular, religious, municipal, or feudal, have been all decided in the country under settlement. Independent of special grants, every estate has its rent-free lands for the village functionaries, the temples, mosques, shrines, the alms-houses, and public institutions. The larger political grants have been disposed of by a special department. And in connexion with this latter subject, it may be noted that the enquiry into money grants has been completed, and the pension list made up. It is estimated, that in the shape of grants, both of land and cash, thirty lakhs per annum of revenue have been alienated. Such were the political liabilities of the Punjab. It must be remembered, however, that these grants were almost entirely held on life tenure, and that the greater portion of this alienated revenue will, in course of time, lapse to Government.

In former retrospects we mentioned the large surplus accruing to the state since annexation, which has been definitely ascertained to have amounted, for the first two years, to 116 lakhs, or £1,160,000 sterling for the new territory alone, exclusive of a surplus of eighty-two lakhs or £820,000 sterling, yielded by the old territory, the Cis and Trans-Sutlej states. Thus the Punjab and its dependencies did, for these two years, yield a surplus of two million sterling, after paying for their civil administration, their internal pacification, and the defence

of their frontier. Against this, however, may be set items of additional military expenditure (such as Peshawur batta, extra complement of native infantry corps, and three extra Queen's regiments) aggregating thirty-seven lakhs per annum; but owing to the departure of the 3rd Dragoons, this sum is now reduced to thirty lakhs. The surplus, though still very considerable, is at present somewhat less, as will be seen from the following figures, which represent the estimated income and expenditure of the country as they stand at present, under their various heads:—

NEW TERRITORY.		OLD TERRITORY.	
<i>Revenue Ordinary.</i>		<i>Revenue Ordinary.</i>	
Land Tax.....	1,02,00,000	Land Tax.....	54,28,298
Excise and Stamps.....	24,00,000	Excise and Stamps.....	3,52,516
Post Office.....	3,00,000	Tribute.....	4,78,847
Miscellaneous.....	3,00,000	Post Office.....	1,75,634
Total..	1,32,00,000	Miscellaneous.....	1,01,912
<i>Extraordinary.</i>		Local Funds.....	1,82,404
Local Funds.....	2,00,000	Total..	67,19,511
Grand Total..	1,34,00,000		
<i>Expenditure Ordinary.</i>		<i>Expenditure Ordinary.</i>	
General Department.....	2,75,603	General Department.....	1,32,443
Judicial ditto	20,73,915	Judicial ditto	6,18,057
Revenue ditto	10,85,748	Revenue ditto	4,82,176
Excise and Stamps.....	3,61,351	Excise and Stamps	1,18,979
Pensions.....	12,00,000	Pensions	4,10,386
Post Office.....	1,75,000	Post Office.....	1,63,601
Miscellaneous	2,28,000	Miscellaneous.....	3,35,183
Military.....	41,00,000	Military.....	6,94,290
Total..	94,99,617		
<i>Extraordinary.</i>		<i>Extraordinary.</i>	
Settlement Offices & Surveys,	5,47,600	Settlement Offices & Surveys	3,04,481
Public Buildings.....	9,00,000	Public Buildings.....	71,473
Civil Engineer.....		Ferries	5,547
Ferries.....		Toshakhana	1,679
Total..	14,47,600	Local Funds.....	20,714
Local Funds.....	2,00,000	Total..	35,46,399
Grand Total..	1,11,47,217	Surplus	31,73,112
Surplus or Remainder.....	22,52,783		

Thus the total surplus for the old and new territory amounts to Rs. 54,25,895. Against this again must be set extra military expenditure of thirty lakhs. The diminution of the original surplus has been caused mainly by increase of expenditure, both ordinary and extraordinary. With regard to ordinary expenditure, the civil establishments have been slightly increased in both the old and new territory, and the military cost on the frontier has been considerably augmented, on account of the equipment and organization of the force. The extra-

ordinary expenditure has increased chiefly in the new territory, owing to the construction of public buildings and works, the grants of pensions, and the carrying out of important measures, such as settlement and survey. These various items must, in the aggregate, be expected to average not less than twenty-four lakhs per annum for several years. But then this expenditure, though large, is, undoubtedly, wise and beneficial. Some items, such as pensions, raise the honor and popularity of our Government ; provide annuities for those who, by political revolutions, have been reduced from affluence to poverty ; and bury the remembrance of past struggles. Others, such as canals, settlements and roads, increase the material wealth of our agricultural subjects and the security of their civil rights, or advance the interests of the commercial population. And to revert to financial considerations, this expenditure of twenty-five lakhs will shortly cease, and before a dozen years are over, the expenditure will fall back to its original figure of ninety lakhs for the old territory—and it should be remembered that the additional military expenditure will, as far as the Punjab is concerned, become in time susceptible of reduction.

Then, as regards the revenue, increase from various sources may be expected in the Punjab Proper. The stamp and post office revenues will rise, but no material increase can be expected in the excise. The land revenue will certainly be augmented, by the lapse of jaghirs and landed grants. An important canal revenue will soon begin to reward the enterprise of the Government. These causes will, assuredly, contribute to swell the revenue from 134 to 150 lakhs within the next fifteen years, and after that there will still be a temporarily alienated item of twenty lakhs, which must, in the course of nature, go on lapsing to the state by the death of incumbents. Similar lapses will occur, though to a less amount, in the Trans and Cis-Sutlej states ; and thus events are verifying the expectations formed of this fine country. It is probable that before many years are passed away, the Punjab Proper will yield its fifty lakhs of surplus, and the Cis and Trans-Sutlej states their forty lakhs, in all ninety lakhs, or nearly a million sterling per annum.

And thus ends our rapid summary of Punjab affairs for the two past years. Writing within very confined limits, we have been forced to touch upon many important subjects cursorily and imperfectly ; still we have said enough to illustrate the “go-ahead” tendency of the administration, the rapid succession of measure upon measure, work upon work, and improvement upon improvement. It would not be easy to over-state the amount of credit that is due to the Board of Administration for

that admirable mixture of zeal and judgment which they have brought to bear upon every branch of the important service committed to their trust. Much also of these manifold results is due to the personal attention which the Governor-General himself, while in the vicinity, devoted to this province, to the consistency and readiness with which his Lordship has always supported and encouraged the Board in their efforts to organize an administration, to introduce civil reforms, and to further the progress of public works. The improvements existing in the best-governed provinces in India, such as the N. W. Provinces, have already all been either attempted or carried out, within the short space of four years. Other provinces boast of their canals and works of irrigation; here we have the Bari Doab canal. Elsewhere science has triumphed over natural obstacles in the construction of great roads; here we have the grand Peshawur road. Elsewhere public buildings are complete and effective; here also we have some of the most commodious civil offices and some of the finest barracks in the Presidency; and it may be added that some first-rate jails are under construction. Elsewhere conservancy has flourished, and cities have been cleansed and beautified; here also the bazars and streets of Sealkote, Lahore, and Umritsur may vie with those of Mirzapore and Agra. Other newly acquired countries have been controlled by a powerful police; here also a military police of seven thousand men was organized within eighteen months. Elsewhere the village police have been organized; so also here they have been rendered popular and effective. Elsewhere frontier defences have been constructed; here also the most dangerous frontier in India has been fortified. In some provinces dacoity has been suppressed, in others it is still rampant; here it was extinguished within two years. Elsewhere comprehensive measures have been directed against thuggi; here also a crusade was undertaken against it, and within six months it was half defeated. Elsewhere the administration of civil justice has been elaborated, here it has been simplified, still a great number of published circulars evince the attention which has been paid to this subject. Elsewhere fiscal systems have been perfected, here also we have elaborate settlements. Elsewhere rent-free tenures have been disposed of by special commissions, here also at least 50,000 cases have been decided. Elsewhere an accurate census has been worked out, here also several millions of souls have been enumerated. Elsewhere river navigation has flourished, here also the Bombay flotilla ply up to Multan, and steamers have penetrated to Jhelum and

Lahore. Elsewhere education has been promoted, here also extensive enquiries have been made, and one central school established. Elsewhere such measures have been spread over a series of years, here all these things, and countless other minor miscellaneous improvements, have been crowded into four years.

We have been led by geographical considerations into a departure from the order which we intended to observe in these annals. We now return to the point from which we departed on the conclusion of our notice of the Khyrpore transaction. We should have stated, that the value of the territory wrested from Ali Morad, is about ten lakhs of rupees a year, which has relieved Scinde of a very considerable proportion of its deficit. The remainder of the history of our connection with foreign states is readily told. It appeared probable, during the latter portion of the year, that events might occur which would involve us in difficulties with Siam. The new king of that country is believed to be one of those enlightened princes, who every now and then appear amidst the blank lists of oriental dynasties. Educated by missionaries, his natural abilities have found an object in the acquisition of European science, more especially in the department of practical mechanics. During his uncle's life-time, the heir of the monarchy was constantly to be seen superintending the workmen, who under his directions were constructing a steam engine, or putting together rude watches, which he declared were almost equal to those from beyond the sea. On his accession, he expressed a desire to remove the obstacles which had previously existed to the formation of a commercial treaty, promised protection to the missionaries, re-organized the army, and permitted such of his subjects as were Chinese to consume opium. In the latter part of the year, however, it was reported that he had resolved to seize the opportunity of the British conquest of Pegu, to reduce the Shan clans to the northward to submission. An army of fifty thousand men were said to be pushing forward, commanded by the royal physician, and vague rumours of European adventurers in the service of Siam began to find their way into circulation. So slight and imperfect, however, is the communication between Siam and India, that nothing further has since been heard of these operations. Whether the whole story was a device of the enemy, or the army was withdrawn, or is even now pushing forward amidst the jungles of Northern Siam, is apparently unknown. The king at all events is little likely to enter into a contest with the British power. Haughty as this court have always proved themselves to be, and absurdly confident

as they are in the strength of their capital, the king is too well informed not to have some idea of the might of the European, or not to know that, however he may stake the river and guard his capital by island batteries, Bangkok is accessible by land, and would be British in a month, were the fiat of the Governor-General to go forth.

While these movements have taken place in Siam, the oldest empires of the world are as much affected by the march of events. The great Empire of China, which for six centuries has known nothing but repose, has been strangely agitated. A band of marauders, who arose in the southern provinces of Kwangsi, has been enabled to set at defiance the whole power of the Imperial Government. Whether originally raised for the purpose of successful plunder, or as the expression of a national feeling, it would appear probable that it has at last become a warfare of the Chinese and the Tartars, the results of which may be most momentous. Up to the close of the year, however, neither party had gained any success sufficiently decided to enable foreigners to pronounce a decided opinion on the probabilities of the struggle. It is, however, evident that the great structure which, from the dawn of the later civilization, has been the astonishment of Europe, is tottering to its fall. The dynasty of the Tartars, no longer upheld by the superior courage of its soldiery, rests solely upon the old prestige, which six centuries of prosperity have secured for it. This prestige, late events, and especially the invasion of China by the British, have deeply wounded. The discontented or ambitious, who even in China must exist, begin to feel that the superincumbent weight is removed, and another shock may bring it down with a crash that will be felt to the furthest extremity of Asia.

Japan will ere long be similarly agitated. This Empire, now the greatest object of European curiosity, has continued, by a policy of non-intercourse, really and not nominally carried out, to exist without taking the smallest share in the general concerns of the world. With one nation, and only one, has it maintained even the appearance of commerce, and every attempt to remove its rigid restrictions has been foiled, either by a calm refusal or by actual force. No Asiatic nation had the power, and no European race the inclination, to force the seclusion of a people locked up in islands in the eastern corner of the Pacific, whose territories led no whither, and from whence neither trade nor population ever arrived. The sort of mysterious interest which attached to the only semi-civilized land, utterly unknown to Europeans, was

not sufficient to induce either England or France to engage in a crusade without an object, and at a distance almost beyond the range even of steam navigation. It mattered little, either to England or Russia, whether the batteries of Nengasaki had ever been turned against their vessels or not. Neither wished for conquest, and the ordinary forms of national intercommunication were inapplicable to Japan. A race has however arisen with a direct interest in all these questions. The American people, in their long rush westward, have at last reached the shores of the Pacific, and grasped at the direct trade of Asia. The path to China and India lay invitingly open to their steamers, but it was necessary to possess a *point d'appui* on the further side. This point seemed most likely to be found in Japan, and the Cabinet of Washington, backed by the entire people of the States, resolved to demand its possession. Fortunately they had an excellent pretext. American whalers frequently had been driven into Japanese harbours, and in accordance with a consistent, but cruel policy, were refused assistance. This was of course contrary to every international law, for, however much right the people of a country may have to segregate themselves from the world—a right which, with some show of reason, the Americans deny *in toto*—they can have none to fire upon the distressed vessels of a presumably friendly country. An expedition was ordered, peaceful of course, but of sufficient strength to ensure respect for the bearers of the mission. War ships and war steamers were prepared, officers nominated, and an armament equipped, when the colonists of Canada involved themselves in a squabble about some right to fish to the East or West of some imaginary line in the Bay of Fundy. The American Government deemed that war might be the result, and the expedition was postponed. It was revived, a plenipotentiary was appointed, and the following is the official declaration of the intentions of the President.

Our settlements on the shores of the Pacific have already given a great extension, and in some respects a new direction, to our commerce in that ocean. A direct and rapidly-increasing intercourse has sprung up with Eastern Asia. The waters of the Northern Pacific, even into the Arctic sea, have of late years been frequented by our whalers. The application of steam to the general purposes of navigation is becoming daily more common, and makes it desirable to obtain fuel and other necessary supplies at convenient points on the route between Asia and our Pacific shores. Our unfortunate countrymen, who from time to time suffer shipwreck on the coasts of the eastern seas, are entitled to protection. Besides these specific objects, the general prosperity of our States on the Pacific requires that an attempt should be made to open the opposite regions of Asia to a mutually beneficial intercourse. It is obvious that this attempt could be made by no Power to so great advantage as by the United States, whose constitutional

system excludes every idea of distant colonial dependencies. I have accordingly been led to order an appropriate naval force to Japan, under the command of a discreet and intelligent officer of the highest rank known to our service. He is instructed to endeavor to obtain from the Government of that country some relaxation of the inhospitable and anti-social system which it has pursued for about two centuries. He has been directed particularly to remonstrate in the strongest language against the cruel treatment to which our shipwrecked mariners have often been subjected, and to insist that they shall be treated with humanity. He is instructed, however, at the same time, to give that Government the amplest assurances that the objects of the United States are such, and such only, as I have indicated, and that the expedition is friendly and peaceful. Notwithstanding the jealousy with which the Governments of Eastern Asia regard all overtures from foreigners, I am not without hopes of a beneficial result of the expedition. Should it be crowned with success, the advantages will not be confined to the United States, but, as in the case of China, will be equally enjoyed by all the other maritime Powers. I have much satisfaction in stating that in all the steps preparatory to this expedition, the Government of the United States has been materially aided by the good offices of the King of the Netherlands, the only European Power having any commercial relations with Japan.

During the past year the attention of this Department, in conjunction with the Department of State, has been directed to the employment of the East India squadron in an enterprise of great moment to the commercial interests of the country—the endeavor to establish relations of amity and commerce with the Empire of Japan.

The long interdict which has denied to strangers access to the ports or territory of that country, and the singularly inhospitable laws which its Government has adopted to secure this exclusion, having been productive, of late years, of gross oppression and cruelty to citizens of the United States, it has been thought expedient to take some effective measure to promote a better understanding with this populous and semi-barbarous empire; to make the effort not only to obtain from them the observance of the rights of humanity to such of our people as may be driven by necessity upon their coasts, but also to promote the higher and more valuable end of persuading them to abandon their unprofitable policy of seclusion, and gradually to take a place in that general association of commerce in which their resources and industry would equally enable them to confer benefits upon others, and the fruits of a higher civilization upon themselves.

The extension of the domain of the United States to the shores of the Pacific, the rapid settlement of California and Oregon, the opening of the highway across the Isthmus of Central America, the great addition to our navigation employed in trade with Asiatic nations, and the increased activity of our whaling ships in the vicinity of the Northern coasts of Japan, are now pressing upon the consideration of this Government the absolute necessity of reviewing our relations to those Eastern communities which lie contiguous to the path of our trade. The enforcement of a more liberal system of intercourse upon China has met the approval of the civilized world, and its benefits are seen and felt, not less remarkably in the progress of that ancient empire itself, than in the activity which it has already imparted to the pursuit of Eastern commerce. China is awaking from the lethargy of a thousand years to the perception of the spirit of the present era, and is even now furnishing her quota to the adventure which distinguishes and stimulates the settlement of our Western coast.

These events have forced upon the people of America and Europe the consideration of the question, how far it is consistent with the rights of the civilized world to defer to those inconvenient and unsocial customs by which a nation, capable of contributing to the relief of the wants of humanity, shall be permitted to renounce that duty; whether any nation may claim to be exempt from the admitted Christian obligation of hospitality to those strangers whom the vocations of commerce or the lawful pursuits of industry may have incidentally brought in need of its assistance; and the still stronger case, whether the enlightened world will tolerate the infliction of punishment or contumelious treatment upon the unfortunate voyager whom the casualties of the sea may have compelled to an unwilling infraction of a barbarous law.

These are questions which are every day becoming more significant. That oriental sentiment which, hardened by the usage and habit of centuries, has dictated the inveterate policy of national isolation in Japan, it is very apparent, will not long continue to claim the sanctity of a national right, to the detriment of the cause of universal commerce and civilization, at this time so signally active in enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge, and the diffusion of comfort over the earth. The day has come when Europe and America have found an urgent inducement to demand of Asia and Africa the rights of hospitality, of aid and comfort, shelter and succour to the men who pursue the great highroads of trade and exploration over the globe. Christendom is constrained, by the pressure of an increasing necessity, to publish its wants and declare rights to the heathen, and in making its power felt, will bring innumerable blessings to every race which shall acknowledge its mastery.

The Government of the United States has happily placed itself in the front of this movement, and it may be regarded as one of the most encouraging guarantees of its success, that the expedition which has just left our shores takes with it the earnest good wishes, not only of our own country, but of the most enlightened communities of Europe. The opening of Japan has become a necessity which is recognized in the commercial adventure of all Christian nations, and is deeply felt by every owner of an American whale-ship, and every voyager between California and China.

This important duty has been consigned to the commanding officer of the East India squadron, a gentleman in every respect worthy of the trust reposed in him, and who contributes to its administration the highest energy and ability, improved by long and various service in his profession. Looking to the magnitude of the undertaking, and the great expectations which have been raised, both in this country and in Europe, in reference to its results, the casualties to which it may be exposed, and the necessity to guard it, by every precaution within the power of the Government, against the possibility of a failure, I have thought it proper, with your approbation, to increase the force destined to this employment, and to put at the disposal of Com. Perry a squadron of unusual strength and capability. I have therefore recently added to the number of vessels appropriated to the command the line-of-battle-ship *Vermont*, the corvette *Macedonian*, and the steamer *Alleghany*. These ships, together with the sloop-of-war *Vandalia*, originally intended to be assigned to the squadron, and with the ships now on that station, the steamer *Susquehanna*, and the sloops-of-war *Saratoga* and *Plymouth*—a portion of which are now near to the term of their cruise—will constitute a command adapted, we may suppose, to any emergency which the delicate nature of the trust committed to the commodore may present. It is probable that the exhibition of the whole force, which will be under the command of Com. Perry during the first

year, will produce such an impression upon a Government and people who are accustomed to measure their respect by the array of power which accompanies the demand of it, as may enable him to dispense with the vessels whose term of service is drawing near to a close, and that they may be returned to the United States without any material prolongation of their cruise.

A liberal allowance has been made to the squadron for all the contingencies which the peculiar nature of the enterprise may create. The commanding officer is furnished with ample means of defence and protection on land as well as sea; with the means, also, of procuring despatch vessels, when necessary, transports for provision and fuel, and for such other employment as may be required. Special depôts of coal have been established at various points, and abundant supplies provided. He has, in addition to the instructions usually given to the squadron on this station, been directed to avail himself of such opportunities as may fall on his way, to make as accurate surveys as his means may allow, of the coasts and seas he may visit, and to preserve the results for future publication for the benefit of commerce.

It is possible that the expedition may result in nothing save an useless exchange of verbal civilities; but it may also be the turning point in the history of Japan. The Council of Nobles, who rule that country, like most aristocracies, have a determined policy, and in Japan that policy is exclusion. If therefore they hold by their old traditions, they must order the American squadron to leave the harbour, and in the event of a refusal, resort to force. Then, the prestige of Japan will depart as that of China has departed, and the Dutch will no longer be the monopolists of what might be an enormous trade.

The year that has passed, despite the Burmese war, will, we suspect, be known in the history of India as the *Year of the Petitions*. The Act, by which the Chartered East India Company rule territories larger than those of Rome, was expiring. From the 1st April, 1854, all rule in India, derived from a jurisdiction other than that which naturally belongs to territories held by England, will cease, and Parliament therefore, before it renew that act, has made some arrangements for enquiry into the working of the institutions previously framed. It was settled, after some debate, that the enquiry was to be made in England, and not in India. Instantly every interest in the country, possessing a voice, resolved to avail itself of a period so favourable for demanding new privileges, or remonstrating against ancient grievances. The movement did not, as might have been expected, take the form observable in countries where free institutions have for years trained the people to the mode in which their ideas may really be made known. There was no national movement. India is not a nation, and has not a single attribute of one. It is a continent, filled with a congeries of races, peoples, languages, and creeds, with no common bond, save the

sword of the stern race which has subdued them all alike, and no feelings to vibrate in common, and no means of communicating them to each other if they existed. India, therefore, as a nation, made no sign, and would have made none had the first clause of the new Act contained some terrible oppression. But isolated bodies moved. Some of them had ideas, and some of them fancied that they ought to have them, and accordingly accepted those which others propounded for their edification. And first the natives. No one is likely to dispute that the natives ought to have been really interested in the questions brought up for their consideration. It might appear to philosophers in Berlin, or statesmen in St. Petersburg, of very little importance to the natives, whether the machine of administration was to be guided by one man or thirty—whether it moved a little slower or a little quicker—whether one class of English gentlemen were to wield the executive power, or a different one. In any case they were sure that their religion, and their power of acquiring, using, or wasting property, would not be interfered with. Political power they could not have in any case; and socially, their advantages, allowing for the inherent difference of civilization, were greater than those of their conquerors. But it was not so. In the first place, Government in India is not an administrative machine. It is the heart of the whole body corporate, and the slightest derangement of its functions affects the remotest extremities. The question, whether the Government should move slower or more rapidly, was in fact also a question whether every subordinate officer should be more or less efficient, and with these subordinate officers the people are hourly brought into hostile or friendly contact. It signified exceedingly little to the native, whether one European gentleman, styled the Governor-General, ruled him, or whether another European gentleman claimed his obedience as Governor of Bengal. But it *did* signify exceedingly, whether Mr. Blank, the magistrate, Mr. Somebody, the collector, and Mr. Somebody Else, the judge, were working under the eye of an ever-vigilant ubiquitous authority, or whether the said judge, collector, and magistrate were to labor just as much or little as their consciences dictated. The upper classes saw this; and they had moreover acquired an idea that the anomaly might exist of a conquered race regaining administrative power, and yet not shaking off the conquerors. Lastly, they had one standing grievance that came home to every man, which could elicit sympathetic words, wherever three or four natives were gossiping, and which was felt to a degree almost incomprehensible in England. We mean the

slowness and expensiveness of the law. In England, men rail at the law. They say it is expensive, uncertain, dilatory. No one raises a voice for its abuses—all men are ready to lend a helping hand to their overthrow. But it would be utterly impossible to get up an outbreak, to raise a riot, or even to collect a Monster Meeting against the evils of copyhold tenure. The truth is, the mass is not affected. The Court of Chancery may be an iniquitous tribunal. John Higgs and Jacob Snell have no knowledge even of its existence, beyond a vague idea, that some old gentleman in a large wig has said something or delayed saying it, and that Somewherewick has got two haunted houses in consequence. They see ruined houses in the village, which nobody but the clergyman likes to pass at night, and they know they are in Chancery, but they feel very little inclination to mob the Chancellor for that. They know that the constabulary in the counties are utterly inefficient, that thefts are never punished, and that somebody is to blame, but John Smith, the butcher, thinks that if a burglar comes to him, he shall use his hatchet, and Tom Brown, the labourer, "is'n't much afraid." They never think of ducking the Quarter Sessions. But in India, the state of the law is of vital importance. The life of every third ryot is that of a Chancery suitor. He is always either beating or being beaten, and defending himself before the magistrate. Or if a quiet man, who trusts to the volubility of his tongue, he is still always in a scrape about his land. Either his zemindar is oppressing him, or he is racking his ingenuity to cheat his zemindar, or he has a dispute with his money-lender, as to whether he took up the money for his rent at more than seventy-five per cent., or with his next neighbour as to the right to a half-anna share in a perch of land. At any rate, he is perpetually in the courts, and being so, the rapidity of the law is to him of the greatest possible moment.

All these causes, and many more, produced a great crop of petitions. Not that the class actually aggrieved wrote or even talked about them. But the ideas, wishes, and grievances were known to exist, and the richer classes and the Europeans stepped forward to expound them. The North-West, living under an active Government, had little to complain of, or from some other reason remained silent, but in the three elder Presidencies, societies of natives, with high sounding titles, started up. All these societies presented petitions. So did the missionaries of Bengal and Bombay. So did the British inhabitants of Bengal. So did that section of the inhabitants of

Calcutta, which was engaged in trade. They were all sectional, but all had some common points of resemblance.

The first in magnitude, and in importance, was that of the British Indian Association.

This Association consists of an assemblage of landholders, who have united themselves together for the purpose of representing to the authorities in England and India any grievances under which they, or their countrymen, may be suffering. Taken as it is, viz., an association of zemindars for the protection of zemindari interests, the society is valuable, as a means of enabling a large and powerful class to speak their opinions to the Government. The absurd title they have selected, and the spice of bombast which a native invariably intermingles, even into the proceedings of an ordinary society, have rendered them fair objects of ridicule. But stripped of these adjuncts, they became a kind of large farmer's club, given to speechifying, and to considering itself the "buttress of the agricultural interest."

In their petition, however, this Association, acting evidently either under the influence of Europeans, or of Europeanized natives, go far beyond the mass of their countrymen. They demand, not only that the native population shall be placed on an absolute equality with the European, which, whether advisable or not, it is very natural for a native to request, but that it shall be placed first in the ranks. They wish for a modification of the present constitution, such as shall practically destroy the whole idea of conquest, restore to the natives the possession of their own country, and leave to the European the thankless task of fighting for the benefit of his native lords. For the latter task, strange to say, they really do not consider educated Bengali Babus competent, an instance of modesty the more commendable, because it is the only one in the entire series of requests. This end they propose to secure, by replacing the double Government by a single one, on the plan proposed by Lord Ellenborough, viz., a single Board with a President, and with holders of Company's Paper in this country admitted to vote. Also by diminishing the executive powers of the Governor-General, by compelling him to act according to the recommendation of his Council, and by the constitution of a legislative body. This Legislative Council, they consider, should consist of seventeen members, of whom twelve are to be natives, three from each Presidency, four Europeans to be appointed by the Governors of the Presidencies, and one President, a lawyer. They desire that such Council shall be nominated for five years, that its members shall be irremovable even by

the Crown, and that they shall receive "honorary distinctions, 'such as are given to members of legislative bodies in Great Britain and the Colonies," a phrase which has perhaps a meaning, though we are unable to discover it. What honorary distinctions has a Member of Parliament as such? That the veto shall rest in the Governor-General, that no power of repealing laws shall exist except in Parliament, that a separate Governor of Bengal shall be appointed, that the Governors of the smaller Presidencies shall be deprived of their councils, and that no officer appointed by Government shall be removeable, except after an open trial. That the Civil Service shall be abolished, and that one-half of the entire administration of the country shall be confided to natives, that the Black Acts shall be established, that the Supreme and Sudder Courts shall be amalgamated, and that the administration of the law, the Police system, and the Criminal Courts shall be improved.

It will scarcely, we presume, be denied, that these demands amount to all that is substantial in legislation. The Government, it is true, is allowed to retain the power of the veto, and the nominal control of the Executive, but that control would be worth little, while the power of the purse remained in the hands of a native legislature, armed with the tenacity of their countrymen, and accessible only to the argument of fear. The result would ultimately be to place a native in every situation of trust and importance, to fill the courts with native judges, to place the collection of the revenue in the hands of natives, to drive from office every European with a spark of national feeling, pride, or prejudice, and to place the rule of Asia in the hands of those who have ever proved themselves incapable of governing even an estate on any other principle than that of simple force. Not only would the Europeans be deprived of their *rights* of conquests—and they *are* rights—but even of the power which belongs naturally to men of a higher civilization. It appears probable, on a review of all the circumstances, that such a result was not contemplated by the framers of the petition. Each member appears to have added some request which he thought would, if granted, meet his own particular grievance, without the slightest consideration of its general applicability to the business in hand. They desired certain changes, and in their desire to accommodate their wishes to European phraseology, demanded powers of which they knew neither the nature, nor the scope, which if used to their full extent would make a dozen babus masters of Asia; and if not used, would leave them little better off than they were before. It is, of course, useless to point out to men,

who ignore history, and disbelieve philosophy, that the first proof given by a nation of its capacity for self-government, is the expulsion of its foreign rulers, but they may, at least, be reminded of one fact which is capable of test on every day of their lives. The native invariably prefers the European to his own countryman. He would rather have his cause decided by him, rather serve him in his house, rather be attended by him when sick, rather trust him with his accumulations. It is this feeling, even were there no other circumstances, which should have taught the proposers of the petition their own utter folly. The minor reforms requested are generally such as have been from time to time suggested in English journals, discussed, and as far as public opinion is concerned, very nearly decided. The petition, however, was sent to England, a sketch of it presented, and after a few words upon its tenor and contents, referred to the Committee.

The Affiliated Society in Bombay prepared a similar petition. The circumstances of this Presidency differ greatly from those of Bengal. The ryotwarri system has there destroyed the great landholders whom Lord Cornwallis's measure raised into power and opulence in the Gangetic valley. The natives, in possession of an important trade, and but little educated, are further reduced in importance by the presence among them of a sept of foreigners, the Parsis, who although styled natives by the European, have little sympathy with the tillers of the ground. The native aristocracy of Calcutta is an aristocracy of landholders ; that of Bombay, of merchants. The Parsis, too, from their higher education and comparative freedom from religious superstitions, are much less given than their brethren of Bengal to prejudices calculated to cramp their efforts for improvement. Their petition, therefore, differed greatly from that of the zemindars. They asked, of course, for more appointments for themselves, and improvements in the system of administering justice, but they made no further allusion to any great political change than to express their assent to Lord Ellenborough's plan for the construction of the Home Government. The Madras petition we have not seen, but it appears to have resembled that of Bombay, rather than the one prepared in Bengal.

The next in order was the petition of the missionaries of Calcutta, who appear to have considered it right at such a crisis to record their opinions as to the improvements required by the circumstances of the country. Members of the ruling class, but familiar with the lowest order of the population—disinterested spectators, yet intensely interested in all that pro-

misled to advance the cause of social progress, unfettered by native prejudices, yet aware at once of their strength and of the allowances to be made for them, they were admirably qualified for the self-imposed task. And their petition was practical. They neither asked that the Crown should surrender its brightest possession, nor that it should attempt to introduce improvements by methods which would create an universal feeling of alarm and disgust. They asked for a separate Government for Bengal, for the abolition of the opium monopoly, and a modification of the system-selling liquor, and for the reform of the police. They suggested the advisability of some consideration being given to the possibility of a commutation of the land tax, and for a re-invigoration of the laws against perjury. Throughout, the petition retains the quiet tone of men who have satisfied their own minds upon certain subjects, who have no personal interest in the success of their requests, but are nevertheless resolved that the constituted authority shall not plead ignorance of the mode in which certain grievances strike eye-witnesses thoroughly cognizant of the facts. Two more remain, one from the tradesmen of Calcutta, and one from the European inhabitants of Calcutta and Bengal. The first may be briefly discussed. It is a request, that Parliament will turn Calcutta into an English borough, as far as the grant of municipal privileges can make it such. The plan has this recommendation, that it is the only one remaining untried. Plan after plan has been designed, Act after Act passed by the Legislature, but the metropolis of the East still reeks with a thousand stenches, and still owes her safety from epidemics such as devastate the cities of Persia, Asia Minor, and the Levant, to the periodical fires caused by the deliberate neglect of the most ordinary precautions. Nor is the fact very wonderful. Calcutta contains two separate populations, equal in wealth, power, and every other requisite save numbers. The two live in the same town, trade together, are subject to the same pleasures, and the same annoyances, and are as utterly segregated from each other as hostile camps. To both European and Asiatic, to the man who is miserable if all is not done that might be done, and the man who is happy while undisturbed in his perennial quiet, to the race which thinks dirt a disgrace, and the race which is never contented save in the midst of filth, Government applies a system foreign to both. For it is simply ridiculous to declare, that the Anglo-Indian resident of Calcutta is the same as the Englishman in London—that he will exert himself for the same objects,

and feel the same interest in the improvement of all around him. He will not. Physical circumstances are against him. Parish politics are all very well in their way, but with the thermometer at 90°, few will give them that careful attention which can alone produce a party spirit, and without party spirit, elections degenerate into mere formalities. It might, perhaps, be possible to induce the natives to take some interest in them, but they, of course, elect only their own countrymen, and whatever else a native may be fit for, he is utterly unfit for a municipal commission. He loves to shroud himself in a jungle, and will sleep contentedly in a room, besides which an open sewer is exhaling nausea as perceptible to the senses as injurious to the constitution. He likes smooth roads, but cares very little whether they are broad or not, and never dreams of freeing them from obstructions which in any city of England would produce a feeling of perpetual irritation. Above all, he dislikes being taxed. We do not mean to say, that this prejudice is peculiar to the Asiatic, but the European has at least convinced himself that it is cheaper to pay taxes than to do without the improvements to pay for which they are levied. And this stage of civilization, the native has not yet reached. Till he does reach it, or the Government itself resolves to improve its metropolis without consulting the numerical majority of the population, Calcutta will remain what it is at present—a city of splendid capabilities.

The last petition deserves a more careful analysis. It was signed by upwards of 300 British subjects, and their ideas, correct or erroneous, are deserving of respect. In order to understand fairly what the British inhabitants intend, we must analyse the petition. It is divided into eighteen separate headings, which, for the sake of convenience, we shall retain.

OBJECTS OF THE CHARTER ACT NOT CARRIED OUT. The Government of India has not carried out the design of the British Parliament. It has not remodelled the Criminal Law, though condemned by the Commission. It has not framed any system of Commercial Law. It has not made any provision for the East Indian community. It has not carried out the principle of allowing no distinctions of race, creed, or colour, to be a bar to office. It has not improved the police.

THE LAW OF THE SUPREME COURT is perfection. The laws of the Company's courts, the Regulations and Acts chiefly relate to matters of revenue. The only effect of the clause directing the judges to proceed according to equity and good conscience, is to make their decisions vague and uncertain. Mer-

cantile law does not exist at all, and the system administered in these courts is generally defective.

THE PROCEDURE OF THESE COURTS is slow, confused, and dilatory, and inferior to the reformed procedure of English law; appeals are too frequent; there is too much recording of evidence; and the native pleaders are the dregs of society.

THE STAMP DUTIES are a heavy tax on all law proceedings, and the use of the stamps is a cause of the failure of justice.

NATIVE JUDGES are in possession of almost the entire original jurisdiction, but are badly paid, and belong to the lower classes of native society; are without legal education, and are frequently corrupt.

THE CIVIL SERVICE JUDGES are not corrupt, but they are without professional education, and they have built up no system of jurisprudence; the orders and constructions of the Sudder Courts are obscure and uninformative, and the public are dissatisfied with them.

THE CRIMINAL LAW is fundamentally Mohammedan, and therefore the British inhabitants have resisted its extension to them, and the House is requested to extend the reformed criminal law of England to all classes of Christians in India.

THE POLICE is utterly inefficient. The zillahs are too large, there is not a sufficiency of superintendence, and from the practice of detaining witnesses, the people become unwilling to assist in giving up offenders to justice, even when themselves are the sufferers.

THE CIVIL SERVICE is a privileged one, and those privileges are injurious, first to the country, and secondly to its British inhabitants.

THE EAST INDIANS, though European in blood and character, are under native law, and this is a grievance.

EDUCATION:—"That your petitioners desire to represent, on behalf of the East Indians, and others of Christian denomination, who, by circumstances, are permanent residents in India, the want of collegiate institutions for the higher branches of education, and a university to grant diplomas of qualification. That in the former especially, law should be taught as a science, and a class of persons might thus be formed, qualified in the first instance, for professional employment in the courts and eventually, for judicial office; and a very considerable body of permanent Christian inhabitants desire, that their claims and interests should be considered in all arrangements for the education of the people."

PUBLIC WORKS are insufficient in number, extent, and im-

portance. There are few roads, and those few, badly kept; and the railroad is progressing very slowly, which can only be accounted for, by the checks imposed by Government, which again are caused by the desire of Government to secure more patronage.

THE COURSE OF LEGISLATION, which, for some time after the passing of the last Charter, was greatly improved, has been of late marked chiefly by efforts to compensate for the absence of a proper system of judicial administration and police, by vesting extraordinary powers in individuals incompetent to exercise them.

THE ACT FOR RELIEVING MAGISTRATES FROM RESPONSIBILITY protects negligence, ignorance, and incapacity, and renders the magistracy and inferior judiciary irresponsible to the Executive Government.

POSTAGE REFORM is not yet conceded.

THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT consists of too few members, and the Legislative Council in particular requires extension. The office of Governor-General requires adaptation to the circumstances of the times. His powers are undefined, and he is too much away from his Council.

The HOME AUTHORITIES consist of two conflicting bodies, to which public opinion in this country is unfavorable. The present elective system of the Court of Directors is unsound.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY:—"That from what is above stated respecting the law, the law courts, and the police, your Honorable House will be able to draw with the fullest assurance of truth, many conclusions respecting the condition of the country. It might appear paradoxical to deny its prosperity, in the face of the vast increase which has taken place in the foreign commerce; but it is undeniable that, contemporaneously with this increase, crimes of a violent character have increased, and law and police are also regarded as affording little security either for rights of persons or property. Hence the limited application of British capital to agriculture and mines, and the limited employment of British skill in India; (the former being confined to a few valuable articles, such as indigo, for the cultivation of which the soil and climate are so superior as to afford the profits almost of a monopoly, silk, and a few others); and hence also small capitals can rarely be employed in India. The planter or capitalist in the interior, never, or rarely, leaves his capital when he himself quits the country, in consequence of its insecurity; and from this cause results the high rate of interest of money; landholders pay 25 and 30 per cent., and the ryot or cultivator is in a worse rela-

'tion than of servitude to the money-lender. Your petitioners therefore think that enquiry ought to be instituted by Parliament into the state of the country, in order to provide some probable remedy for the evils adverted to."

A more singular mass of truth and error was probably never presented to Parliament. Our analysis contains, of course, merely the substance of the petition, and not the arguments by which it is supported, as it is our wish rather to record what has been asked for by different classes during the year, than the reasons by which they have been supported. This petition is in fact a prayer for the alteration of almost every peculiar feature in the present system of Indian Government. It is almost as radical as that of the British Indian Association; with this difference, that whereas the Association desire to see their own countrymen the depositaries of power, the British subjects wish to see it practically transferred to themselves.

The first thing that strikes an attentive observer of these petitions, is their entire want of originality. There are plenty of grievances, all set forth in the same tone of monotonous querulousness, but in no one instance, except the tradesmen's and the missionaries' petitions, is there a single definite proposal of a scheme by which the grievances could be remedied. The state of the police is condemned by all, but none appear either willing or qualified to suggest a remedy. Like the Ecclesiastical Courts in England, every one rails at it, no one defends it, and it would be altered, were it not that no one proposes a practical substitute. There is a servile copying of English ideas manifested in all these productions, a sort of vague desire to assimilate affairs in India to affairs in England, without the slightest respect for the difference of creeds, races, and civilization. One class thinks all will go well when native judges are seated on the Bench, forgetting that although this may be exceedingly pleasant to the judges themselves, it will not be equally so to the suitors, who distrust them and their decisions. Another class thinks English law would remedy all the evils of India, not remembering that English law was made for a people who have no prejudice in favour of perjury, and who would rather see crime punished than otherwise. In all cases, the "petition" is, in fact, an essay on the Indian Government and things connected therewith, yet in no one instance is it anything but one sided. The real fact is, that the whole crop of petitions, good and bad, have been got up by individuals, and sanctioned by small sections of classes, not in themselves numerically very strong. A nation crying against oppression does not stop to demand that its spokesmen shall have honorary distinctions like English M. P.

The principal legislative changes of the year have been in a liberal direction. The Marriage Act, in particular, is a most important reform. Previous to the passing of this enactment, it was held by many of the ablest lawyers, that every marriage between Christians was illegal, unless performed by a minister of the Established Church, or a Roman Catholic priest. At the same time, there existed in India, a numerous class, who objected altogether to be married except by ministers of their own persuasion, and another still more numerous class, who had been married by dissenting ministers, either from the fact, that they were too distant to obtain the services of any episcopal clergyman, or that they were totally ignorant of the difference in this respect between the law of England and of India. Some idea of the existence of a *Lex Loci* legalizing such marriages, appears also to have prevailed, founded probably upon the same imaginary theory of the extension of the Marriage Act to British subjects in India. The consequence was, that a large number of families, whose marriage was considered valid by society and themselves, were in the eye of the law living in a state of concubinage, their right to bequeath their property to their children imperilled, and their children incapable of claiming by inheritance. This state of things it was necessary to remedy, and Parliament accordingly passed a law, legalizing all past marriages in India of every kind, and establishing a new set of rules for future unions. These rules were republished by the Indian Government in the shape of Act V. of 1852, which in effect extended to India the principle so long acknowledged in Europe, that marriage, whatever else it may be, is a civil contract, and that it is only in this aspect of it that the law regards it. The Registrar was by this Act vested with authority to solemnize the marriage, while the parties themselves were left at liberty to superadd any religious ceremony whatever, according to their own inclination. All parties, therefore, who either from conscientious scruples, from inability to pay the regular fees, or any other cause, declined accepting the services of an Episcopalian minister, were at liberty to be married by their own pastor, or without any pastor at all, according to their own discretion. The body of missionaries scattered throughout India, universally accepted the office, some even of the American Missionaries followed their example, and in the remaining districts, the Registrar of Deeds added the registration of marriages to his other easy functions. A compulsory registration of births, and deaths, is still required, but it is, we fear, vain to hope, that the complex machinery which would be necessary to carry out the plan in its integrity, can for a long time be secured in India. The Act in itself had one great

imperfection. With that strange determination to consider their own institutions perfection, which makes Englishmen force constitutional Government on races to whom liberty is another word for anarchy, our legislators made the Act applicable to Native Christians, and left the marriageable age twenty-one. Asiatics will not wait till that age, and the clause therefore is either obeyed, to the great detriment of the moral character of those for whom it is intended, or remains a dead letter, leaving native marriages as uncertain as they previously were.

Another Act to amend the law of evidence* has also been promulgated in draft, and has excited some attention, from the aversion of the natives to its principal provisions. None, perhaps, of the many differences which exist between England and India, is so remarkable as the different estimation in which the law courts are held in the two countries. In England, a court is a kind of theatre, thronged often to suffocation by those who are anxious to behold, on that limited stage, a real drama of human life. The multitude in and outside the court take a vivid interest in every turn of events, watch eagerly the faces of judge, jury, and prisoner, and in many cases display a keen appreciation of the value of evidence, strongly at variance with their usual stolidity. In cases where strong sympathy is felt for the prisoner, a whole crowd may be seen to wince at some unguarded admission of a witness, while in others, it requires the presence of all the officers of the court to restrain them from a justice more summary than that of the land. In great crimes, the whole nation is excited. The officers are aided, not by tens of constables, but by twenty millions, for the entire nation is willing, individually and collectively, to "put itself out of its way," to suffer pecuniary loss, and all kinds of inconvenience, rather than the criminals should escape. Every one is ready to enter the witness-box, to state fully all that he knows, and in cases of poisoning, particularly, druggists and "Italian warehousemen" are seen putting themselves to the most serious inconvenience, and running the gauntlet of all the impertinence the counsel for the defence can conjure up on the spur of the moment, rather than allow the ends of justice to be frustrated. In India, exactly the reverse is the case. No native ever enters a court unless he expects to get something by it. None are ever seen there, except the lowest classes of the population. To have given evidence in a court is in itself a disgrace, scarcely inferior to having been subjected to a criminal prosecution. Added to this feel-

* Since passed.

ing is the fact of the excessive delay which constantly occurs in any important trial, the bullying of the muktears, and the complicated nature of the transactions in which the zemindars are involved,—and the extent of their reluctance is easily understood. To this feeling, the proposed Act was a death-blow. It placed every one on a footing of equality before the law, enabled the poorest man to summon his adversary himself into court, and commanded that he should produce any papers which might be material to the case. The zemindar association remonstrated, and their remonstrance will, perhaps, be to some extent attended to. It is worthy of notice, however, as was remarked at the time by a weekly journal, that their petition was in reality directed against the practice of giving evidence at all, and not against the summoning of parties to a suit. For the future, therefore, all persons, with the exception of females of the higher classes, will be compelled to give evidence, whenever and wherever called upon to do so. This is a most important improvement; but the Indian law of evidence is still incomplete. It is still too easy to suppress important particulars, evidence is too easily manufactured, and above all, there is too much delay in recording it. It is vain to expect that a population will assist heartily in bringing offenders to justice, when every such assistance is equivalent to the loss of a month, during which the witness is absent from his family, badly housed, badly fed, and exposed to every insult and annoyance which the dregs of society can heap upon his head.

Another most important attempt at reform has been the publication of the draft for the Registration of Deeds. The attempt was almost heroic. It was an effort on the part of the Government, by one single enactment, to repair the errors of years, to remedy some of the most pressing grievances of the perpetual settlement, to give to landed property that security which it enjoys in all other countries, and to suppress at once, and for ever, the organized system of fraud, which under the name of the *benami* system, has so long defied the most earnest attempts of Government to up-root it. It is needless to enter into all its complicated provisions. Their principle was, that a document registered was to be preferred before a document unregistered; and thus they conferred upon the holder of the former a right which neither fraud nor chicanery could ever upset. The necessity of some such provision needs no argument. Lord Cornwallis fixed the perpetual settlement, in total ignorance of boundaries; and from that day, till the commencement of the revenue survey, no man has known

where his own property ceased, and that of his neighbour began. The difficulty might not be of so much importance, so long as the land remained in the hands of the original holders, but Bengal is in some districts almost as deeply mortgaged as an Irish estate. We say mortgaged, though the phrase does not exactly express the real state of the case, which is that the land is burdened with rights on paper. Every zemindar has some finger in his neighbour's pie. He has either a quarter cowry share, or a real mortgage, or mortgage over certain payments, or a mortgage contracted by some sub-tenant who possesses a prescriptive right, or he has taken a bazar in pawn from some talukdar who owns everything except that bazar, or he has documents of some sort or another, which give him a sufficient claim to institute a suit. The suit itself produces, perhaps, half-a-dozen decrees, rights of possession, equitable liens, until neither ryots, suitors, nor judges can tell to whom the land really belongs. The only official, whose mind is made up, is the collector, and he is only certain of a negative, viz., that he does not intend to go without the Government revenue. Every claim of every kind, practical and equitable, offensive and defensive, is the occasion of a scene of plunder and petty warfare, with the ryots in the back ground, weeping for their losses. The state of confusion faintly pictured in the preceding paragraph, it is the object of this draft to remedy. It has not been passed into law; but when it is, we run no risk in predicting that it will fail. It might suit France, it will not suit Bengal. It might work in a country where every thing is known to Government, where the word *truth* is occasionally heard, where forgery and perjury are not subjects of laughter. But it will never work without a machinery. Supposing even that the Government appoints a registrar in every zillah, is he to read every document presented to him? Some zillahs contain a population equal to that of Denmark, in which every family in them has claims to support by documents, and every village has at least one man who lives by swindling his neighbours. A life-time would not suffice for their perusal or verification. Yet if not perused or verified, what is to prevent the forged deed obtaining the validity of the true one? Or to prevent two deeds of an exactly contrary nature being registered on one day, invested with equal validity, and produced in the same civil court. The time has not, we fear, arrived for such measures, and here, as in England, we recognize the evil of the Government being too far in advance of the majority of its people.

Two more Acts seem to us deserving of notice in the

history of the legislation of the year, the Ejectment Act, and that by which European landholders are rendered liable to the same obligations as native proprietors. The first destroys the last remaining vestige of the independent right of the tenant in his land, and the last removes an exceptional, but much-prized privilege. Whichever of the two great theories of Indian proprietorship is admitted, whether the Sovereign is the actual owner, who allows the farmer to till the ground for a rent, or the ryot is the actual owner, who pays the Sovereign an ordinary land-tax, one thing is certain. The ryot had originally a right in the soil. This right Lord Cornwallis first attacked, and the irresistible course of events has compelled the Government more and more to raise the zemindar into the position of a proprietor in fee simple, and to depress the ryot into a labourer. This last Act consummates the work. Ostensibly designed to prevent affrays, its real effect is to enable the zemindar to oust from the land every tenant whom it does not suit his policy to retain. It is only necessary to prove, by production of a document, that rent is owing, or that a lease has terminated,—and such documents can be procured with singular ease,—and the farmer is driven from his holding by the police. It is not impossible, that this regulation and some others may produce an entirely different state of affairs in Bengal, and by reducing the real tenant to a labourer, completely alters the relation between the ryot and the zemindar. At any rate, it is certain, that in the year 1852, the last vestige of the ryot's claim to be proprietor of his own land, disappeared from Bengal. The Act for removing the exceptional privileges from British landholders, does not require much remark. Formerly they were British zemindars, enjoying all the advantages of that position, and none of its disagreeables. They were, it is true, liable to all the incidents of proprietorship as long as they chose to submit to them, but the instant they refused, the authorities were powerless. The offenders were liable only to the Supreme Court, and as it was a moral certainty that the Supreme Court would acquit, they were rarely or never brought before that tribunal. In some zillahs, one-half the entire district was owned by European landholders, and the evil became too great to be borne. It was swept away, and even the most bitter opponents of the Black Act had nothing to contend against the justice of the reform.

We have therefore, during the year, seen efforts made seriously to modify the great social evils of the country, to render justice cheaper, to simplify its administration, and increase the authority

of those who execute it. We have seen exceptional privileges destroyed, and native officials brought within the grasp of the law, and efforts made to break up great gangs of criminals, who infest Bengal; and in short, in every direction an amount of persevering effort which indicates that the Government at least has not forgotten its duty.

Such have been the improvements in the machinery of the laws. Would that we could say as much for the physical improvement of the country. In this respect, with the exception of the Punjab, we have little to record beyond incomplete undertakings, and unfulfilled promises. The railway, it is true, has been fairly commenced, and its construction begun from Calcutta to the Collieries of Burdwan, a distance of 120 miles. The line has been surveyed nearly to Patna, but beyond this, there is nothing for the annalist. That causes have existed to delay the progress of the work, may be at once allowed, but it is not within our province to write their history. The Postal Reform, so long desired, has, it is said, been assented to; and the system of district daks, by which letters are conveyed into the villages most remote from the principal stations, has been established. Beyond this—a small improvement, and a great promise—we have nothing to report. One promise greater still remains to be recorded, the Electric Telegraph. The experimental line between Calcutta and the mouth of the river having succeeded, the Governor-General, in the month of May, deputed Dr. O' Shaughnessy to visit England. He went, but his plan preceded him, and within three days of its arrival, it was sanctioned. It is intended to connect all the Indian Presidencies by a net-work of lines, the centre of which will be the capital of the North West Provinces. From Agra, one line will branch off to Calcutta, a second to Lahore, and a third to Bombay. From Bombay, another will run through Hyderabad to Madras. The scheme is one of the grandest ever attempted in Asia; but for the present, we can only class it among our list of incomplete undertakings.

On reviewing the entire proceedings of the year, it appears to have been one of beginnings. The degree of mental activity displayed has been unusually large, and the results unusually small. Public interest has been devoted almost entirely to the war in Burmah, to a perpetual discussion of something which is to come when the Parliamentary discussion has terminated, and to notices of improvements still in the future. It has been a year of hope and of exertion, but the fruits of either are still unreaped.

ART. V.—*The Prospectuses of the Indian Life Assurance Offices.*

IN a former number, we took occasion to direct attention, in general terms, to the unnecessarily high rates of premium charged for Life Assurance in India; we propose, in the present article, to present our readers with some further observations on the same subject.

Every body, who is in the habit of reading the newspapers, must have been, if not enlightened, at least amused, by the claims to public support put forth in the advertisements of rival Insurance Companies. Ignorance of the theory and practice of Life Assurance is, even in England, profound and very nearly universal, but here this ignorance is in no small degree aggravated by the obscurity which is supposed to prevail on the subject of European mortality in India, and by the ambiguous and contradictory statements which continually meet our eye in newspapers and on the covers of magazines. Any of our readers, who may take up a file of Calcutta newspapers for last month, will find one Company requesting "particular attention to the great advantage offered by them over other institutions of the kind." Another says, their rates have been computed from the records of the India House, and that "no other Office has enjoyed similar advantages in this respect." Going on a little further, we find the Secretary of a third Company "happy to undertake details for effecting insurance and renewing policies, free of commission," modestly adding—"provided he is kept in funds;" and while just recovering from the admiration into which we are thrown by this disinterested announcement, our attention is attracted by the words in large characters—"Special Notice"—"Division of Profits!" and we read a solemn admonition from another Company to insure our lives in that Office without delay, "in order to secure the benefit of the present year's entry." What particular "benefit" is to be secured does not appear. In fact there is no end to the obscurity and mystification on the subject. Here we find one Office claiming support on the grounds of its accumulations, another because it has paid so much money away, while the resources of typography appear to be taxed in no small degree in order that publicity may be given to the announcement which is made by nearly all of them, that their "rates are lower than those of any other Office."

It is very far from our wish or intention to write up any particular Insurance Office; but we believe, that as considerable perplexity must be the fate of any one in this part of the world,

who, desiring to enter into a Life Assurance contract, attempts, from the announcements of the Companies themselves, to ascertain the most eligible Office for his purpose, it has struck us that we should be conferring a boon upon our readers by examining the prospectuses of the different Companies, and ascertaining the simple facts of the case.

It is entirely foreign to the purposes of this article to go into any elaborate disquisition on the origin, principles, &c. of Life Assurance.* Such a dissertation, possibly not very interesting at any time, would be singularly inappropriate on the present occasion, and at all events would occupy more time and space than is desirable. We shall just take a rapid glance at the premiums which are charged by the different Life Offices, and then indicate what we ourselves consider to be something like the equitable premiums. We shall, in a word, endeavor to show first, what people *do* pay in this country for their insurances, and secondly, what we consider they *ought* to pay.

* The observation, that "all that has hitherto dignified or sweetened human existence, our arts, our letters, our arms, our religion, have come from the shores of the Mediterranean," is true of the useful system of Life Insurance, the earliest form of which appears to have been originated by one Lorenzo Tonti, a Neapolitan, in 1653. Some writers are however of opinion, that the system of Marine Insurance was in use amongst the Rhodians ten centuries before the Christian era. The oldest Life Insurance Company in England is the *Amicable*, which was instituted in the reign of Queen Anne. There are now nearly 300 Life Offices in the United Kingdom, the aggregate liabilities of which are estimated at upwards of £16,000,000 sterling, and their annual income from premiums at about £6,000,000 sterling. The most magnificent institution of the kind in the world is the *Equitable*. Nobody would fancy, on going into the quiet and unpretending Office of that Society, in Bridge Street, Blackfriars, that their income in magnitude rivals that of some of the most important of the European States, and that in 1849 their accumulated property amounted to upwards of £8,000,000 sterling.

Of the theory of Life Assurance, it may be said that its leading principles are very simple. It is based on what is popularly known as the law of average. Say that there are 7,000 officers in the Indian Army, it is quite uncertain how long any individual out of that number may live; but the mortality amongst the mass will be found to follow a fixed law. In fact there are very few things indeed which are subject to less fluctuation than the average duration of life of large numbers of persons, all similarly circumstanced in regard to social position. But this is not all, curious enough we find that even moral phenomena are in a great measure subject to this law of average. We can quite understand a physical law pervading the mortality of the human race, because death takes place independent of the will, but it is not easy to believe that the will, itself free, capricious and entirely uncontrolled, as in individuals it certainly appears to be, should, nevertheless, when large masses of persons are concerned, appear to follow laws as fixed and undeviating as those which control physical phenomena. Yet so it is, men collectively marry, commit crimes, go to law, &c., with the same uniformity as they die, and in some cases with even greater uniformity. We learn for instance that there has been less fluctuation between the number of persons yearly accused of crimes in all France from 1826 to 1844, than there has been in the annual mortality in Paris for the same period, and in England the number of offenders at each age, and the number of particular crimes committed, appear to be re-produced year after year with singular exactness. The practice of insuring the fidelity of servants in situations of trust is now as common in England as that of Life Insurance. Those who are desirous of further enquiring into this curious subject, we refer to the writings of M. Quetelet in particular, and to some remarkable papers in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* and the *Assurance Magazine*.

The published tables of premiums for assurance of the lives of Europeans, resident in India, present themselves under two forms, viz. : those applicable to civil lives, and those applicable to military lives. We learn from the prospectuses, that there are also various methods of assuring, by increasing and decreasing scales of premiums, by premiums payable only for a term of years, &c. ; but it will be amply sufficient for present purposes, if we bring under observation the rates applicable to each of the above classes, charged for assurance for the whole term of life, with and without profits—a distinction which we will afterwards explain—and for the periods of one and five years. Our readers are no doubt aware, that the difference between a “whole life assurance,” as it is technically called, and an assurance for the term of one year, is that in the first case the contract is binding on the Office during the existence of the life insured, and in the second case it absolutely terminates on the expiration of the year. Thus a person insuring on the whole life scale, and paying the premium applicable thereto, can compel the Office to take his premium at the due dates until the end of his life; but the person who insures for a year only, pays the premium applicable to that period : if he die, the Office has to pay ; but if he live beyond the year, then the under-writers are free from all obligation, and any other insurance on the same life must be an entirely new agreement.

If a person assured on the “whole life” scale do not pay his stipulated premiums at the day when they fall due, then his policy is forfeited, and all his previous payments are lost to him, and gained to the Offices. It ought also to be understood, that all Assurance Offices, in granting a policy, charge the premium according to the age of the applicant at his next birth-day. Now as people are born at all times throughout the year, and as people effect their Insurances at all times throughout the year, it is evident that all the insured are regarded as a little older than they really are; and on an average it may be fairly assumed that, one with another, they are charged as if they were six months older than they really are. The generality of the Offices pay the amount of the policy three months after the death of the assured. These seem to be all the points that require to be explained, in order to render our discussion intelligible to all readers.

We now present a synopsis of the rates charged by the several Life Offices in Calcutta.

The following Table exhibits the Premiums for a Short Term Assurance, for the period of one year.

Age.	Church of England.		Family Endowment.		Indian Laudable.		Medical, Invalid and General.		New Oriental.		United Service.		Universal.		Age.
	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	
20	Rs. 23	32	Rs. 25	30	Rs. 28	31	Rs. 22	24	Rs. 28	31	Rs. 28	31	Rs. 22	26	20
25	26	35	31	36	30	34	27	30	33	34	30	34	24	28	25
30	29	38	32	38	33	38	29	33	33	38	33	38	27	32	30
35	32	41	35	42	37	42	31	34	37	42	37	42	30	35	35
40	36	45	38	46	41	47	33	36	41	47	41	47	32	39	40
45	40	49	43	50	45	53	41	43	45	53	45	53	34	42	45
50	46	56	48	58	50	58	48	48	50	58	50	58	38	45	50
55	55	64	54	62	59	68	53	53	59	68	59	68	44	50	55
60	68	75	64	72	72	84	60	60	72	84	72	84	51	56	60

The following Table exhibits the Annual Premiums for a Short Term Assurance, for the period of five years.

Age.	Church of England.		Family Endowment.		Indian Laudable.		Medical, Invalid and General.		New Oriental.		United Service.		Universal.		Age.
	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	
20	Rs. 24	33	Rs. 26	30	Rs. 29	33	Rs. 24	27	Rs. 29	33	Rs. 29	33	Rs. 23	28	20
25	28	36	31	36	30	36	28	31	30	36	30	36	25	30	25
30	31	39	33	39	35	40	31	34	35	40	35	40	28	33	30
35	34	42	36	42	39	45	32	35	39	45	39	45	31	37	35
40	37	46	40	46	43	49	37	37	43	49	43	49	32	40	40
45	42	52	45	52	47	55	45	47	47	55	47	55	36	43	45
50	49	58	51	58	54	62	51	51	54	62	54	62	40	47	50
55	59	68	61	68	63	72	56	56	63	72	63	72	48	52	55
60	75	80	64	72	79	90	73	73	79	90	79	90	56	60	60

NOTE.—The Colonial rates for one and five years are not known.

The following Table exhibits the Annual Premiums for an Assurance for the Whole Term of Life, with profits.

Age.	Colonial.		Family Endowment.		Medical, Invalid and General.		Indian Laudable.		Universal.		Age.
	Civil	Military.	Civil.	Military.	Civil.	Military.	Civil.	Military.	Civil.	Military.	
20	Rs. 40	Rs. 45	Rs. 33	Rs. 38	Rs. 29	Rs. 35	Rs. 38	Rs. 45	Rs. 42	Rs. 47	20
25	44	48	35	40	33	38	40	48	45	51	25
30	47	52	38	44	36	41	45	53	48	54	30
35	52	57	42	48	43	44	49	58	53	58	35
40	58	62	49	53	48	53	53	63	59	63	40
45	65	69	56	59	54	54	57	68	66	69	45
50	*74	78	63	66	59	59	64	76	74	77	50
55	87	89			67	70	73	87	87	89	55
60	103	106			80	82	86	103	103	105	60

The following Table exhibits the Annual Premiums for an Assurance for the Whole Term of Life, without profits.

Age.	Church of Eng- land.		Family Endow- ment.		Medical, Invalid and General.		New Oriental		United Service.		Universal.		Age.
	Mil.		Civil.		Mil.		Civil.		Mil.		Civil.		
	Rs.	Mil.	Rs.	Mil.	Rs.	Mil.	Rs.	Mil.	Rs.	Mil.	Rs.	Mil.	
20	34	41	31	35	32	38	38	45	38	45	38	45	20
25	38	45	33	38	35	40	40	48	40	48	36	41	25
30	42	49	35	41	38	45	53	53	45	53	39	45	30
35	47	53	39	45	41	49	58	58	49	58	43	49	35
40	53	59	45	49	44	53	63	63	53	63	49	53	40
45	60	66	52	55	50	57	68	68	57	68	55	60	45
50	69	75	59	61	54	64	76	76	64	76	62	64	50
55	82	87	67	69	61	73	87	87	73	87	76	81	55
60	98	101	77	79	76	86	103	103	86	103	88	90	60

NOTE.—There is no mention of profits in the Indian Prospectus of the *Church of England*. The *Colonial*, without profit rates, are not known. The *New Oriental* and the *United Service* being Proprietary Offices have no with profit scale of premiums. The nature of certain returns made by them to policy-holders is stated in a subsequent part of this article.

It is proper to mention that prior to 1852 the rates of the *Universal* were considerably higher than is represented in the two preceding tables, as will appear from the following example of what was formerly charged by that Office —

Age.	CIVIL.			MILITARY.		
	One year.	Five years.	Whole life without profits.	One year.	Five years.	Whole life without profits.
20	27	28	38	32	34	42
40	39	40	53	48	50	57
60	63	70	93	69	75	95

The reduction amounts to about twenty per cent. on both Civil and Military lives for short periods, and to about ten per cent. for the whole term of life without profits.

In the great majority of cases, the policies effected with Life Assurance Companies, in this country, are on the lives of persons not younger than twenty-five years, or older than forty-five years. It will be convenient, therefore, to exhibit the average yearly rates for the insurance of 1,000 rupees with each Office, at ages from twenty-six to forty-five inclusive; and this information is accordingly supplied by the following table :—

Office.	One Year.		Five Years.		Whole Life, with profits.		Whole Life, without profits.	
	Civil	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.	Civil	Mil.	Civil.	Mil.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Church of England...	33.	41.65	34.35	43.	...	...	48.05	54.45
Colonial .....	...	...	...	...	53.3	57.8	...	...
Family Endowment..	29.15	34.25	31.1	37.1	43.95	48.95	40.8	45.7
Indian Laudable.....	37.5	42.95	39.15	45.25	49.15	58.5	...	...
Medical, Invalid } and General .. }	32.4	35.35	34.55	36.9	43.2	45.4	39.8	41.8
New Oriental	37.5	42.95	39.15	45.25	...	...	49.15	58.5
United Service	37.5	42.95	39.15	45.25	...	...	49.15	58.5
Universal	29.55	35.3	30.9	36.95	54.4	59.25	45.00	49.35

The first thing that will strike the reader on looking at this and the preceding tables, is that the rates of premium charged by the three local Companies, viz., the *New Oriental*, the *Indian Laudable*, and the *United Service*, on lives resident in India, are precisely the same in every case, and are, with two exceptions,

higher on every scale than those of the English Companies. The exceptions are the *Colonial* and *Universal*, whose premiums are higher on the profit scale. It should be stated, that the *Oriental* have since 1848 allowed a discount of ten per cent. off their published rates. There is no obligation on them, that we are aware of, to grant this privilege to future, or continue it to present policy-holders.

The lowest rates in the table, on the short term scales, are, in the case of civil and military lives for one year, those of the *Family Endowment*; and civil lives for five years those of the *Universal*; on civil and military lives, for the whole term of life, and on military lives for five years the *Medical, Invalid and General* rates are lower than those of any of the other Companies.

We shall, in due time, examine the nature of certain returns made by some of the Offices noticed, in the shape of "bonuses" and commissions. It is sufficient, for our present purpose, to point out the rate, which *the insured by each Office contracts to pay before the Office will issue a policy in his favor*; and the result of our investigations, as to the Indian rates of premium, exhibits some singular anomalies. A glance at the foregoing tables will satisfy any one, that there is something which requires to be looked into. Either some Offices charge rates exorbitantly high, or others insure lives at premiums dangerously low.

A very considerable number of assurers in this country, on the scale of premiums applicable to the whole term of life, look forward to continuing their policies in Europe, or in some more genial country, where the diminished risk to life entitles them to a reduction of premium. We may therefore be allowed a very brief digression from the more immediate purpose of these remarks, as it is of some importance that the English, as well as the Indian, rates of premiums be previously ascertained by parties before entering into a Life Assurance contract. It will be seen that, in general, the Offices whose Indian rates are highest, are also those whose English rates are highest, although the proportion between English and Indian rates is not uniform. Neither are the periods of residence in England requisite to entitle a policy-holder to be transferred to the English rates the same in all the Offices.

The following Table shows the yearly English rates of premium, with and without profits, for the whole term of life.

Age.	Church of England.		Colonial.		Family Endowment.		Medical Invalid.		New Oriental. Without Profits.		Universal.		Age.
	With Profits.	Without Profits.	With Profits.	Without Profits.	With Profits.	Without Profits.	With Profits.	Without Profits.	Civil.	Military.	With Profits.	Without Profits.	
20	1 17 4 s. d. f.	1 13 11 s. d. f.	1 18 4 s. d. f.	1 15 1 s. d. f.	1 17 9 s. d. f.	1 14 3 s. d. f.	1 17 5 s. d. f.	1 13 7 s. d. f.	3 0 10 s. d. f.	3 12 0 s. d. f.	1 18 8 s. d. f.	1 14 10 s. d. f.	20
25	2 1 6 s. d. f.	1 17 9 s. d. f.	2 3 3 s. d. f.	1 19 8 s. d. f.	2 3 1 s. d. f.	1 19 1 s. d. f.	1 2 2 1 s. d. f.	1 17 8 s. d. f.	3 4 0 s. d. f.	3 16 10 s. d. f.	2 3 3 s. d. f.	1 19 0 s. d. f.	25
30	2 6 10 s. d. f.	2 2 7 s. d. f.	2 9 4 s. d. f.	2 5 2 s. d. f.	2 9 7 s. d. f.	2 4 7 s. d. f.	2 7 5 s. d. f.	2 2 6 s. d. f.	3 12 0 s. d. f.	4 4 10 s. d. f.	2 8 10 s. d. f.	2 4 0 s. d. f.	30
35	2 13 11 s. d. f.	2 9 1 s. d. f.	2 16 7 s. d. f.	2 11 10 s. d. f.	2 16 2 s. d. f.	2 11 1 s. d. f.	2 14 2 s. d. f.	2 8 6 s. d. f.	3 18 5 s. d. f.	4 12 10 s. d. f.	2 14 11 s. d. f.	2 9 6 s. d. f.	35
40	3 3 6 s. d. f.	2 17 8 s. d. f.	3 5 6 s. d. f.	3 0 0 s. d. f.	3 5 9 s. d. f.	3 0 3 s. d. f.	3 2 10 s. d. f.	2 16 3 s. d. f.	4 4 10 s. d. f.	5 0 10 s. d. f.	3 3 0 s. d. f.	2 16 9 s. d. f.	40
* 45	3 16 3 s. d. f.	3 9 4 s. d. f.	3 17 3 s. d. f.	3 10 9 s. d. f.	3 16 2 s. d. f.	3 9 10 s. d. f.	3 14 1 s. d. f.	3 6 4 s. d. f.	4 11 3 s. d. f.	5 8 10 s. d. f.	3 12 2 s. d. f.	3 5 0 s. d. f.	45
50	4 13 4 s. d. f.	4 4 11 s. d. f.	4 13 0 s. d. f.	4 5 3 s. d. f.	4 10 6 s. d. f.	4 4 9 s. d. f.	4 8 11 s. d. f.	3 19 8 s. d. f.	5 2 5 s. d. f.	6 5 7 s. d. f.	4 5 6 s. d. f.	3 17 0 s. d. f.	50
55	5 16 5 s. d. f.	5 5 10 s. d. f.	5 16 0 s. d. f.	5 6 4 s. d. f.	5 7 6 s. d. f.	5 2 5 s. d. f.	5 8 9 s. d. f.	4 17 5 s. d. f.	5 16 10 s. d. f.	6 19 3 s. d. f.	5 5 10 s. d. f.	4 15 3 s. d. f.	55
60	7 7 6 s. d. f.	6 14 2 s. d. f.	7 7 1 s. d. f.	6 14 11 s. d. f.	6 7 11 s. d. f.	6 2 5 s. d. f.	6 15 8 s. d. f.	6 1 6 s. d. f.	6 17 7 s. d. f.	8 4 10 s. d. f.	6 13 2 s. d. f.	5 19 11 s. d. f.	60

NOTE.—The English rates of the *United Service* are not known. In the *Indian Landable* an insurer, after two years' residence in England, is entitled to one-third more of the profits than residents in India. Thus supposing the latter get 30 per cent., the former would be entitled to 40 per cent.

The *Oriental* rates for England are obtained by deducting twenty per cent. from the premiums for India. This is a very summary way of settling a difficulty. We notice in the prospectuses of the English Companies, that they generally offer to reduce the premiums to English rates applicable to the age of the assured, when his policy was effected, immediately on the life insured returning to Europe to reside permanently. But neither is this quite correct. Actuaries are now generally agreed, that as a rule, increase of risk, caused by residence in India, is compensated by adding three years or so to the individual's age. The *Oriental*, however, charges the same for a person of twenty, as the English Offices do for one of forty-five, nor can we arrive at any notion of their reasons for so doing.

The premiums for India and England then are plain enough.

We shall not at present enter upon the returns afforded by certain of these Companies in the shape of profits, or "bonuses" as they are called, but having shewn what premiums are charged by the Assurance Offices of India—having shewn, indeed, in the foregoing tables, *how much money it is necessary to pay* to these Offices before they will undertake certain liabilities—we shall proceed to examine the second proposition with which we originally started.

It may be necessary to premise, that in the construction of the foregoing tables, and indeed all tables of premiums for Life Assurance, there are generally three elements employed, viz.:—

First.—The rate of mortality which may be expected to obtain amongst the lives assured.

Second.—The interest which the Office can realize on the contributions of the members.

Third.—The additions which are made to the pure mathematical premium to cover expenses of management.

The premiums obtained by the employment of the first two elements mentioned are, we believe, technically called the "pure" or mathematical premiums. The tabular or published rates of the Offices are obtained by adding to this normal premium a per-centage, which is considered ample enough to cover the expenses of management. Now it is obvious, that to dissect the premiums contained in the foregoing tables, it is first necessary to ascertain what are the mathematical rates of premium applicable to India, and this enquiry involves, as before stated, the mortality amongst Europeans, and the rate at which money improves at compound interest in this country.

Various enquiries have been made at different times into the rate of mortality of certain classes of Europeans in India, with which it is not necessary that we should at present concern ourselves.

The most remarkable attempts* to solve this important and interesting problem are those by the Committee appointed by the Bengal Government in 1834, to consider the expediency of a Government Life Assurance Institution; by Mr. Woolhouse, the Actuary of the National Loan Fund, in 1839; by Mr. Neison, of the Medical Office, in August 1849; and by Mr. Griffith Davies, at various times, his last report having appeared in connexion with the Bengal Civil Fund, in June, 1851.

The fleeting character of European society in India, unconnected with the covenanted services of the East India Company, has hitherto rendered it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to collect sufficient data applicable to that class, on which to base any table of mortality. Accordingly, the most important enquiries, which have, up to the present time, been made into this question, have had reference to the covenanted civil and military servants of the Company in the three presidencies. From the very limited number of civilians, these investigations, in so far as they are concerned, are not so satisfactory as we could wish. The paper by Mr. Prinsep, referred to below, is founded upon the casualties amongst the 904 civilians who reached Bengal between 1790 and 1831, a period of forty-one years. In 1842, Mr. Davies formed for the Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Fund in Bengal, a table of mortality deduced from Messrs. Dodwell and Miles' list of about 1,200 Ben-

* One of the earliest papers on this subject is that published in the *Gleanings of Science*, a Calcutta periodical now extinct. The article appears in the number for September, 1831, and is entitled "On the Duration of Life in the Bengal Civil Service." In 1832 Mr. H. T. Prinsep read a paper to the Asiatic Society on the Mortality of the Bengal Civil Service, which is published in the *Journal of the Society* for July, 1832. In 1836, the "Results of an Enquiry, respecting the Law of Mortality for British India, by Major H. B. Henderson," appeared in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx. A paper by Mr. Christie, formerly actuary of the *Universal Life Office*, was, in 1838, read to the Statistical Society, "On the rate of Mortality amongst Officers retired from the Indian Army." This paper is published in the *Journal of the Society* for September of that year. In 1839 Mr. Woolhouse published his "Investigation of Mortality in the Indian Army," the most remarkable treatise on the subject which had, up to that time, appeared. Mr. Griffith Davies, of the *Guardian Office*, has, at various times, reported on certain of the Funds of the three presidencies. The most important report, which treats of military lives, is that on the Bengal Military Fund, dated February, 1844.

In 1846, Mr. Curnin, of the Calcutta Mint, constructed a table of mortality of the Civil Servants, who had come on the Bengal establishment since 1779. He also appears to have been about the same time engaged in forming a table applicable to Military officers, when death put an end to his labors. In 1849, Mr. Neison completed his report on the Bengal Military Fund. In 1850 Mr. C. S. Francis published "An Investigation of the Rate of Mortality amongst certain Assured Lives in India," and about the same time Mr. Griffith Davies reported on the Bengal Civil Fund. In February of last year, Mr. Jellicoe, Vice-President of the Institute of Actuaries, read a paper to the Institute, on the rates of premium for Bengal, which is published in the *Assurance Magazine* for that year. We should also state, that Colonel Sykes has made some valuable contributions to vital statistics in India, which are published in the *Journals of the Statistical Society of London*, and that Major Hannington has given considerable attention to the same subject.

gal Civil Servants, appointed during the period from 1780 to 1838, and he has adopted the same table up to the age of forty in his recent report on the Bengal Civil Fund.*

The following table may be considered interesting, as exhibiting the supposed mortality per cent. per annum amongst the Civil Service of Bengal, contrasted with the mortality amongst the male population of England and Wales :—†

<i>Age.</i>	<i>England and Wales.</i>	<i>Davies.</i>	<i>Prinsep.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
20—24	.846	1.369	2.032	20—24
25—29	.977	1.591	2.087	25—29
30—34	1.050	1.762	1.795	30—34
35—39	1.187	1.954	2.129	35—39

The above table amounts to this. In Mr. Davies' opinion, of 1,000 Bengal Civil Servants, all aged exactly twenty years, not more than 861 will complete their twenty-ninth year, and not more than 714 their thirty-ninth year, while in England and Wales, of the same number of males, alive at age twenty, 912 will complete their twenty-ninth year, and 817 their thirty-ninth year.

But even supposing these results could be considered as settling at rest the question as to the Civil Service of India, it is evident that it would be dangerous to insure the very mixed class who present themselves for insurance, at premiums applicable to civil lives, for rates deduced from a table representing the deaths amongst so select a class as the Civil Service. In all countries, the mortality varies considerably in passing from one class to another, and in India especially, East Indians—a term which, by the way, is apparently used in a conventional and not an ethnographical sense, and is analogous to Eurasian, Indo-Briton, &c.—and Europeans in humble circumstances, who are not so well fed and housed as the more affluent residents, and who have not the means of leaving the country for a change of climate when sickness renders it necessary, must be considered as incurring considerably greater risk than others more favorably situated in these respects.

There is another consideration, too, which must not be overlooked, and that is, whether people settling in India at various ages are not subject to greater risk than those who come out young, and thus become acclimated at an early age. It has

* Since writing the above, we have seen Mr. Neison's Report on the same Fund, dated 14th December, 1852. The results arrived at are in the highest degree interesting and amply bear out our own view in several important particulars.

† Vital Statistics, p. 5.

been conjectured that the mortality is higher in proportion amongst the former class.

An investigation, noticed in No. XXVI. of this *Review*, was some time ago made by Mr. C. S. Francis of Calcutta, into the experience of two of the oldest local Life Offices in India. The data consisted of the experience of thirty-three years, from 1815 to 1847 inclusive, and comprised 9,541 assurances, of which 2,121 lapsed by death, 5,860 were discontinued, and 1,560 remained in force on the 31st December, 1847. While great praise is due to the gentleman who undertook this difficult and laborious task, it is to be regretted that he did not adopt means to expunge every duplicate policy on the same life. "In the case of the *Laudable*, every duplicate policy appears to have been expunged, but the same accuracy was not observed with the *Oriental* policies, and besides, parties insured in both Offices were not distinguished. Thus a person might have had three or four policies in the *Oriental*, and another in the *Laudable*, than which indeed nothing is more common, and his decease would be recorded as four or five deaths, instead of one. It is to be observed, also, that the average duration of the great majority of the policies is not more than three and a half years. Owing to the high rates demanded, it is natural to suppose that those of the insurers, who entertained any thing like a good opinion of their vitality, would abandon their policies as soon as they had served a temporary purpose; and this circumstance, taken in connexion with the above, may account in some measure for the extraordinary conclusion at which Mr. Francis arrives, viz., that the mortality amongst mixed assured lives in India is considerably higher than amongst the Bengal Military Service according to Mr. Woolhouse's calculation.

We are inclined to believe with Major Henderson,* that at certain ages, at all events, the army casualties may, with the utmost safety, be assumed as a criterion of the mortality amongst the mixed class, who present themselves to Assurance Offices in this country for insurance at civil rates. It therefore remains that we enquire what is the rate of mortality amongst the officers of the Bengal Army?

The data from which the table formed under the auspices of the Committee appointed by Government was deduced, consisted of returns, made by the Adjutants-General of the three presidencies, of the names and ages of all officers who had died year by year at each presidency during the twenty years,

* Asiatic Researches, vol. xx., p. 205.

from 1814 to 1833, as compared with the strength of the respective armies for the twenty years exhibited. Mr. Woolhouse's data consisted of an "alphabetical list of the officers of the Indian Army, with the dates of their respective promotion; retirement, resignation, or death, whether in India or in Europe, from the year 1760 to the year 1834 inclusive, corrected to September 1837, compiled and edited by Messrs. Dodwell and Miles, East India Army Agents;" and Mr. Neison prepared his tables from the Records of the India House. It appears that the patronage and other books at the India House record the date of the appointment of each cadet, and with the exception of those struck off, cashiered, or dismissed the service, each cadet continues under observation until his death. From 1799, the age of each officer at entry into the service is given, authenticated by certificate of birth. Mr. Neison extracted from these records, applicable to the period commencing 1st January, 1800, to the 31st December, 1847, the age of each cadet at his appointment, and with the exception above mentioned, extended his observations over their lives until the end of 1847. There are thus ample data for estimating the mortality amongst officers of the Bengal Army. Mr. Woolhouse's observations embrace 6,017 lives, and extend over a period of seventy-six years, and Mr. Neison's embrace 5,199 lives, and extend over a period of forty-eight years.

The following table exhibits the actual mortality per cent. per annum according to Mr. Neison's investigations, as given in Table I. of his Report, and the mortality per cent. per annum as computed from Table VI. in Mr. Woolhouse's pamphlet:—

<i>Age.</i>	<i>Woolhouse.</i>	<i>Neison.</i>
18—22	2.670	1.889
23—27	2.757	2.420
28—32	2.910	2.636
33—37	3.147	2.932
38—42	3.446	2.878
43—47	3.815	3.038
48—52	4.263	3.951
53—57	4.930	3.124
58—62	5.941	3.854

We think any one, who carefully examines the tables computed under the auspices of the Committee appointed by the Bengal Government, and their elucidation in the early part of Mr. Neison's report on the Fund, will come to the conclusion that the greater mortality indicated by Mr.

Woolhouse's results above given, as compared with those of Mr. Neison, arises from the former having included the casualties of the last century. A very general impression certainly exists in India, that even within the memory of man a marked and decided improvement has taken place in the duration of life, not only of military officers, but amongst the European population generally. The time was when the English residents in Calcutta used to meet at a certain period of the year, we believe on the 1st of November, for the special purpose of congratulating each other on having survived the dangers of another season; but improved knowledge of the proper means of protection from the climate, and general advancement in medical science, have tended to render this curious ceremony no longer necessary. Undoubtedly regular exercise and temperate living are essential to European life and health in this country. We noticed the other day a remark said to have been made by the late Duke of Wellington on this head, which is so characteristic as to be worth quoting. Here it is—"If people would only practise abstinence, take exercise, and avoid exposure to the mid-day sun and pestiferous night air, they would find India quite as healthy a residence as England." If it be true then, as there is every reason to believe, that this improvement has taken place in the value of European life in India within the last thirty or forty years, it is evident that a table of mortality, formed from data comprehending the experience of the present century, and brought down as near as possible to our own day, is better adapted than any other to form the basis of the rates of premium necessary for Life Assurance.

We are aware that Mr. Jellicoe, a distinguished London actuary, in a paper on this question, published in the *Assurance Magazine*, advocates the adoption of Mr. Woolhouse's table, on the ground of security, until the work promised by Mr. Neison, on the general mortality of India, makes its appearance; but we think there can be little doubt that the latter gentleman, having made his own table the basis of the Indian rates of premium, published by the Office with which he is himself immediately connected, will fully justify this important step, when his observations appear, and amply confirm what he has already advanced on the subject.

While it is impossible to lay down any general rule as to the number of observations which will justify an actuary in determining a law of mortality as the basis of tables for life contingencies, we may state as a case in point, that the great majority of the English Companies deduce their rates of premium for Life Assur-

ance in Europe, from what is commonly known as the Carlisle Table. Now we are not prepared by any means to admit the sufficiency of the Carlisle observations; but at all events the English rates are chiefly computed from them, and it may be worth while just to glance at the facts which form the basis of that table, as compared with the India House Records, comprehending Mr. Neison's data. The Carlisle Table was deduced from a tract entitled—"An Abridgement of Observations on the Bills of Mortality in Carlisle, from the year 1779 to the year 1787 inclusive." It appears scarcely necessary to point out how much more to be relied on are results obtained from observations of 5,199 distinct lives, extending over a period of forty-eight years, than those which comprise the experience amongst a fluctuating population of about 8,000 during a period of nine years.

In examining the comparative merits of the tables of mortality for India, which have been hitherto constructed, it must be remembered also, that the chance of error in preparing the abstracts was, in the case of Mr. Neison, considerably diminished by his obtaining the particulars from the original records themselves, and not, as in the case of Messrs. Woolhouse and Davies, at second-hand. This, indeed, is rather an important consideration. Dodwell's list was compiled without any view to the construction of life contingency tables; the facts, although said to have been abstracted with great care, were nevertheless tabulated by those who had no experience in such work, while in the other case, the conduct of details was in the hands of men, who, to careful mathematical training, added large experience in such pursuits, and who, it may be supposed, were fully aware of the immediate object for which the investigation was undertaken. It may be mentioned also, that Dodwell's list does not give the ages of cadets on entering the service, and thus, until the last Report on the Military Fund appeared, the average age of officers at entry was, by all who had investigated the subject, erroneously assumed to be eighteen years. But the India House books afford certified evidence of the exact age of each cadet on entering the service, and thus Mr. Neison was enabled to show that the average age was nearer seventeen than eighteen years.

Upon the whole, therefore, it appears difficult to resist the conclusion that Table I. of Mr. Neison's report, above referred to, is a fairer basis than any other, from which to deduce a scale of premiums for Life Assurance, applicable to European officers of the Bengal Army, at ages from seventeen to sixty, and that, in the absence of any more satisfactory data, the results may,

for the purposes of an Assurance Office, be adopted with the utmost safety, as giving a sufficiently correct idea of the casualties amongst the entire European population in this country at these ages.

The rate of interest is the next consideration. If it be desirable that every one entering into a Life Assurance contract, make himself acquainted with the table of mortality, from which the premiums of the Office he proposes to support have been calculated, it is equally important that he learn the rate of interest which has been assumed in their calculations. This will readily appear, if we suppose a person opening two policies with different Offices at the same time, and paying a single premium of 1,000 rupees on each policy, in full of all demands. At the end of fifty years, his 1,000 rupees would, at four per cent. per annum compound interest, amount to Rs. 7,106-10-5, while, at three per cent., it would amount to only Rs. 4,383-14-5. Such Offices, indeed, should not only undertake the equalization of life, but the return of sums paid them at compound interest.

The rate of interest which ought to be assumed in the computation of life premiums is, in many cases, a much more difficult point for the actuary to deal with, than that which relates to the prospective mortality of the subscribers. Any sudden and material deterioration in the value of human life is, to say the least, exceedingly unlikely, but extensive and unexpected fluctuations in the rate of interest are continually occurring. Mr. Finlaison, the Government actuary, writing in 1829, says—“ I take it for granted, that it will be considered safe enough ‘ to assume, that money in a long course of years will so accumulate through all fluctuations, as to equal a constant rate of ‘ four per cent. ; because, in fact, money has hitherto accumulated at four and a half per cent., whether we reckon from 1803 ‘ or from 1783.” Professor de Morgan thinks, that the rate assumed should “ never be above that at which the Government can borrow,”* and referring to the English Companies, his opinion is, “ that no Office would be justified in supposing ‘ more than three per cent. with tables which are sufficiently ‘ high to come any ways near to the actual experience of ‘ mortality.”† The general practice with the English Companies, using the Carlisle Table, is to assume three per cent. in calculating premiums for European lives. It has been the custom hitherto, in the construction of tables for India, to suppose four per cent., and certainly there appears good

* Probabilities, p. 257. † Ibid, p. 261.

reason to believe that money will, for a long time to come, with safety yield at least that rate in this country. Notwithstanding many grave apprehensions in certain quarters to the contrary, we are not afraid that there will be any serious and permanent depreciation in the rate of interest, even assuming that the most profound peace continues to exist in Europe for the next half century, a condition which is, to say the least, exceedingly improbable. We believe that the vast fields for the employment of capital, which are being continually opened up in the magnificent Colonial possessions of Great Britain will, for a long time, afford ample outlet for any redundancy of wealth which may exist in the mother-country.

Considering, however, that we have but an uncertain element after all to deal with, we are willing to give those who differ from us the benefit of any doubt on the subject, and shall, in the table which we propose to institute as a standard of comparison, assume, that on an average not more than three and a half per cent. per annum, will, with perfect safety, be permanently realized in India.

It is to be observed, that when a Life Office assumes in its calculations, that a certain rate of compound interest will be obtained, it proceeds on the supposition that all premiums and interest falling due will be paid at the due date and not later, *and on the same day invested, so as to be made at once productive*; but experience teaches us, that this is a condition which is often very far from being complied with. But on the other hand, a Life Office has various sources of profit independent of that which arises from fewer deaths occurring than were expected to take place amongst the members, and the improvement of their funds at a higher rate of interest than is assumed in the tables. For instance, the assurer is always charged the premium applicable to his age as it will be on his next birth-day; and thus, one with another, members of a Life Office are six months younger than is supposed in the calculations. Then the interest on investments is convertible half-yearly or quarterly, and not yearly, as is supposed in the tables; and it is customary to charge fines for non-payment of premium, within stipulated times, &c. But the most important source of profit, perhaps, arises from policies allowed to lapse from non-payment of premium. In England profit from this cause is considerable, but in India the high rates of premium charged by many Offices, and the fact that in a multitude of cases the policies effected are in connexion with loans at exorbitant interest, affords some explanation of the circumstance that a very large proportion of the policies are abandoned as soon as they have served their temporary purpose. Thus

the average duration of the *Oriental* policies, it would appear, is under four years; and while in England, of the whole policies effected, not more than one-third are discontinued during the life-time of the parties assured—of 9,541 assurances effected in the *Oriental* and *Laudable* together, no less than 5,860 were discontinued, or upwards of three-fifths.

Upon the whole, then, while we believe many people would contend, and not unreasonably, that all things considered, four per cent. is the *minimum* rate which ought to be assumed in computing premiums for assurance in India, and while some would argue that four and a half per cent. could be supposed with perfect safety, we will silence all objection, which it is possible to take to this part of our argument, by supposing three and a half per cent.; and we now proceed to enquire what premiums will be obtained by the employment of this rate in connexion with the mortality which, we concluded, represents what is likely to take place amongst the mixed class of assurers in this country.

It may be convenient for those who do not quite understand the principle of Life Assurance, if we pause for one moment to illustrate the system by a simple example. Taking the experience of the *Laudable* and *Oriental*, and assuming the increase of money at four per cent., we shall suppose that sixteen residents in Calcutta, each of the venerable age of eighty-six years, which is an apt age for illustration, desired to form themselves into a small mutual Assurance Office, and that each member effected an assurance on his life for 1,000 rupees, to be paid at the end of the year in which he shall die. The mathematical rate of premium at that age, payable yearly in advance, is as near as may be, Rs. 490.671.*

Then 16 × 490.671 =	Rs.	7850.736
Add interest at 4 per cent. for one year.....	„	314.029

Rs....	8164.765
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Deduct claims on 6 deaths, which the Table indicates would take place during the first year	6000.
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Remains.....	Rs. 2164.765
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Then 10 × 490.671 = 4906.71	
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Rs...	7071.475
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Add interest at 4 per cent. for one year	282.859
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Rs ...	7354.334
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* Rate of Mortality amongst Assured Lives, p. 38.

Deduct claims on 5 deaths, which the Table indicates
would take place during the second year..... 5000

Remains..... Rs. 2354.334

Then $5 \times 490.671 = 2453.355$

Rs.... 4807.689

Add interest at 4 per cent. for one year 192.308

Rs... 4999.997

Deduct claims on 5 deaths, which the Table supposes
would take place during the third year 5000.

Balance..... Nil.

For at the end of the three years, all the lives would be extinct, and the Society having fulfilled its engagements, would cease to exist. This is a rude enough example, no doubt, but it will serve to show the working of the system. The premiums for assurance, applicable to the different ages, are all calculated on the same plan. It appears that six of the sixteen in the above example pay only Rs. 491,671 each, five make two years' payments, or pay Rs. 983,842 Rs. each, and five pay Rs. 1475.013 each; but the representatives of each receive the same stipulated sum of Rs. 1,000. In fact, as Mr. De Morgan observes, "in every Office some must pay more than they receive, in order that others may receive more than they pay:" those who have more than average longevity pay for those who have less.

Mr. Jellicoe, in the paper above mentioned, gives the nett yearly premium per cent. computed from a table of mortality formed by him from Table I. in Mr. Neison's Report, up to the age of sixty-four, and from Mr. Woolhouse's table from that age to the extremity of life. We now present our readers with the nett yearly premiums for assurance of Rs. 1,000, as calculated by Mr. Jellicoe, at four per cent. interest, and the premiums at three and a half per cent., which we have computed from the table of mortality formed by him.

Age.	3½ Per cent.			4 Per cent.			Age.
	Rs.	As	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	
20	28	3	11	27	10	7	20
25	30	1	9	29	7	2	25
30	32	4	3	31	8	10	30
35	34	13	0	34	1	3	35
40	38	2	7	37	4	8	40
45	42	7	0	41	8	0	45
50	47	8	6	46	7	9	50
55	54	5	6	53	2	7	55
60	64	6	5	63	1	2	60

We are not aware that there is any fixed rule amongst Insurance Offices, as to the amount of addition to be made to the nett or mathematical premiums, to cover charges of management, &c. The amount added may be said to vary, according to the table of mortality, and the rate of interest supposed in the calculations, from five to twenty-five per cent. We believe it is seldom that a higher addition than ten per cent. is made, unless on the understanding that the assured, by that scale, are to participate in future profits, or in other words, that any over-payment, which it may afterwards appear they have made, will be returned to them. Considering, therefore, that we propose to charge the mass of assurers, the rates applicable to military men;—that there are, as we have seen, many other sources of profit to Insurance Offices, of which people are not generally aware;—that we have, in the calculation of the premiums in the last table, supposed a considerably lower rate of interest than there is reason to expect can be realized;—we believe that an addition throughout the whole table of ten per cent. to the above premiums would not only compensate an Office for charges of management, but would, if moderate care and economy were exercised, leave a considerable surplus to be divided amongst the assurers, after all expenses and claims upon the Society were paid.

The following table then shows the results at which we have arrived, and exhibits the premiums yearly during life for assurance of 1,000 rupees on the lives of Europeans in India, calculated from the mortality table deduced from Table I. in Mr. Neison's Report, with ten per cent added throughout:—

<i>Age.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
20	31	45	47
25	33	50	52
30	35	55	60
35	38	60	71
40	42		

It will be seen on a comparison of the above scale with the rates generally demanded by Insurance Offices, that had we even added twenty, instead of ten per cent., our premiums would still have been considerably more moderate than those which are usually charged. Before pointing out certain cases in which the premiums exacted really appear to be unnecessarily, nay exorbitantly high, it may be necessary to state that there are three forms of constitution under which Life Offices present themselves.

There are what are called the "Proprietary," the "Mutual," and the "Mixed" Offices. In purely Proprietary Companies, the insured are guaranteed from all risk, but do not share in profits. In Mutual Offices, again, there is joint liability for the fulfilment of engagements, but all profits arising from the business are divided amongst the assured. The Mixed Offices, which are by far the most numerous, combine the principles of the other two. Parties insuring with them have the advantage of an entire exemption from liability, and the option of sharing in a portion of the profits besides.

We must leave our readers to determine which of these three systems is the best, as it is not our purpose to discuss their relative merits. We think it, however, only fair to point them out, and also to indicate, to what particular class each Indian Office belongs. The *Colonial*, *Church of England*, *Family Endowment*, *Medical*, and *Universal*, all combine the mutual and proprietary principles. The *Laudable* is a mutual Office, and the *Oriental* and *United Service*, to all intents and purposes, proprietary. In the case of the *Colonial*, it is not stated in the prospectus what is the proportion of profit which will be divided amongst the assured, or the periods at which such divisions will be declared. We learn, however, that the first investigation and division will take place in 1854. The *Church of England*, although not a purely proprietary Company, have no mention of profits in their Indian prospectus. The *Family Endowment* divides three-fourths of the whole profits annually. Parties insured on the profit scale, and who have paid five complete annual premiums, will be entitled at the expiration of the fifth year, to a year's profit, calculated on the average of the preceding five years. In the *Medical*, profits are ascertained at regular intervals of five years, and an entire two-thirds divided amongst the policy-holders on the participating scale. The *Universal* returns profit to persons assured on the participating scale, who have paid six complete annual, or twelve complete half-yearly premiums.* In the case of the *Laudable*, profits are ascer-

* The method of division appears complicated, so that we quote it entire:—

"1. The profits are declared in each year, on the second Wednesday in May, from which date all persons, who may have assured for the whole term of life on the participating scale, and on whose policies six complete annual, or twelve complete half-yearly original premiums have been paid, are entitled to participate in the profits of succeeding years, in either of the modes provided by the Deed of Settlement, viz., by a reduction of the annual, or half-yearly premiums, as they fall due, or by an equivalent addition to the sum assured by way of a bonus. Each assurer, on his first becoming entitled to participate in the profits, has the option of selecting either of the foregoing methods, and three months from the date of declaration of the profits is allowed for his making that selection, which, however, when once determined on, cannot be altered in after years.

tained every half-year, "and the return premium is available, 'without exception, to all parties insured in the Society who 'have paid even a *single* half-year's premium." The profit supposed to have been realized is added to each policy in proportion, but *no reduction of premium for the following half-year is made until the accumulations on policies amount to ten per cent. on the sums insured in each case.* In the event, however, of a party deceasing before the accumulations on his policy entitle him to a reduction of premium, the amount of these accumulations, without interest thereon, together of course with the sum assured on his life, are paid. The *Oriental*, as we stated before, is a purely proprietary Office, but they have been in the habit, since November, 1848, of allowing a reduction of ten per cent. on the amount of all premiums paid to them. It appears to be within the power of the Office, however, to withdraw this privilege whenever they see fit. The full premium is stated in the policies issued by them. As for the *United Service*, we have never heard or read of their ever refunding any thing. We suppose it is compulsory on parties borrowing money from the Bank of the same name to insure in the Office. At all events, their rates are about the highest in the table, and here is all that is stated about profits:—"The nett surplus half-yearly profits, will be divided among shareholders, according to their respective shares. At the end of five years, only three-fourths of such nett profits will be so divided, and the remaining one-fourth among such policy-holders in the life class as may have been insured therein for the five preceding years, in the proportion of premium paid by them during the relative half-year." There is a masterly ambiguity about the passage, which cannot fail to be attractive to intending insurers. We suppose it to mean, that after the unfortunate policy-holder has continued to pay these exorbitant rates for five years, the worthy shareholders, who have all this time been pocketing the difference between what our friend does pay, and what he ought to pay, will graciously reduce his eleventh half-yearly premium to an extent equal to his proportion of one-

"2. 'The practice of an annual division,' as observed by Mr. Babbage, "distributes the profits with more regularity and justice than any other;" and is especially advantageous to persons of advanced years, who cannot hope to participate in many septennial or decennial divisions, as practised by several other Offices.'

"3. One-fifth of the ascertained profit is divided between the policy-holders and shareholders—three-fourths to the former, and one-fourth to the latter—the remaining four-fifths are set apart to enter into the average to be struck on the next succeeding year."

fourth of the *nett* profits of the tenth half-year, and again will reduce his twenty-first half-yearly premium to an extent equal to his proportion of one-fourth of the nett profits of the twentieth half-year and so on. In short, will allow him his proportion of one-fortieth of the nett profits quinquennially, themselves of course appropriating all the rest. This actually appears to be the intention. It is satisfactory to be able to say, that nobody has had the courage to put his name to the prospectus containing this modest proposal. We should like to know how many continue in the "life class," sufficiently long to become entitled to a participation in these signal benefits, since the average duration of the policies in the *Laudable*, whose premiums are the same as those of the Office in question, and who profess to return the *whole* of the profits half-yearly, is under eight years.

It was our intention to have shewn, by a simple table, the actual per-centage of excess charged by the Offices brought under observation over the rates which we have instituted as a test, but we shall in mercy to some of them forbear, the more especially as this article has already extended to a greater length than we contemplated, and abounds in tabular matter to a degree which will doubtless have alarmed most of our readers already, and rendered it any thing but attractive. Those who are curious to see the extent to which the gentle public have been, and continue to be, fleeced,—for we shall still use the word which we employed in touching on this subject before,—may ascertain this interesting point by comparing the premiums which we have calculated as a test, with those actually charged by the different offices, and they will arrive at a tolerably clear idea of the amount per annum on every 1,000 rupees insured. We believe there is no necessity whatever for any Office adding at the outside more than 20 per cent. as an addition for contingencies, to the nett rates at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

There is one other point in connexion with this subject, which it is necessary we should notice, but for the reason above given, we shall be prevented from discussing it any great length. Our readers are already aware, that the greater number of Life Offices have two scales of premium, one of them being higher than the other, usually called the "participating" scale, which means that the parties who choose to pay the premiums represented thereby will have a share in future profits. This peculiarity is, we fear, not generally understood. We question, indeed, whether one man, out of every hundred who insure their lives, precisely understands, on entering into the contract, the

exact terms on which he is to participate in profits. Such is the profound ignorance of these matters, that we can fancy a clerk taking down a proposal to dictation, and demanding whether the applicant will insure with profits or without, being answered with a stare of astonishment at such a question, and an "Oh! with profits certainly," the person innocently fancying that it is quite optional with him to avail himself of this privilege, and that he can do so without any additional expense. We conceive, therefore, that there are several objections to this system, not the least being that it is generally misunderstood by the parties most interested, but more especially in the present case, that *it serves in India as a kind of stalking horse to high rates of premium.* An Office is taxed with charging exorbitant premiums, and it immediately turns round and points triumphantly to the magnitude of its "bonus." "True enough," it is said, "our premiums *are* higher than those of the Offices you mention, but 'look at the large amount of profits we have returned.' But when, we ask, are these profits returned? With one very doubtful exception, not in any case, as the reader will find on looking back a few pages, until the insured has continued to pay the high rates for several years. Supposing he dies, or discontinues his policy in the meantime, what then? Why, all that he has over-paid is lost. It is idle therefore to argue, that excessive rates are in every case compensated by returns of profits. Besides, we have never been able to see the necessity of any Insurance Company charging from fifty to sixty per cent. more, than all experience and investigation teaches us is sufficient, even although they agree to refund the sum so over-paid within the half-year. There is no parallel to such a practice in any other commercial transaction. We suppose it will be received as an axiom, that the nearest approach to perfection, in a scale of premiums for life insurance, is attained where, to use the hackneyed phrase of the Offices themselves, "the rates at every age are as low as is consistent with absolute security." We grant that where the nature of the risks to be undertaken is doubtful, or otherwise imperfectly defined, the under-writers are quite justified in—if they must err—erring on the safe side; but the nature and extent of the risk being precisely known, we cannot help thinking that the Office which, while it affords perfect security for the fulfilment of all engagements, at the same time enables people to insure at the lowest amount of present yearly outlay, is the most desirable Office for the public to support. It is only reasonable to suppose, that every man who, from the nature of his circumstances, is necessitated to insure his life, can find

more lucrative employment for all the money he can spare after his insurance is effected than by depositing it with an Office with a view to a reversionary bonus. He has made all necessary provision, and this being done, he can surely find a better use for the rest of his money, by employing it in the prosecution of his own business, than by giving it to an Insurance Office to improve for him.

Participation in future profits is all very well, where the right to this privilege can be obtained without extravagant outlay, and while we do not say of all the Offices in this country that they

. "keep the word of promise to the ear
And break it to the hope,"

we repeat that what is generally wanted by those who effect insurance is the absolute guarantee that a certain sum of money will be made good on the death of a particular person, should that event occur even the very next moment after the first premium has been paid ; and, if we ourselves could obtain that guarantee by the payment to one Company of 1,000 rupees a year, we would on principle consider that method very much preferable to paying 1,500 rupees a year to another Company, for the same guarantee, however glowing the promises of future profits in the latter case might be.

It is no remarkable characteristic of Joint Stock Companies, in any part of the world, to refund money where there is no absolute obligation upon them to do so ; and we have never heard any one bold enough to assert that the standard of collective morality amongst proprietary bodies in India is higher than it is elsewhere—rather the contrary in fact ; and we ourselves would consider the paying more than is necessary in such cases in the hope of getting some of it back after the expiry of a term of years, to be rather a dangerous experiment.

But granting that it is necessary to make considerable additions to equitable rates, in order to constitute what is called a "participating" scale, it is worth while to stop and enquire what proportion the additions for this purpose in India bear to similar additions in England.

Now we thought we had done with tabular statements, but we should like to take the *Universal* Office, and show how much in excess per cent. their "with profit" rates for England are over the nett rates, according to the Carlisle Table, and supposing money to increase at three per cent. ; and also the excess per cent.

of their Indian rates, with profits, over those we have calculated and consider sufficient. Here is the result :—

ENGLISH RATES.										INDIAN RATES.									
Age.	Carlisle 3 per cent nett.			Universal with profits.			Excess per cent. per annum.	Our own Table 3½ per cent nett.	Universal with profits.			Excess per cent. per annum.	Age.						
	£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.			R.	A.	P.			R.	A.	P.			
20	1	9	10	1	18	8	30	28	3	11	47	0	0	66	20				
30	1	19	0	2	8	10	25	32	4	3	54	0	0	67	30				
40	2	11	11	3	3	0	21	38	2	7	63	0	0	65	40				
50	3	12	5	4	5	6	18	47	8	6	77	0	0	62	50				
60	5	15	9	6	13	2	15	64	6	5	105	0	0	63	60				

It appears, then, if we add about twenty per cent. to the nett Carlisle three per cent. rates, we obtain the “with profit” scale of premiums of the *Universal* Company for England, but it requires an addition of upwards of sixty per cent. to the nett Indian rates to make up the premiums for this country charged by that Office on the profit scale. No wonder that the Committee appointed by Government reported, that the insured in this country were “chiefly, or a large portion of them, debtors ‘in the services—men, it may be supposed, improvident in their ‘life and habits.” Who, but those who are compelled to insure, would insure on such terms? No wonder that some of the local Insurance Companies pay dividends to their shareholders at the rate of twenty to forty per cent. for the half-year, when they are able to obtain such excessive premiums as these. No wonder though we find the *Universal* suffering from quite a plethora of wealth, from its accumulations in India.

When it is considered that insurers must continue to pay these enormous rates for six years, before they become entitled to any return whatever; when we remember that considerably more than three-fifths of the policies effected in this country are discontinued by non-payment of premium, and when we bear in mind, that this system has been going on for the last thirty years, our readers will cease to wonder at the magnitude of these accumulations. At the last half-yearly meeting in Calcutta of the *Universal* Company, if we remember rightly, one gentleman present protested against the subscriptions of the Indian policy-holders being withdrawn to England, while another endeavored to show,—albeit with the most felicitous

disregard to mathematical requirements, for the highest powers of the actuary are called into requisition, in order to determine what is divisible surplus,—endeavored to show, we say, in his own way, that at the allocation of profits in 1852, the full amount could not have been divided as provided for by the Company's contract of copartnery ; but while we have no doubt, from the high character of the Office, and known ability of the actuary, that this is not the case, it seems clear that they have an unnecessarily large sum accumulated, and that this mainly arises from the excessive rates of premium which the policy-holders have for many years been called upon to pay.

We have now done. Our sincere wish has been in these observations to do strict justice to all the Offices concerned, but at the same time to state the simple facts of the case, and leave our readers to draw their own conclusions. We have for a long time been anxious to throw some light on a subject little understood, but of great interest and importance to all. There is no doubt whatever that all the Offices, which we have thus ventured to bring under observation, are highly respectable, but the terms of some of them require revision in order to adapt them more to the spirit of the times, and to our increased knowledge of the value of the commodities in which they deal. The local Offices may depend upon it, that the tendency of things at present is for English capital to seek an outlet in this country, and unless they modify their regulations, the whole business will pass out of their hands into those of the more enterprising of the English Companies. We have desired to place the terms of the different competing Life Offices on record, because we think the public are bound to support the Offices which lead the way to a more equitable system of things, in preference to those who hereafter may make a virtue of necessity, who after for years fleecing the public enormously, reduce their terms to a reasonable standard, when they cannot do better—who, in a word, do justice not from principle, but from expediency.

At the same time, there should be no jealous rivalries, but rather a generous emulation amongst such Companies. In India, alas ! from the way in which the system has been abused, the extent of its adoption, instead of being evidence, as it certainly is in England, of frugality and forethought, is rather indicative of recklessness and improvidence ; but based on sound principles, and properly conducted, the legitimate object of such Societies is a very good and praiseworthy one. They prac-

tically inculcate habits of providence and self-denial, and thus tend to the elevation of the species. If it be true, as Dr. Johnson has asserted, that "whatever makes the future pre-
'dominate over the present, exalts us in the scale of thinking beings," then these Societies ought to be encouraged by every possible means, nor should those who are actually engaged in assisting their progress, indulge in petty squabbles, because some are more successful in the prosecution of this good work than others.

It was our intention to have said a few words on the extension of the Life Assurance and annuity system to the native population, an enterprise which we have very much at heart, but which is surrounded with difficulties: our space at present will not permit. We would also have liked to say a few words on certain abuses in the practice of Marine Insurance in Calcutta, but will be prevented for the same reason. The objection to the local Marine Offices is, that they seem to be got up with a view more to the remuneration of the Agent, than the good of the public and the respective copartneries. We suggest to the shareholders in such Companies, that the Agents should be paid a commission upon the profits realized, and not upon the gross premiums received.

Since writing the above, we have seen Mr. Neison's Report on the Bengal Civil Fund, dated 14th December, 1852, just received, and it is gratifying to be able to state, that it amply confirms our argument in several important particulars. It will be remembered by many of our readers, that the Committee appointed by the Civil Fund to examine Mr. Davies' Report took exception to it on several grounds, and among others that, deducing as he did his table from Dodwell's List of Civil Servants, from 1780 to 1838, he estimated the value of the lives of the members too low. We can quite remember, on seeing Mr. Davies' Report, being surprised that he should have considered retired members of the Service as subject to a rate of mortality equal to that represented by the Northampton Table, the more especially that he himself, so far back as 1839, in his Report on the Madras Military Fund, alludes to the investigation of Mr. Christie into the casualties amongst retired officers of the Military Service, elsewhere referred to in this article. It was we considered difficult to understand how, if retired soldiers lived much longer than according to Dr. Price's Northampton Table, why retired civilians should not enjoy an equal or

superior share of longevity to their military brethren. Mr. Neison, as we expected, has at once pointed out this discrepancy in the former Report on the Fund, and while he admits that the results of his own enquiries are corroborative of the justice of Mr. Davies's table up to the age of 40, he considers that the mortality after that age is considerably less than is supposed in Mr. Davies's calculations.

But the most important information for our present purpose in Mr. Neison's Report is, that it contains strong additional evidence of a gradual and certain improvement in average European longevity in this country having taken place within the last few years. We think there cannot be a doubt that this is the case. Whatever may be the cause, the fact appears indisputable, and it ought to be a highly important and gratifying one to every Englishman in India. Mr. Neison has, in the construction of his table of mortality for the Civil Service, availed himself of a Register of the Bengal Civil Servants from 1790 to 1842, compiled by Ramchunder Doss, under direction of Mr. H. T. Prinsep, whose paper on the deaths in the Civil Service, between 1790 to 1831, has been already referred to. This list, it appears, was compiled expressly with a view to the construction of a table of mortality, and has been already used for that purpose by Major Hannington; but that gentleman did not arrange his facts so as to shew the mortality for each decennary during the entire period. It is in the highest degree important, for many reasons, in investigations of this character, to divide facts into groups of equal size, and compare one group with another. Thus, if we have the facts for every decade of years over a long period, we are able to compare the experience of each decade with the other, and if no very material fluctuations are apparent, it goes to prove that a sufficient number of facts have been collected to form an average. In the present case it is evident that the very magnitude of the experience is an objection to the results which it appears Major Hannington and others have arrived at, because they include without distinction the casualties amongst the service at a period when the habits of Europeans in this country were notoriously inimical to long life, and when the hygienic art in India was but very imperfectly understood. Thus we find from the Report under notice, that while during the period 1790—1819, the average mortality amongst the Bengal Civil Service, at ages twenty-one to forty, was 1.962 per cent. per annum, that during the period 1840 to 1842, it was not more than 1.773 per cent. per annum, showing a difference in favor of increased

longevity in later years of .189 per cent.: that is, supposing the Service to consist of 500 members, about one fewer dies every year now than we have reason to believe was the case during an earlier period. This improvement is apparently chiefly owing to the increased longevity of civilians above thirty.

There is one table in Mr. Neison's Report so interesting and encouraging, that we shall take the liberty of extracting it entire:—

MORTALITY PER CENT.						
Ages.	Glasgow.	Liverpool.	Civil Service.		England and Wales.	Ages.
			1790—1842	1820—1842		
21 to 25	1.326	1.034	1.876	2 044	0 876	21 to 25
26 to 30	1 604	1.104	1.960	1.963	0 998	26 to 30
31 to 35	1.933	1.374	1.553	1.026	1.063	31 to 35
36 to 40	2.318	2.392	2 340	1 403	1 157	36 to 40
41 to 45	2.792	2.038	2.951	2.941	1 319	41 to 45
21 to 45	1.924	1.479	2.001	1 783	1 072	21 to 45

We may state that the greater mortality in Glasgow and Liverpool, as contrasted with that of the whole of England and Wales, arises, if we remember rightly, from the number of Irish paupers who cross the channel in search of employment, and locate themselves in the cellars and low lodging-houses, each little family party forming a sort of nucleus of disease. But it is interesting, in even a statistical point of view, to know that the better class of male European residents in this country are actually subject to less risk to life than the aggregate male population of Glasgow, in the proportion of one in every 780. Hitherto, many people on coming out to India for a few years, have been filled with the most gloomy apprehensions, but the facts before us should have a tendency to dissipate such fears. The question for so long involved in doubt and obscurity as to the mortality amongst different classes of Europeans in India, is now pretty well cleared up. To those who have been content to leave their own country, where all the avenues to preferment are choked by eager and struggling competitors, and undergo a voluntary expatriation under the sun of India, in the hope of realising that independence which is the object of every Englishman's ambition, it must be cheering to know that, with moderate attention to natural laws,

they run very little more risk to life than the generality of their countrymen at home, and that after even a protracted residence in this country, they may return to England and take their place amongst its healthiest inhabitants.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *The Great Exhibition Prize Essay, by the Rev. J. C. Whish, M. A., Incumbent of Trinity Church, East Peckham, Kent. London, 1852.*

2. *Lectures on the Results of the Exhibition—Lecture XI. By Professor Royle, M. D., F. R. S. Arts and Manufactures of India. London, 1852.*

THE Industrial Exhibition, justly called the “World’s Great Fair,” is equally interesting to the Hindu and the European, to the philosopher and the philanthropist, to the man of the world and the man of letters. It is suggestive of reflection to all reflecting minds. It is unquestionably the greatest marvel of the age, and affords a signal illustration of that unity of nations, which constitutes the distinguishing feature of modern civilization. That all the nations of the earth, whether civilized or uncivilized, forgetting for the time their mutual animosities, and forgiving their mutual wrongs, real and supposed, should have emulated each other in a friendly rivalry of industry, was a spectacle the like of which the ancient world never saw. The moral grandeur of such a spectacle far transcended all the outward pomp and circumstance with which Rome and Greece celebrated their proudest achievements.

The idea of the Great Exhibition was conceived and enlarged by His Royal Highness the Prince Albert. As President of the “Royal Society of Arts,” he had previously taken an active part in establishing periodical exhibitions of manufactures on a small scale. The success of those exhibitions had encouraged him, in 1848, to propose a quinquennial exhibition of British industry, to be held in 1851, in connection with the Society and the Schools of Design; but in the year 1849, he took the whole subject under his immediate and personal superintendence, and settled the principles on which the proposed Exhibition should be conducted. Having proceeded thus far, His Royal Highness convened a meeting of the leading members of the Society of Arts at Buckingham Palace, on the 30th June, 1849, when it was resolved that a great collection of works of industry and arts of all nations should

be held in London, in 1851, for the purpose of "exhibition, competition, and emulation;" and that it should consist, firstly, of raw materials—secondly, of machinery and mechanical inventions—thirdly, of manufactures—and fourthly, of sculpture and plastic art generally. It was also settled, that the Government should be asked to appoint a Royal Commission, as the best mode of carrying this gigantic plan into effect. A second meeting was held at Osborne, on the 14th July, 1849, when the subject of the Royal Commission was again discussed, and a general outline of a plan of operations was submitted and approved of. On the 31st July, 1849, His Royal Highness, as President of the Society of Arts, wrote to the Right Honorable Sir George Grey, Bart., the then Home Secretary, to request the sanction of the Crown to the undertaking, and the issue of a Royal Commission. On the 3rd January, 1850, the Royal Commission was granted by Her Majesty.

It is not our intention to inflict on our readers a detailed account of the origin and progress of the Exhibition. How the Royal Commissioners felt it their duty to terminate the contract with the Messrs. Mundy, notwithstanding the liberal spirit evinced by the latter, and throw themselves on the national sympathies for the pecuniary support of the great undertaking—how cordially their appeal was responded to, and how voluntary contributions poured in, so as to enable them to commence operations forthwith—how they were "incorporated," and thereby rendered exempt from personal liability—how zealously, ably, and successfully they effected all the financial and executive arrangements—have been fully described by a host of writers on the Exhibition, and must be well known to *all* readers, of *all* classes, in *all* lands.

In this country, where nothing flourishes except when supported by Government, and every thing languishes as soon as that support is withdrawn, many must find it rather difficult to realize the full extent of the beneficial operation of the "voluntary principle," in reference to the Exhibition. That such a gigantic undertaking, involving the expenditure of enormous sums of money, and requiring the co-operation of so many different classes of the community, should have supported itself, instead of being paid for, and managed by, Government, is a fact which would scarcely be credited by the people of this country, accustomed as they are to expect the "Sircar Bahadur" to do everything for them. But they must know that in England almost all the best of the public institutions and public works are the fruits of public spirit. There the interference of Government is not required so incessantly, and so indiscriminately;—

here such interference is considered absolutely necessary. There the people are every thing ;—here the people are nothing. It were out of place here to speculate upon the cause of this difference, or upon the origin of that public spirit, which in England has accomplished so much, while through its want in India, so little has been even attempted.

Though the principles of the Exhibition had been previously discussed and settled, yet it was not till February, 1851, that they received the official confirmation of the Royal Commissioners. It was then formally announced by the Commissioners, that the great collection should embrace the productions of *all* countries. They then sanctioned the proposal of Mr. Paxton for a structure of glass and iron, and the Crystal Palace sprang into existence, itself (taking into account the magical rapidity of its construction) a more magnificent monument of the high industrial position of England, than all those magnificent products of her industry which it enshrined, and which extorted the admiration of foreigners. It evidenced not only the magnitude of her indigenous resources, but the perfection at which her knowledge of the principles and laws of mechanics and machinery has arrived—it was indeed a mighty triumph of mechanical genius ; and the facility and fine taste with which that genius converted the “raw material” into such a marvellous structure, is a noble exemplification of the combination of the practical and the ornamental, the useful and the beautiful. The vastness of the plan, and the electrical rapidity with which it was carried into execution, attest energy and resolution such as characterize the sturdy Englishman alone, and such as, if they were to possess those qualities, would enable the natives of this country to render her the finest country in the world. For while Nature is pre-eminently bountiful to India, man is pre-eminently neglectful and ignorant of his interests ; while *she* has enriched the soil with an inexhaustible fertility, *he* has managed to thwart her benevolent provisions, and, in spite of her bounty, to live in poverty.

The Great Exhibition was inaugurated on the 1st May, 1851, in the presence of Her Majesty, and with a grandeur and solemnity commensurate with its high and holy object. There was not only a gorgeous gathering of the rank and station, the wealth and intelligence, the beauty and fashion, the piety and learning, the heroism and glory of England ;—there were also the representatives of a hundred different nations ; there was Europe cordially shaking hands with Asia, and teaching her by example to encourage Industry, and to recognize in her the

one great source of prosperity and advancement; there was America meeting on friendly terms with Africa; while Australia looked on as the youngest member of the goodly family, with a fond hope that she one day would be not a step behind her elder sisters.

The Royal Commissioners assembled at half-past 11 o'clock in the transept opposite the platform which had been erected in the centre of the palace. It is a fact not without interest to the people of India, that the chair of state, placed on that platform for Her Majesty, was the gift of an Indian prince, the Raja of Travancore. The Ministers of State and the Foreign Ambassadors, the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, ascended the platform at about the same time, and took their places around the temporary throne. The great and veteran warriors of the kingdom, robed in their glittering uniforms, and decorated with stars and orders, assisted in celebrating this jubilee of Industry and Peace. Among them was to be seen the "hero of a hundred fights," bent down with years of honorable and glorious toil, and supporting himself on the arm of an aged comrade. Among the foreigners who attended there, was one who, true to oriental etiquette, had not taken off his cap, but presented the singular spectacle of a covered head, among a sea of uncovered ones. He represented a nation which, though geographically in part European, is morally, socially, and religiously Asiatic. An enlightened curiosity had also tempted a native of the Celestial Empire to traverse the ocean and see the mechanical inventions of the "outside barbarians," before which the products of his national ingenuity, however remarkable, sink into insignificance. But there was no one to represent India at the Exhibition! That none of those enlightened native gentlemen, who have freed themselves from the fetters of caste, should have been induced to cross the *Kalapani*, on this great and interesting occasion, cannot be reflected on without regret—a regret not altogether unmixed with reproach. It would have enlarged their minds, and opened to them a new and wonderful world.

At length the flourish of trumpets announced the advent of the Queen of the British Isles. Escorted by the illustrious dignitaries of the State and the Church, and the Royal Commissioners, she entered the Crystal Palace, as the clock struck twelve, and her entrance was greeted with a burst of applause, which soon swelled into a deafening cheer, as it was taken up and multiplied into an ocean of sound by the innumerable

crowd who stood for miles around. Her Majesty took her seat in the marble state-chair which had been placed on the centre of the dais, and covered with a mantle of crimson and gold.

Had this been all, it was indeed a beautiful and grand sight, and would have amply repaid the voyage of a native gentleman to England. Before her rose the crystal fountain, sparkling, like another Koh-i-nur, under the resplendent rays of a mid-day sun, and behind her the graceful and umbrageous foliage of several Indian and other tropical plants, rendered the view eminently picturesque and romantic.

As soon as the sensation created by the entrance of the Queen had subsided, and the assembled thousands were settled down into their respective places, Prince Albert, whose intelligent head and philanthropic heart had originated the Exhibition, commenced the proceedings of the day by reading, on behalf of the Royal Commissioners, an address briefly detailing the progress of their proceedings. Her Majesty read a gracious reply, accepting the address, and passing a warm and well-merited encomium on the Royal Commissioners, for their "judicious and unremitting exertions." His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury then read a fervent prayer, invoking the blessing of the Almighty Architect of the Universe on the Exhibition.

The Queen afterwards descended from the dais, and a royal procession having been formed, moved to the west end of the nave. Having traversed the building, and taken a cursory survey, she returned to her place, and announced, amidst the roar of cannon and the flourish of trumpets,—“The Exhibition opened.”

Thus was the great temple of Universal Industry inaugurated, and it must be confessed, that never was such a magnificent puja paid to her before. Never, also, was a spectacle so eminently calculated to exemplify the superiority of modern over ancient, and of European over Asiatic, civilization. To the wondrous collection of industrial products, the old world had afforded no parallel. The almost living and breathing statues, and other specimens of the plastic art, the magnificent centre-pieces and side-boards, the ornamental vases and other furniture of Austria—the display of brilliant and genuine jewellery, bronzes, plate, and porcelains of France—the admirable malachite manufactures of Russia—the beautiful mosaic works of Italy—the rich carvings in wood of Switzerland,—and the marvellous machinery of England; her-self-moving, self-supporting, and self-controlling machines, embodying the practical application of science to the daily purposes of life, illustrated the peculiar genius, and

indicated the resources of each country in the Western world. But it is foreign to our purpose to dwell on those objects.

Allow us therefore to transport our reader to the department which represents India. It occupies both sides of the eastern end of the western avenue entering on the transept. You see on the side of the bay a curious collection of brass, copper, and earthen-ware vessels, including the *ghora* and *guru*, the *dabur* and the *bakna*, and on the other an infinite variety of specimens of iron. There are also several varieties of copper ore, smelted antimony, pyrites, lead, and tin. The mineral collection proves, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the land we live in abounds in mineral wealth, and particularly in that most material ingredient of civilization, viz., iron. Further on, you see on a deal table about 170 figures of every Hindu trade and occupation, and models of bullock-carts and hackeries, ekhas and ruths, silk filatures, and weavers' looms for manufacturing Dacca muslins, oil-mills and other paraphernalia of the kolu, the kamar's wheel for making pottery, and tools used by the carpenter, goldsmith, bricklayer, and stone-cutter. The agricultural implements are numerous, and comprise several kinds of the plough and charka, also of dalla, sleigh, khorra, harrow, hoe, and several machines for cleaning and husking rice, but all in the same rude state in which they would have been exhibited had the collection been made in the reign of Raja Vikramaditya instead of that of Rani Victoria. We do not find fault with them for their simplicity of structure, neither do we mean to say that they are not adapted to the purposes for which they are used; on the contrary, we are inclined to believe, that several of the improved European tools would not be so well suited to this country, because of her climatic peculiarities and diversities; but that our agricultural implements are susceptible of considerable improvement must be admitted by all, and their improvement must be effected by adopting the *principles* exhibited in the corresponding European machines, and modifying the details with reference to the soil and climate of India. Indeed, that they should have continued in the same primitive state, shows that the desire of improvement has not actuated the people of this land, and that the faculty of invention, which has wrought miracles elsewhere, has unfortunately not been called into existence here. Agriculture has been practised here from time out of mind. We find invocations to Bornu in the *Vedas*; but we nevertheless find it still in a very backward condition, which must be attributed to several causes, such as the exuberant fertility

of the soil, the fewness of wants, and the institution of caste. The last cause has operated, perhaps, more powerfully and prejudicially than the others. By rendering all trades and professions hereditary, it has effectually barred improvement. By interfering with division of labor, it has rendered it comparatively fruitless, and deadened all incentive to exertion. The institution might have been adapted to an early state of society when it was framed, but it is obviously repressive of all progression. "A perpetual succession" (to quote the words of a lively writer) "from father to son, of jewellers or tailors, of joiners or blacksmiths, dooming every boy that is born in the line to follow the calling his fathers followed, is a most dreary sameness—a dead level, sweeping away, age after age, till it is lost in the future—a turning of the social world into strata, resting one upon the other, each with its appropriate deposit of men, as the successive strata of rocks have their deposits of fossils, no one of which can ever change its position in the scale. It is very well for trilobites and saurians to be fixed in strata for ever; they suffer nothing from want of sympathy, and have no impulse to better themselves; but it is not the way for those who live and move, and have a being. It is no plan for a world of brothers; no plan for a world of sinners; no plan for a world over which a Providence watches. It was natural as a first thought for securing proficiency in the various branches of trade, scholarship, and arms. But it was not a contrivance to last for ever."—(*Arthur's Successful Merchant.*)

The agricultural implements, noticed above, answer well enough when the crops are abundant and in favorable seasons, but they cannot, like the improved European tools and processes, extort any produce from an unwilling soil. Irrigation appears to be the one great thing with the ryot. When he has watered his fields copiously, he believes he has done all that is necessary, but the other and more important processes and rules are not understood and practised by him. The rotation of crops is not sufficiently attended to; and the value of fallowing, weeding, and manuring is utterly neglected. While on this subject, we may allude to a proposal of the Council of Education, for introducing the study of agriculture into some of the zillah schools. It was suggested by the visit of their Secretary to Cuttack last year, and is worthy of the most attentive consideration of the Educational Board and the Government. That the introduction of an improved system of practical agriculture into the Mofussil schools would prove most beneficial, cannot admit of a moment's question. We regret to perceive, however, that the

members of several of the Local Committees of Education have opined that it is not practicable. We, for our part, do not see any reason, why it should not be effected. Thanks to the Agricultural Society's exertions, the services of competent malis are, we believe, easily available. It is true that the absurd prejudices of the natives will be at first arrayed against the study of agriculture, but they will gradually die out as the advantages of it are practically experienced, in the shape of increased and superior produce. We fully agree with the learned Secretary to the Council of Education, that "example constantly before their eye" will remove all prejudices and all objections, and we sincerely trust that a beginning will be made. The increased expense it will involve will, we are sure, be more than compensated by the important results. The absence of an industrial education for the middle and humbler classes of the people is one of the defects of the present system pursued by the Council of Education, and we hope it will be soon supplied. It is impossible to assign any limits to the agricultural resources of the country, and that so little progress should have been made in agriculture is a matter of surprise and regret. It is, therefore, time for India to rise from her sleep of ages, and render herself, what she is evidently intended by Nature to be—the granary of the world.

Among the manufactures of India may be noticed several specimens of cotton from Bengal, the Upper-Provinces, Bombay, and the Deccan. Though the want of roads, heavy taxation, and other causes, have materially interfered with its extensive cultivation, yet it is generally admitted, that if sufficient encouragement were held out, this country could supply not only England, but almost all Europe, with cotton. We trust, therefore, that the report of Mr. Mackay, the Cotton Commissioner, will tend to bring about this desirable result. The mass of valuable information he has collected can scarcely fail to convince the Manchester-men of the cotton-producing capacities of India, and rouse them to press on the Government the paramount necessity of affording every encouragement to the culture and manufacture of cotton. But this subject is worthy of a more extended consideration than we can now afford to give it; and we hope ere long to devote a separate article to its discussion.

It must be gratifying to know, that the products of our looms were greatly admired at the Exhibition. And well they might, for the Khasa Mulmul, Schubnum, Abrawan, and other species of the muslins of Dacca, display a delicacy of touch, and a fineness and transparency of texture, which defy the imita-

tion of Lancashire and Manchester, New York and Massachusetts. They are the finest instances to be found in the world of the production of a difficult effect by means apparently quite inadequate; and although the manufacture has now considerably declined, and no pieces are now fabricated of the amazing fineness that was once attained, yet still the products of the Dacca looms must be regarded as something wonderful. There were several varieties of shawls of Cashmerian manufacture, carpets of Mirzapore, and silk, chiefly from Rajeshye, Murshedabad, and other districts of Bengal. The collection of silks comprised Cossimbazar corahs, silk gown pieces, kerchiefs, silk tusser, twisted silk, &c. We are happy to perceive, that the silk transmitted from Rajeshye by Messrs. J. and R. Watson, Mr. C. R. Jennings, and others, were greatly and deservedly prized, and won medals for their manufacturers. Though silk is generally supposed to have been imported from China, yet from the enquiries we have made, we are inclined to believe, that it is indigenous to this country. The tusser, gorod, and mulka, have been manufactured and worn by the natives from time out of mind—they were doubtless very inferior in quality originally; but that the cultivation of the mulberry is almost as ancient as that of paddy, there are several reasons for believing.

In the department of the fine works, you see the familiar, but not the less tasteful *golaub-pas*, *utter-dhan*, and other filagree works of Dacca; you admire also the mosaic works of Agra, the gold chains of Trichinopoly, the golden girdles of Vizanagram, and the jewelled boxes of Nepaul, the clay figures of Kishnaghur, and the ivory figures of Berhampore. They all display great beauty and elegance of design and structure, and prove that the people of this country are not devoid of a fine taste; but that taste has not been so much cultivated as is necessary to the production of works of high art. They have not, therefore, attained any excellence in painting or sculpture. The pictures that adorn the boitakhana of the "old Babu" are wretched daubs. Our sculpture, though not deficient in conveying a variety of expression, has failed to embody life-like views of the human figure. It is chiefly employed in the representation of Krishna, Radhica, Shiva, and other gods and goddesses. It occurs to us that the establishment of a painting class, in connection with the principal educational establishments, would be very beneficial—it would create and infuse a cultivated taste for the fine arts, which would tell most favorably on the social and domestic habits of the people.

This department also comprises an interesting collection of

musical instruments, such as the tamera, the sitar, the dhole, the tubla, the pakaojas, the seranj, the beallah, the bin and the rubab. We fear, however, they did not much excite the attention or invite the examination of the visitors, for if we are not much mistaken, there prevails among Europeans an almost universal impression, that the music of India is not only infinitely inferior to their own music, but absolutely deficient in variety and suavity of tones. We have, however, no hesitation in saying, that this is a wrong impression, derived, most probably, from the dhawks and dholes, which thunder out their discordant music in the public streets on pujas and other similar occasions.

On the comparative superiority of the European and native music, no one is competent to decide, who is not critically acquainted with both, but this we believe may be said, that if any thing shows the high mental cultivation of the people of this country, it is their music. It has been raised by them into the dignity and profundity of a science, being divided into six *rags* and thirty-six *raginis*. We are inclined to believe also, that though the instrumental music of this country may be inferior, yet its vocal music is at least as good in its way as European music.

It will now be perceived, that this country was very fairly represented at the Exhibition. Thanks to the industry and energy of Dr. J. McClelland, and other members of the Central Committee, almost all the necessary articles produced by her, and obtainable either for love or money, were procured, systematized, and sent to England carefully and timely. Great credit must also be accorded to those native noblemen and gentlemen, who contributed to the Exhibition several articles of value and vertu, like the Maharajas of Nepaul and Cashmere, Raja Sreeschunder Roy of Kishnaghur, and Raja Anudnauth Roy of Nattore, Babu Ramgopaul Ghose of Calcutta, and Babu Denonauth Sing of Benares.

The collection of the natural products and textile fabrics of India, her machines and manufactures, her agricultural tools and implements, proves most incontestably the antiquity of her civilization and the magnitude of her resources. She has been, from time immemorial, celebrated for the richness of her raw material, and the magnificence of her manufactures. The industry and skill with which she had worked the former, and the elegance and perfection to which she had carried the latter, challenged the admiration and invited the intercourse of other civilized ancient nations. That she maintained an active and extensive commerce with Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, there remains not a shadow of doubt.

At a time when the ancestors of our present rulers were as little civilized as the subjects of Raja Brooke, the Hindus cultivated philosophy and the fine arts, and carried all their manufactures to a pitch of improvement unexampled by other contemporaneous nations. But India—the earliest civilized—the emporium of the “gorgeous East”—the fabled land of gold—is now enveloped in the Cimmerian darkness of ignorance and superstition. The sun of civilization has set upon her and travelled westward. The ignorance and tyranny of man have struggled, and successfully at last, against the over-flowing bounties of Nature. The enumeration of the articles sent out to the Exhibition proves, as we have said, that the indigenous resources of the country are incalculable and inexhaustible, and capable of enriching all her inhabitants. She abounds both in agricultural and animal produce, and in mineral wealth, in cereals, pulses, and spices of a hundred different kinds, in an infinite variety of vegetable fibres and animal furs, in gums, and innumerable other medicinal substances, in mines of copper, and beds of iron and coal. Why, then, it may be reasonably asked, is the great mass of the people so poor? Why is the condition of the rural population so especially and intolerably wretched? Why are they compelled to live always from hand to mouth? Why is the name of a ryot become a synonyme with poverty and squalor? Why is his house a pig-stye, his food of the coarsest rice,—and that often insufficient in quantity,—and his dress a piece of tattered rag? Why is all this destitution and distress in a land pregnant with all the sources of wealth? Because ignorance, the most gross and universal, and superstition, the most debasing and demoralizing, have cramped the capacities and perverted the powers, dwarfed the understandings, and deadened the desires of the people. Social and political causes also have had a large share in producing their degradation. Their aversion to travel, and to agricultural and commercial pursuits, is at once the cause and effect of that degradation. Though their ancestors maintained an active commerce with the Egyptians and other nations, yet the modern Hindus are wedded to their home. The idea of leaving their country to better their fortunes is equally repugnant to their feelings and habits. Locomotion disturbs all their social and domestic arrangements, and is the bane of their happiness. To obtain some snug little berth under Government, in the metropolis, or in the adjacent district, appears to be the “all and in all” of their existence. But to follow the more independent and lucrative pursuits of the agriculturist, the manufacturer, and

the merchant, is evidently alien to their "second nature." To brave the ocean in search of employment, however honorable and profitable, or to chalk out a new plan in a new country, appears to them to be chimerical and absurd. Agriculture and manufacture are considered degrading occupations, and even subordinate and inferior employments under Government are preferred to them. Happily, these prejudices are dying out among the educated classes of the natives, but even they are not so deeply and practically impressed with the advantages of those occupations as could be wished. In fact it must be admitted that the expectations of the friends of European education for the better class of natives have, in some respects, not been as yet realized. There seems not to be that intimate connexion between the head and the heart of the people of this country that exists elsewhere. Of them it may be emphatically said—*Vident meliora probantque, deteriora sequuntur*.

Among the political causes, which have crushed their enterprise and perpetuated their poverty, was the iron despotism to which the Hindus were subjected during the Mohammedan domination. The English Government has afforded several facilities for the development of the resources of the country. It has opened roads—it has excavated canals—it has established fairs—it has offered premiums to private enterprise. But what it has done, is as nothing compared with what remains to be done. It must free native industry from the pressure of that taxation, which now operates prejudicially to it—it must cherish native enterprise by stimulating and rewarding native ambition, and thereby afford the best answer to the severe, but not wholly unmerited, reproach lately cast upon it by the *London Times*.

It is impossible to estimate adequately the benefits that would accrue to India from the development of her vast resources. It would change the whole aspect of the country. Where we now see jhils and puddles reeking with miasmatic emanations, and sending forth the seeds of fever and cholera, there would be high and rich cultivation. Where we now see deep clay ruts and impassable roads, there would be the rail laid out and the "smoky rath" hissing and flying.

We should then see all those extensive maidhans, which now lie waste, cultivated with paddy, indigo, date, and mulberry trees. We should then see those thick and impervious jungles, which are now the abodes of the tiger and the wild-boar, converted into populous and smiling villages, dotted with factories and zemindari cacheries, and intersected with carriage roads. We should no longer see periodical famines decimating the population, but plenty and happiness blessing the labors of the poor. We

should no longer see the zemindar and the ryot living and acting towards each other as beasts of prey and beasts of burden. Yes, we should no longer see the ryot living in a wretched hovel, and trampled upon by the zemindar, and fleeced by the mahajan, and victimized by both, through the instrumentality of those courts of justice, which are intended to protect him. We should see him lodged in a neat and substantial house, and surrounded by those necessities and comforts of life which are enjoyed by the peasantry of Europe. We should see him a man of some capital, and investing that capital in the improvement of his *jote*. We should see him a man of some knowledge, and employing that knowledge in asserting his rights when invaded and outraged by others. We should see the educated and respectable natives no longer looking up to Government alone for employment, but ready to proceed, axe in hand, to the Mofussil, or, if need be, to travel to foreign and distant countries, and there eke out a fortune. We should see them jostling the European, not only at the desk, as is now the case, but behind the counter, in the factory and the mill, at the anvil and the loom. Such a happy picture, the outlines of which we have attempted to indicate, is not the visionary dream of an enthusiast, but would be realized in all its integrity and fulness, if capital and energy and enterprise were honestly and perseveringly directed by the natives of the soil to the development of her latent riches. They have plenty of capital, and to say that they have no energy or enterprise would be to pronounce a libel on human nature; for though long curbed by the bridle of Mohammedan oppression, yet it has not been annihilated. Let us therefore trust and pray, that the Industrial Exhibition of 1851 may be conducive to the social and economical regeneration of India, by opening the eyes of the natives to her "proverbial resources" and stirring them up to their development by inviting more largely European capital and European enterprise, and by inducing the Government to remove all obstacles, and afford all facilities for the production and exportation of the products of her opulent soil.

Let us trust and pray, that the Industrial Exhibition may not only be subservient to the improvement and elevation of her industrial condition, but tend to awaken the attention of England to the true worth of this "brightest jewel in her crown," and to borrow (with some slight alterations) the words of an eloquent living preacher, to marry England to India in the covenant of a social, intellectual, and spiritual relationship, and to make the waters of the Thames, as it were, in an ecstasy of gladness, at

so auspicious a union, kiss those of the Ganges, and cause the forests of Ancient Albion, in the exuberance of sympathetic delight, to clap their hands over the spicy groves and palmy plains of India.

The two works, whose titles we have placed at the commencement of this article, reached us only after the article itself was written; we do not therefore attempt any review of them, but only express the satisfaction we have experienced on finding that the views which we have stated are generally in accordance with those of their authors. Mr. Whish's essay is a fine specimen of vigorous, unaffected writing, clear thinking, and correct feeling. Its author,—who, by the way, must, we suppose, have been born in India,—discovers no small amount of observation, and presents us with a condensed but comprehensive view of the influence of the Exhibition upon the moral and spiritual interests of the world. He writes like a man and an Englishman, with the catholic feeling of the one, tempered and moulded, rather than counteracted or vitiated, by the nationality of the other. As a good specimen of his mode of writing, we present the following extract:—

To say that the careful study and the perfect understanding of works of art enlarges the mind, and opens the way for increased prosperity, by making known new and easier methods of supplying our wants, is only to say what must be acquiesced in by all. But we go farther; and say, that, when rightly carried out, it is a very effectual means of moral improvement. And it is only in this view that we are called upon at present to consider it.

For, what is each new discovery of science? It is not an act of creative power on the part of the philosopher or the artist. It is not that he has either added some new element to the construction of the world, with a view to man's service, or that he has forced into that service some hostile energy which he was never intended to benefit by, and which would obey him only on compulsion. It is only that he has dived deeper than others had done before him, into the benevolence of the Creator, as hidden in His works. It is only that he has traced out and laid open some fresh instance of the Divine power and wisdom, by which that benevolence was enshrined. We must beware that we do not praise such a benefactor as if he had bestowed the blessing itself upon mankind; his praise is that he has discovered it, and made it available. His position is precisely similar to that of the miner; he finds the precious metal, but does not make it. It is to the benevolent forethought and working of God that we owe the gift itself. The whole earth is a treasure-house—a *mine*;* from which we may obtain inexhaustible evidences of the goodness of our Creator. It is the self-imposed and delightful task of the philosopher to search deeper and deeper still; and when he has opened and prepared the way, then all are glad to follow. But are we to gaze about upon the newly unfolded trea-

* His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise: and there was the *hiding* of his power.—Habakkuk iii. 3, 4.

tures with a vacant stare of astonishment, without a thought of Him who spake the word, and it was done? Or are we bound to recognize the fact, that each fresh discovery is, as it were, an enlargement of the mirror in which we see reflected the various attributes of the Creator? An intelligent traveller, who lately ascended Mont Blanc, declares, that, when he reached a certain spot, and from thence looked down upon the unspeakable grandeur of the scene before him, the thought that instinctively rose to his mind was this,—O God! how wonderful are thy works! Similarly ought we to be moved by each new conquest of the human mind over the inertness of matter, or the inscrutability of more subtle agencies. We should view them as additional proofs of forethought and goodness in the working of Him who prepared the earth for the residence of man. Every event which helps to overcome the sloth and indifference of men's minds, and to allure them to the careful consideration of such conquests, may well be expected to lead them to a more admiring and adoring love of God; at least it gives them the knowledge which may become the foundation of that holy feeling.

Upon this ground, then, among others, we hope that moral good will arise from the Great Exhibition of Industry.

It is peculiarly satisfactory, as indicating the importance attached to the contributions furnished by this country to the Great Exhibition, that amongst the "Lectures on the Results," delivered before the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, there is only one devoted to the consideration of the arts and manufactures of a particular country, and that that country is India. It is also matter of congratulation, that this subject was committed to Dr. Royle, a man than whom, although there may be some who have more acquaintance with particular branches, there is probably not one living who knows so much, regarding *all* the branches of Indian produce, and arts, and industry. Considering the immense range of subjects that the lecturer had to handle, it is amazing how much information, regarding almost all of them, he has combined to condense into a single lecture; and all is clear and intelligible, even without the plates and specimens which were exhibited in illustration of the lecture at its original delivery.

- ART. II.—1. *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists.* By B. H. Hodgson. Serampore, 1841.
2. *Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India, before the Mohammedan Invasion.* By Colonel Sykes. London, 1851.
3. *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian.* Calcutta, 1848.
4. *Christianity in Ceylon.* By Sir J. E. Tennent. London, 1850.
5. *Introduction à L'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien.* Par E. Burnouf. Paris, 1844.
6. *A Manual of Buddhism.* By R. S. Hardy. London, 1853.

No form of religion is so wide-spread as Buddhism. By the best authorities its followers are said to be more than three hundred millions.* It prevails over most of the fertile and populous regions of South-eastern Asia. It is the prevalent form of religion in Burmah, Siam, An-nam, Japan, Thibet, and Loo-choo; in Ceylon, Nepal, Mongolia, and the splendid islands of Malaysia, it is widely diffused; whilst, with the exception of the aristocratic, political disciples of Confucius, and the rational, philosophical followers of Laou-tszé, the unnumbered millions of China worship Buddha. As the religion of one-third of the human race, as a system exhibiting some singular developments of the religious faculty, and as a form of belief exerting a most mighty influence on the destinies of numerous nations and countless individuals, it merits our thoughtful consideration.

Justice to ourselves, as well as to our readers, requires the statement, that whatever may be written in the present day on Buddhism must lie open to future correction. The esoteric principles of this wide-spread system are but imperfectly

* Hassel estimates the Buddhists at 315,977,000. Balbi numbers them at only 170,000,000; this is evidently much below the truth, and may be accounted for by his estimating the inhabitants of the Chinese Empire at 150,000,000, whereas the last imperial census gives the number as 367,000,000, which Mr. Gutzlaff declares to be as "near the truth as can be ascertained." The following estimate was given by Professor Neumann of Munich, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1834, of the number of Buddhists:—

China.....	200,000,000	Indo-China.....	25,000,000
Manchoos and Mongols	5,400,000	Ceylon.....	600,000
Japan and Loo-Choo.....	25,000,000	Nepal	2,000,000
Thibet and Bootan.....	6,000,000		
Corea.....	5,000,000	Total...	269,000,000

This number is too low, because there are several smaller Buddhist States not enumerated, and the disciples of Fo, in China, are probably much beyond two hundred millions.

known; for although we may easily ascertain what are its popular aspects, it is difficult sometimes to trace out the more philosophical and abstract notions which lie hidden beneath, and amidst the "various and varying" forms of this Protean religion, to define what are its fundamental principles, its substantive truths; just as it is difficult to a stranger, when viewing an Indian army, in which are blended cavalry and infantry, regulars and irregulars, Europeans and natives, Sheiks, Patans, Gurkas, Rajputs and Hindustanis, to point out what there is which unites them into one mass, distinguishing them from other forces, and at the same time binding them to each other. Many of the original sources, whence correct information might have been obtained respecting the rise and early tenets of this faith, have been destroyed or mutilated. The fierce and terrible struggle between Buddhism and Hinduism, which led to the complete expulsion of the former from India, was followed up by the efforts of the latter to destroy every memorial of the existence and the power of its rival. Large and massive temples were either demolished, or divested of every Buddhistic peculiarity, and then devoted to the worship of Jagannath, of Vishnu, or of Shiva; its literature was destroyed, and its history perverted or suppressed; hence it is, that Hindu writings are of very doubtful value in all investigations into early Buddhist history; and leaving the land of its nativity, we must search the literature of the various nations amongst whom it took refuge, would we arrive at even a proximate knowledge of its primitive form.

Another source of difficulty arises from the fact, that the Buddhism of one country is very different from the Buddhism of another. Religious error has ever been as flexible as it is frail. Buddhism has been pre-eminently so. Mohammedanism has destroyed the systems with which it has come into conflict, Buddhism has absorbed them into itself. Like the supple climbing parasitic plants of the tropics, which spread themselves over every tree and ruin within their reach, themselves assuming a form from the objects to which they cling, yet leaving the form of that object substantially unchanged, has Buddhism spread itself over numerous nations and islands of the sea; too feeble to destroy, it has overlaid and smothered the Polytheisms it met, and assumed a form which was dictated by the very superstition over which it triumphed. During the twenty-three centuries of its existence, among nations remarkable for their intellectual subtlety, speculativeness, and apathy, it has developed "phases of faith" which differ almost as much from one another, as they do from avowedly antago-

nistic creeds. In Nepal it has incorporated within itself much of Hindu mythology; in Ceylon, it has assumed an atheistic form; in Thibet, it is theocratic; in China, "it acknowledges 'gods many and lords many, its principal divinities are goddesses, together with innumerable other feigned deities, 'presiding over individual, local, and national interests;'"* in Camboja, "it is nothing else but a vast and absurd Pantheism, 'which covers with its veil a hopeless Atheism.'"† And from viewing it merely in its local aspects, various writers have been led to give the most conflicting definitions of the leading principles of the faith of Guadama. It has been represented "sometimes 'as almost perfect Theism; sometimes as direct Atheism; sometimes as having the closest analogy to what in a Greek philosopher, or in a modern philosopher, would be called Pantheism; 'sometimes as the worship of human saints or heroes; sometimes as altogether symbolical; sometimes as full of the highest abstract speculation; sometimes as vulgar idolatry.'"‡ All these statements are true when made about a *form* of Buddhism, but they are manifestly false as definitions of Buddhism. The investigators into oriental systems of religion need to be aware, lest like the two knights on the *opposite* sides of the statue with the gold and silver shield, they too dogmatically declare that their opinions are true, forgetting that the opinions of others are *equally* so.

Another reason why diffidence is most becoming when writing on this subject, arises from the fact, that we are in possession of only a small portion of the existing literature of the system. Turnour and Upham in Ceylon, Hodgson in Nepal, and Colonel Sykes in India, have brought valuable Buddhist documents to notice, whilst Burnouf, Klaproth, Lassen, and others in Europe have done much to unfold the system to our view; but the wisest of them have felt that it was reserved for a future age to solve those mysteries, which they could but imperfectly unravel. Although, as with Hinduism, it is to be feared that on some questions, especially of an historical nature, light can never more be shed, yet there are others from which the darkness of ages shall ultimately pass away.

As an illustration of the correctness of some of the previous remarks, we may allude to the conflicting statements made by different writers respecting the time when Guadama lived and died. A Thibetan author of the sixteenth century mentions no less than fourteen different calculations made to fix the date

* *China* : by Professor Kidd.

† *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. vi., p. 605.

‡ Maurice's *Religions of the World*.

of his death. Bohlen gives a list of thirty-five dates of the same event. The time when he flourished has been fixed at various periods, ranging over more than 1800 years. Some Thibetan writers state that he died 2420 years B. C. The Chinese and Japanese tell us that he was born 1029 years B. C., and died 950 B. C., although other Chinese documents place his birth 688 years B. C., and his death 609 B. C.* The chronology of the *Rajatarangini*, a Cashmerian history, gives the early part of the sixteenth century B. C. as the period of his death; whilst the Singhalese annals give the year 543 B. C. as the date of his death, when he was about eighty years of age. The last date is probably very nearly correct. Some writers have attempted to reconcile these varying statements by suggesting that there were several Buddhas. Without denying that Buddhism existed in some form before the age of Guadama, we may state that the suggestion of several historical Buddhas is based upon very imperfect evidence.†

Sakya Muni, Sakya Sinha, or Guadama Buddha, the founder of the system which bears his name, was born at Kapila, in the kingdom of Magadha, not far from the modern city of Lucknow. He is said to have been the son of a king, and the various accounts of his life sufficiently indicate that he was of superior rank. Like Confucius, whom in many respects he resembled, it is said he spent the earlier period of his life in princely enjoyments; but on arriving at maturity, he broke away, like our Henry the Fifth, from his youthful associations, that he might pass his days in retirement and meditation, or in the sterner duties of religious proselytism. For several years,—somewhat reliable tradition informs us—he lived in the practice of rigid austerity, but afterwards adopted a more genial mode

* That the higher date of the Chinese is to be rejected, and the Singhalese preferred in its stead, may be shewn by the following facts. All writers state that Sakya died in the reign of Ajatasatta. According to the chronology of the *Vayu* and *Matsya Puranas*, this king flourished about 243, or, according to the *Vishnu Purana*, about 280 years before Chandragupta. Now the latter was a cotemporary of Seleucus Nicator, who reigned from 310 to 305 B. C. If then we add the latter number to the former, we shall arrive at the true era of Prince Sidhanta's death. Again, it is generally acknowledged by those nations that assume the higher date, that the second revision of the sacred writings took place during the reign of Asoka, 230 years after the death of Sakya; but since he flourished about the middle of the third century B. C., the death of Guadama could not have taken place 900 years before our era.

† The question is, were the mortal Buddhas, who are said to have preceded Sakya Sinha, real personages, or are they myths? Buddhist history begins with Guadama, and all that we know of previous events is said to be the result of his special revelation. There is, however, reason to believe, that even Sakya himself was opposed by a relative of his own on some point relating to the number of Buddhas who had already existed; and from Fa Hian, we learn that, when he was in India, there was a sect who acknowledged the Buddhas anterior to Sakya, but rejected him.

of life, because convinced that the mortification of the flesh was inefficacious to bring blessings to the soul. When first he became a religious teacher, he is said to have been reserved in the declaration of his views, probably because they were abstract rather than practical. Unlike his proselytizing successors, yet apparently like the Rishis and Munis of his own land, he selected such disciples as he supposed capable of comprehending his ideas and of sympathizing with them; but—whether from his growing popularity, his great benevolence, or his altered sentiments, we know not—he soon developed a more popular form of instruction, partly ethical, partly philosophical, and partly religious, and proclaimed it himself through a considerable part of Central India. Magadha was the stronghold of his followers, and his own most frequent residence; its kings espoused his cause, and lent their influence to spread a doctrine so favourable to the conservation of their privileges. He is said to have attained to supreme intelligence, or to have become Buddha, before his death, which took place to the north of Patna, in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Nepal.

What may have been the actual character of Sakya Sinha, and how far he was influenced by pure, benevolent, and exalted motives, it is difficult to define, since we are left but with few facts to aid us in forming a conclusion; and we must resort to a species of induction, which is difficult at any time in relation to human character, and especially so in relation to men who have stood, like Ajax, above the multitude, and who are usually as much unduly depreciated by their enemies as they are exalted by their partizans. There is no reason to believe that the low ambition of founding a sect, the desire of supplanting teachers who had overlooked or despised his claims, or the love of spiritual domination, were the motives under which Guadama acted. We are no hero-worshippers in the Emmersonian sense, nor on the other hand, are we inclined to anathematize those master minds who have established great religious systems. A profounder investigation, and a less prejudiced judgment, are beginning to show that they were neither the knaves, nor the hypocrites they have been represented. Priest-crafts exist because people like them. Many a founder of a sect has been led on to his dizzy pre-eminence, much more by the desire of the multitude to have a master and a leader, than from any wish of his own to deceive and mislead. The minds capable of exerting the mightiest influence over others, are generally of a type incapable of the baseness of religious imposture; but we cannot pursue this tempting discussion. By what mental process Sakya Sinha was led on from the pleasures

of a princely youth to the rigid practice of asceticism, and then to undertake the difficult and dangerous labours of a religious reformer, it is difficult to say ; however, we are not wholly without light, albeit our path lies through an Indian jungle, and night, and the rank vegetation of ages obscures and impedes our course.

There is reason to believe, that like all profound and reflective minds, Guadama was inclined to dwell on the more sombre aspects of human life, and the more perplexing mysteries which are connected with the relations of mankind to the spiritual and the future. It is said, that circumstances in his early history threw a dark shadow over his prospects, and induced him to seek in solitude relief for his own broken spirit, and a remedy for the ills under which he saw humanity suffering. There seems good reason to believe, that when he laid aside the habits of an ascetic, and became a public teacher and the founder of a party, he was influenced chiefly by a benevolent desire to check the progress of error, and to confer on the people a system which, in its tendencies, should operate to check evil, and cherish that which was virtuous and good. We cannot but attribute to him a profound sympathy with human nature in its vain efforts to attain a higher state of purity and freedom than it had then reached ;—a desire to set men free from the priestly domination which crushed them down to the dust ; and a wish to diffuse principles, which, if not productive of the largest amount of happiness, should at least preserve the multitude from the depths of evil into which they were ever liable to fall ; in short, he seems to have possessed the chief attributes of a wise, benevolent, and thoroughly able reformer.

What position he assumed in relation to the popular and dominant faith, and in what respects that position was altered on account of the opposition of his enemies, we are not informed. We feel assured, however, that he commenced his career as a public teacher, not as the opponent of Hinduism, but as its adherent ; probably, as the expounder of some dogmas which had formerly been recognised, but were now forgotten and cast aside, like the trappings of some gorgeous pageant when it has passed away. "It is clear," says Burnouf, "that he appeared as one of the ascetics, who, from the most ancient times, had been in the habit of traversing India, preaching morality, respected in society in proportion to the contempt of it which they affected : it was even by placing himself under the tutelage of the Brahmins that he entered on the religious life. In fact, the *Lalita Vistara* shows him to us, when he left his father's house, resorting to the most learned Brahmins, in order to

‘ derive from their school the knowledge of which he was in quest. * * * Sakya Muni, or the anchorite of the Sakya race, is not distinguished, at first, from other anchorites of Brahminical descent; and the reader will see presently, when I collect the proofs of the struggles which he had to sustain against the rival ascetics, that the people, astonished at the persecutions of which he was the object, sometimes asked his opponents what reasons they had for hating him so much, seeing he was only a mendicant like themselves.”

That Guadama did not begin by assuming a position directly antagonistic to Hinduism, is shewn also by the following considerations. That attachment to what is believed to be religious truth, which leads to a bold, unequivocal, disinterested denunciation of error, and a repudiation of all its sophisms, is essentially a Christian virtue; nor do we remember a single instance among heathen nations, in which certain tenets have been disinterestedly abandoned only because they were erroneous, and others as boldly adopted only because they were true. On the other hand, numerous instances of mental reservation, an unfair and specious interpretation of the popular faith to square with the opinions of wiser men, or of down-right hypocrisy, will present themselves to the readers of classical history. And there has not been a Hindu sage, from the days of Vyasa to those of Chaitanya, who has not acted more or less on the policy of Kapila, the founder of the Sankya philosophical school, who seems to have admitted the existence and liberation of the soul *as terms* into his atheistical system, as Epicurus admitted the gods into his, simply that the prejudices of polytheists might not be shocked by a direct denial of a tenet acknowledged by the received religion.

A question here arises, which has relation both to the character of Guadama and the early history of the system which bears his name. Which is the more ancient system, Buddhism or Brahminism? We shall not be expected to go fully into this controversy, although it is worthy of lengthened remark; at the same time we cannot fairly pass it by. It is alleged by those in favour of the priority of Buddhism, that many of the dates assigned for the age of Buddha are far back in antiquity beyond the period we have fixed for the apotheosis of Guadama—that the system bears marks of extreme simplicity and antiquity—that there were Buddhas before Sakya Buddha. We are confident, that *as a system of religion*, Brahminism is much older than Buddhism; but we see no reason to conclude that Buddhist opinion did not exist before the age of Sakya Muni. There is reason to believe, that some of the

tenets of his system were held by ascetics—perhaps even taught as distinctive matters of faith, long before his age. They might be—they probably were—a part of that surging, crude, shadowy mass of notions which have always been floating about in the Asiatic mental atmosphere, waiting for some Zoroaster, Mohammed, Hermes, or Vyasa, to give them “a habitation and a name.” It may be possible, therefore, to show that isolated tenets of the Buddhist system existed long anterior to the age of Guadama; but it was he who founded and systematized the religion. And as no entire system, which has ever taken hold of the minds of nations, neither the religions of the ancient nations of Europe, nor Hinduism, nor Mohammedanism, have emanated as original productions from one mind, but men of genius, selecting that which was true or fitting in current opinion, and amalgamating it with new forms of thought, have created faiths more suitable to the age which gave them birth;—it was thus with Buddhism. Ideas which Sakya saw were in danger of being overlaid and forgotten—and ideas which he conceived were essential to give compactness and strength to his system, were mingled that they might form a faith able to satisfy the cravings of humanity, and capable of offering resistance to antagonistic creeds.

If then the Buddhist religion originated with Sakya Muni in the fifth century B. C.—and this we aver—it is of course posterior to Brahminism. But we must offer further proof of this. Buddhist history can be traced up with great distinctness to the age of Sakya Muni, but no further; whilst Hindu history can be traced up to an antiquity to which authentic Buddhist history lays no claim. The Vedas were compiled by Vyasa about the fourteenth century B. C., but no date for the rise of Buddhism earlier than the twelfth century B. C. merits the least notice. The Buddhists of almost every country speak of India as the original seat whence their faith was derived, and such a concession is surely of great weight, if not decisive. The religious literature of these nations constantly recognises Hinduism as existing in the time of Guadama, and as offering the greatest opposition to the spread of his opinions. To cite but one witness, Burnouf, in his *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, gives a long list of Hindu deities, and says—“All these deities are those of the people amidst whom ‘Sakya, with his devotees, lived,’ and after quoting several proofs that the disciples of Sakya recognised Indra, Brahma, Janardana, and other gods, but as inferior to Buddha, he says:—

These testimonies mark exactly the relation of the popular gods of India to the founder of Buddhism. It is evident that he found their wor-

ship already existing, and that he did not invent it. * I am thoroughly convinced, that if Sakya had not found around him a pantheon peopled with the gods I have named, he would have had no need to invent, in order to ensure to his mission the authority which the people might refuse to a man. Sakya does not come, like the Brahminical incarnations of Vishnu, to show the people an eternal and infinite God descending on earth, and preserving, in his mortal condition, the irresistible power of the Deity. He is the son of a king, who becomes a religious devotee, and who has nothing to recommend him to the people but the superiority of his virtue and his knowledge.

Elphinstone argues on the same side "from the improbability that the Buddhist system could ever have been an original one." He says:—

A man as yet unacquainted with religious feeling would imbibe the first notions of a God from the perception of powers superior to his own. Even if the idea of a quiescent divinity could enter his mind, he would have no motive to adore, but would rather endeavor to propitiate the sun, on which he depended for warmth, or the heavens, which terrified him with their thunders. Still less would he commence by the worship of saints; for sanctity is only conformity to religious opinions already established; and a religion must have obtained a strong hold on a people before they would be disposed to deify their fellows for a strict adherence to its injunctions, especially if they neither supposed them to govern the world, nor to mediate with its ruler.

The Hindu religion presents a more natural course. It rose from the worship of the powers of Nature to Theism, and then declined into Scepticism with the learned, and man-worship with the vulgar.

The doctrines of the Sankya school of philosophers seem reflected in the Atheism of the Biddha, while the hero worship of the common Hindus, and their extravagant veneration for religious ascetics, are much akin to the deification of saints among the Bâuddhas. We are led, therefore, to suppose the Brahmin faith to have originated in early times, and that of Buddha to have branched off from it at a period when its orthodox tenets had reached their highest perfection, if not shown a tendency to decline.

Perhaps one of the strongest proofs in favour of the position we are maintaining, is the statement of all Buddhist authorities, that all the seven Manushi Buddhas were of *Brahmin and Kshetria descent*.*

Buddhism had gained a firm footing, and numbered its thousands of disciples, when Guadama died. Kassypo was then chosen to be the leader of the party or the sect. What were his peculiar functions, we are not told; they could not have been those of a sovereign pontiff, for the system was too popular in its form, and too hostile in spirit against an established hierarchy, to admit of such an office. Probably he was regarded as the most worthy to preside over its communities, and to

* Hardy makes the same statement respecting the *twenty-four* mortal Buddhas who preceded Guadama. It may be necessary to state, that writers differ as to the number of mortals who have become Buddhas.

guard the conservation of its principles. His influence and ability were, however, immediately needed, for, during the first year after Sakya's death, it was necessary to call a council at Rajagaha, the capital of Magadha. The doctrines of Buddhism were then defined by the most eminent followers of the system. To the *Sutto-Pittaka*, ascribed to Guadama himself, they added two supplementary parts. These compose the most valued Buddhist writings, for the council is supposed to have been divinely inspired, that they might transmit the system, pure and authoritative, to future ages.*

About a century after the death of Guadama, a second council was held, in the year 443 B. C., at Wesali, in Magadha, to suppress some heretical opinions which were held. After the degradation of the heretical, the orthodox, in order to check the recurrence of schismatic opinion, revised the existing sacred writings, and lent them the weight of their authority and influence.

* Another, and a yet more important, council was held about 220 years B. C., at Pataliputra, in the reign of Asoka, who used his great influence to spread Buddhism in India. It seems to have met, not only to check a perverted form of the religion, but also to suppress the hostility of a party, who had taken alarm at the rapid spread of Sakya's opinions. On this, as on the former occasions, the most eminent Buddhists revised the formulas of their faith, and, not improbably, modified them to meet the wants of an enquiring and a refined age.†

Buddhism had all along displayed a strong proselytizing tendency. Beneath the force of that tendency, Hinduism had been obliged to give way, repulsed, if not defeated; and not only in Magadha, but among numerous Hindu kingdoms, the faith of Sakya pressed on with all the prestige of a youthful, vigorous, and successful assailant. This tendency was intensified and developed by the third council. It set in operation one of the most remarkable proselytizing efforts the world has ever seen. Missionaries were despatched not only into various parts of India, but to Gandhara, the upper part of the Punjab, to Cashmere, to Thibet, the various regions to the north and west of the Himalayas, and to Ceylon.

* The Buddhist age of inspiration is said to have continued for four hundred years. During this period a large mass of reputed sacred writings were given, called by the Singhalese the "*Pittakattaya*," or the three *Pittakas*, called the *Wineyo*, *Abhidhammo*, and *Sutto-Pittako*. Besides these, Buddhism recognises an immense mass of sacred literature.

† See Turnour's *Introduction to the Mahavanso*. He fixes the date of a third council in 309 B. C.

What led to this extraordinary movement, so unlike what might have been expected from any Indian system, is a matter of dispute. Landresse and others would lead us to suppose that it was rather the result of flight from persecution than of spontaneous zeal. There is, however, good reason to believe, that until several centuries afterwards, no persecution, at least of an organized nature, disturbed the Buddhist community. There was undoubtedly no dubious blending of the proselytizing and martial spirit in this movement; not only has the genius of the system been pre-eminently peaceful, but widely as it has spread, in no instance has it employed force. Even political intrigue has had less to do with its diffusion than with the diffusion of Brahminism, Mohammedanism, and even Christianity itself. Whether it was the result of rivalry, leading the followers of Guadama to aim at a geographical and numerical superiority over their Brahmin adversaries—or, whether it was that love for proselytizing which stimulates the religionists of every creed, save the caste-bound Hindu—or, whether it was the promptings of an elevated and benevolent sentiment—or, whether it was the result of one of those capricious, sudden, mysterious movements, which occasionally impel the people of Asia to wake up from the lethargic sleep of ages, like the forces of nature when the earthquake heaves, and to perform deeds of daring and of energy which are foreign to their ordinary nature, we profess not to decide. Account, however, as we may for this remarkable outbreak of religious energy, remarkable chiefly for its disinterestedness and peacefulness, it stands recorded as a fact on the page of history, although its causes are hidden amidst the shadows of a dim and distant antiquity. As with modern Christian missions, the efforts to diffuse abroad the principles of the faith were attended by corresponding efforts to spread it throughout the land of its birth. These efforts were attended with signal success. Mr. James Prinsep has attempted to show, from the testimony of coins and inscriptions, that in the age of Alexander of Macedon, India was under the rule of Buddhist kings. Colonel Sykes speaks still more positively—

With respect to the general prevalence of Buddhism in India from the seventh century B. C. to the seventh century A. D., the personal testimony of Fa Hian, that when he was in India there was not a single prince eastward of the Jumna who was not of the Buddhist faith, and that it had continued UNINTER-
RUPTED from the time of Sakya Muni, would seem to render further testimony unnecessary, up to the beginning of the fifth

‘ century A. D.’* These views, we think, require modification. They give a somewhat too wide and too early sway to Buddhism. It does not follow that because it was dominant, when Fa Hian was in India, about the year 412 of our era, that therefore it was equally dominant, or equally prevalent, nine centuries earlier. Analogy, as well as facts, would lead us to a different conclusion. The testimony of Fa Hian is certainly explicit:—“As to Hindustan itself, from the time of leaving ‘ the deserts (of Jeyseimur and Bikanir) and the river (Jumna) ‘ to the West, all the kings of the different kingdoms of ‘ India are firmly attached to the law of Buddha, and ‘ when they do honor to the ecclesiastics, they take off their ‘ diadems.” We are quite willing to believe the worthy Chinese, in relation to what he actually saw, though he does tell us his own eyes beheld a veritable *shadow* of Buddha kept as a relic by the priests! But like Rubruquis, Marco Polo, and other old travellers from the West, he is evidently not a very reliable authority when he writes ancient history, or tells us of things about which he had only heard. There can, however, be no doubt, that Buddhism was very popular in the reign of Asoka. It was the religion of the monarch, his kingdom was very extensive, and all the vast power he wielded was employed to protect and propagate this vigorous faith; nor can there be any reasonable doubt that it was either dominant, or extensively diffused, not only in the North-west of India, but also in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Guzerat, and Southern India. The vast and remarkable antiquarian remains, found at Ellora, Carli, at Amravati in Behar, Rajputana, the Mysore, and on the Malabar Coast, would sufficiently prove this, were other proofs wanting. The precise date we shall not presume to fix, but it was somewhere between the second century B. C., and the sixth century of our era.

How was it that the faith of Buddha thus rose up by the side of Hinduism so rapidly, and attained a vigour so great as to endanger the existence of its great rival? The reasons must be sought both in the new and in the ancient superstition, for no great moral revolution has ever occurred where the causes lay entirely either with the party which triumphed or the party which suffered defeat. We see good reasons for supposing, that about the time when Sakya Sinha lived, was, what the Germans would call, the age of the development of Hinduism. It had emerged from the Pantheism of the Veda into a form of Polytheism, different indeed from the hideous conglom-

* *Notes on the Religious, Moral and Political State of India before the Mohammedan Invasion*; by Colonel Sykes.

meration of the present day, yet equally false and almost as pernicious. Along with this development, innovations had taken place as repulsive to the sensibilities of a virtuous man, as they were chafing to a philosopher and offensive to a patriot. Priestly power and pride had grown up, like the gigantic tithe-coco around the nunagách, and had left the body-politic, a leafless, sapless, lifeless thing, which yet remained only that it might sustain the hateful parasite which had brought it to decay. The growth of an idolatry, characterized equally by physical grossness and unphilosophical peculiarities—by an hereditary priesthood—by the vilest superstition, and the consequent depreciation of the regal dignity: the exclusion from sacred service of many who coveted its honors and its immunities, and the tendency to crush anything in the shape of political freedom and popular advancement, might well excite a large amount of dissatisfaction and hostility. Prince Sidhanto was well fitted to lead a popular movement. Of royal lineage, benevolent, profound, bold, prudent, and enthusiastic, he could easily gain the confidence of his disciples, and retain that confidence because of the plausibility and comprehensiveness of his views. The retention in his system of many essential tenets of Hinduism preserved him for a time from open hostility, and not improbably from death itself. As before stated, he began by being a reformer of Hinduism; although probably, like Mohammed, Luther, Wesley, and others, he was forced, by circumstances he could not control, farther, and still farther, from his original position, like a vessel exposed to strong winds and currents when her anchorage is bad. It is, however, both vain and unnecessary to attempt to trace either the history of his own mental development, or the growth of the system which bears his name. Of two things, however, we may be sure. Its various dogmas were adopted, either with a view to the conservation and consistency of the system; or, that it might present a formidable front in all cases of aggression. At present we have to consider the causes why it so rapidly spread, in spite of the powerful system to which it was opposed.

*It was favorable to the exaltation of princes and of kings.** In this respect it was politically opposed to Brahminism. The latter system tolerates kings, it does not exalt them. Though monarchical in theory, it is oligarchical in fact; and oligarchical in the worst form—that of an hereditary priesthood. The Brahmins rule through the king. The terrible and deci-

* See "Memoir on the History of Buddhism," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. i.

sive struggle, which there is reason to believe, once took place between the Kshetrias and the Brahmins, sufficiently indicates that the Hindu mind has not passively submitted to this absorption of power on the part of the priesthood. And the genius of Buddhism was a revolt against the same odious despotism. It declared that no third party should come between the people and the prince. It left the latter free.* No wonder then that "all the kings of the different kingdoms of India were firmly attached to the law of Buddha!" It was to them what the appeal of the monarchs of Europe during the middle ages was to the free towns and people of their realms, an effort to become free from a powerful band of nobles, by calling into existence a new power.

Another feature favorable to the progress of Buddhism was its *repudiation of caste*. It must have taken ages to enable one-half of a nation to make the other half believe that they were in every respect inferior. It was a doctrine too monstrous to be broached at once—that one class were born slaves for the special behoof of another, and could never by any possibility be anything else. Even the Hindu mind, yielding as it is, has shewn a disposition more than once to throw off this galling bondage; and never had it so nearly succeeded as when Prince Sidhanto proclaimed that all men were alike and equally free. No wonder that, like the gathering cry of many a patriot leader, it drew around him the more thoughtful, the more bold, and the more injured of the kingdoms of Northern India!

The intense individuality and self-consciousness created by Buddhism was favorable to its diffusion. It freed men not only from the thralldom of caste, and the evils of priestly domination, but it quickened the individual energies by its opposition to a deadening Pantheism. Each Buddhist was thrown back upon himself, and must have felt that he was not so much a helpless unit of a system, as a *person* possessed of capabilities of the very highest order.

* The following passages from the Code of Manu will show how much the king was under the control of the Brahmins:—"To one learned Brahmin, distinguished among them all, let the king impart his momentous counsel." (Chap. vii. 58.) "A king, desirous of inspecting judicial proceedings, must enter his court of justice, composed and sedate in his demeanour, together with Brahmins and councillors who know how to give advice." (Chap. viii. 1.) "But when he cannot inspect such affairs in person, let him appoint for the inspection of them a Brahmin of eminent learning. Let that Chief Judge, accompanied by three assessors, fully consider all causes brought before the king." (Chap. viii. 9-10.) "Let the king, having risen at early dawn, respectfully attend to Brahmins, and by their decision let him abide," &c. (Chap. vii. 37.)

Buddhism then was intended to be popular, and it was so. Powerful monarchs delighted to honor a faith which so fully recognised their supremacy. Magnificent temples illustrated the wealth and influence of its votaries. A new era in literature and history was the effect of its diffusion, and the vast multitude of its adherents proved how thoroughly it was welcomed by the people. It was not, however, to be expected, that its prosperity would be allowed to flow uninterruptedly on. It was too flexible, too latitudinarian, and too successful, to commit overt acts of persecution; but its powerful rival could not be expected to look passively on, whilst its temples were being deserted and its tenets impugned. By what gradations Buddhism drew off more, and still more, from Hinduism, and by what events the two were brought into collision, we know not; this only do we know, there was a long, a relentless, and an exterminating struggle; but the guilty, unscrupulous, jealous priesthood of India have taken good care that few remains should exist to witness against them; like a murderer, who, after a deadly struggle with his victim, carefully removes every trace of the strife, that no proof may be found to discover his guilt and reproach him with his crime.

The first record of this persecution is in the *Kumarica Chanda*, which says, that in the year 3291 of the *Kaliyug*, or 196 A. D., the King *Sudraca* destroyed the workers of iniquity.* This, however, could have been but a partial outbreak of religious hostility, for *Fa Hian* speaks as though Buddhism were reposing in prosperous tranquillity at the very commencement of the fifth century. There seems good reason for concluding, that not long afterward, the final struggle commenced. *Kumaril Bhatta* is said by *Mahdeva*, a commentator on the *Vedas*, who wrote about 1300 A. D., to have been the chief leader in this persecution, for it was at his instigation that King *Sidhanma* issued the terrible decree which breathed nothing less than extermination to the Buddhists:—"Let those who slay not be slain, the old men among the Buddhists and the babe, from the bridge of *Ram* to the snowy mountains." *Kumarila* accomplished his purpose, not only by means of the civil power, but by presenting Brahminism in a form at once plausible and formidable. The recognition of the *Vedas*, as the basis of all

* The following passages from the *Bhagavat Gita*, in the prophetic style, give the Hindu idea of the causes of the Buddhist schism:—"Then at the commencement of the *Kaliyug*, will Vishnu become incarnate in *Kakita*, under the name of *Buddha*, the son of *Sinha*, for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods."—"Praise be to the pure *Buddha*, the deluder of the *Daitiyas* and *Danawas*,"—"By his words, as *Buddha*, Vishnu deludes the heretics."

religious truth, enabled him to give an appearance of system and definiteness to Hinduism, such as, for at least some time, it had not possessed; whilst his professed intention of seeking out the meaning of the sacred writings, gave him the opportunity of offering such a signification as he pleased to these dubious statements which best suited his designs. He certainly missed no opportunity of controverting Buddhist doctrine, and of denouncing its adherents.*

The existence of severe persecution about this period is strikingly confirmed by the records of several nations now professing Buddhism. Driven from India, the followers of Guadama sought refuge in lands where their faith had already been planted, or carried it with them to nations who were willing to give them shelter. At the end of the fifth century, the hierarch of the Buddhists left India, and sought in China an asylum where he might preside in peace; and shortly after, at the beginning of the following century, Dharma, the son of an Indian monarch, said to have been descended from Prince Sidhanto himself, entered China, and by his zeal and influence did much to consolidate the Buddhist faith.† From China it seems to have spread to Japan, Tonquin, Cochin-China, and the remote islands of the Eastern seas. About 530 it was introduced into Corea. Toward the end of the century, a large number of priests and idols arrived in Japan from India. Buddhism was introduced into Java during the sixth and seventh centuries, when multitudes of Hindu emigrants arrived there, and in the various islands of the Indian Archipelago.‡ Like a strong adversary, however, whose means of defence are not speedily exhausted, and who, though driven from one strong position, yet retains the power to turn back to another, and bravely renews the conflict there, Buddhism, no longer caressed by kings and honored by millions of their subjects, yet lingered in several parts of India. Al Edressi mentions it as professed in Guzerat in the twelfth century. About the same time, a Buddhist dynasty reigned in Bengal, whilst in the Decan it lingered until the ninth, or perhaps three hundred years later. And now, throughout the whole of Peninsular India, not a single Buddhist remains! Not only has its existence ceased, but the very memorials of that existence are almost

* The Cerala Utpatti, written about A. D. 800, chiefly relating to Malabar, states that Kumarila visited that country, and succeeded in entirely expelling the Buddhists. Other accounts affirm his earnest zeal to suppress Buddhism.

† The *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., p. 260.

‡ Raffle's *History of Java*.

lost, and we who seek to construct its strange history from the broken fragments that are left us, are like travellers amidst the mysterious ruins of the cities of Central America: we tread with uncertain steps, surrounded by the ruins of a people, whose place of glory has been utterly overthrown, and whose only memorials in the land over which they once proudly reigned, are the wrecks of their former greatness, to which even a strange people lay claim.

But what are the PRINCIPLES of this system, which thus rose up side by side with Hinduism, until, too formidable to be tolerated, it was cast out from the place of its birth, like Ishmael from the tents of Abraham, and found a habitation among nations which comprise one-third of the population of the world? Religious error is always difficult to define. Chameleon-like it varies with the change of circumstances. It is controlled, not by principle, but by expediency, and therefore its faithful delineator oftentimes has to record paradoxes and contradictions which it is vain to attempt to combine in one homogeneous system. We believe it is in the writings of Archbishop Whately, that we have met with the remark, that before the introduction of Christianity, excepting among the Jews, no people had ever thought it was absolutely necessary that the dogmas of a religion should be believed on the simple ground that they were true. Had this obvious principle been acted on, how much of the ancient forms of Polytheism would never have been dreamt of, or if dreamt of, rejected at once, and for ever. Man, however, is no ardent lover of pure religious truth, and is therefore easily led into error. "The people imagine a vain thing," and are too ignorant, or too indolent, or too superstitious, not to believe their own lie. The priest winks at the delusion, for religion is not with him a thing that is true, but a thing which is profitable. The philosopher cares not to correct the error, as long as it cherishes a false tranquillity. And thus every false system has been liable to endless mutations, which, whilst indicating the weakness and ignorance of man, as really show that he feels his need of something more divine than he has yet attained. The classical scholar need not be reminded of the difference existing between the Polytheism of the ages of Romulus, of Augustus, and of Julian; nor of its diverse aspects as viewed by the peasant, the politician, and the priest. Still more various have been the forms of that indescribable thing called Hinduism. Nor is this surprising! A religion which comes not to man with the lofty demands of divine right, requiring absolute and unconditional submission to its claims, because founded on truth; instead of moulding man's na-

ture, according to its own abstract form and spirit, will itself be modified and changed in obedience to the capricious will of its adherents. Buddhism illustrates these remarks. The principles taught by Sakya, twenty-three centuries ago in North-eastern India, have been singularly developed during their chequered history of conflict, defeat, and triumph. The most debasing polytheism, the most subtle philosophy, positive atheism, servile hero-worship, and the grossest pantheism, have become identified with Buddhism in the various states where it is paramount. Nevertheless, there are certain ideas which lie at its basis, whatever form it may have assumed; and to these, rather than to the discrepancies and minutiae of the system, we shall now address ourselves.

Adi-Buddha is the supreme self-existent god. He is infinite, eternal, without members or passions, dwelling in unbroken peace and boundless happiness. The relation of Adi-Buddha to the universe, it is not so easy to define, for whilst some say "he delights in making happy every sentient being, ' he tenderly loves those who serve him;—his Majesty fills all ' with reverence and awe. He is the assuager of pain and grief;"—there are others who tell us that he dwells altogether apart from mundane affairs, and has never awoke from the profound repose in which he ever exists, but to perform one single act of creative power.

It is one of the peculiarities of Buddhism and Brahminism, that, whilst acknowledging a Supreme Being, they practically ignore his existence, by recognising others as the creators of the universe, the objects of worship, and the awarders of man's destiny. Brahma has not a temple in India. He is too abstract—perhaps too great, to be worshipped by those who delight in contemplating the more palpable qualities of Ram, Krishna, and Shiva. Adi-Buddha is equally a sublime, impalpable, undefined creation of the oriental mind, imagined rather than conceived of; the apex of a grand religious theory, but too abstract a conception of the human intellect in its most subtle development to be either devoutly feared or deeply loved. Some philosophical systems, indeed, divest him of all sentient qualities, and attribute to the material universe those active endowments and forces which develop the varied phenomena which we see around us.* Even those who

* Though popular Buddhism is certainly theistic, there can be no doubt that its philosophy—as for instance the Swabhavika system described by Hodgson—is mostly atheistic and pantheistic. The denial of immateriality; the assertion that matter is the sole substance; the attribution to matter of the qualities of activity, intelligence, and organization, can only tend to one conclusion. Yet the pantheistic philosopher, who believes that matter thinks, possesses merit, resolves to develop

believe him to be the self-existent one, take very different views of the relation subsisting between him and the creation, although the orthodox generally agree in regarding him as the primal cause of existence to all things. Sambhu, or the self-existent, was before all, and alone; he conceived the desire—Prajnya—of creating; that desire at once led to the thing desired.* This creation, however, was not ultimate, but the first step of a series, which was to result in the gift of existence to inferior intelligences. The desire of Adi-Buddha brought into existence five Dhyani-Buddhas, or divine intelligences. So inherent is the conception of listless repose to the oriental idea of divinity and happiness, that even the Dhyani-Buddhas must delegate the task of creation to others. Each one therefore produced, by means of his divine energy, another being called his son, or Buddhishatwa. According to one theory the Buddhishatwas were the actual creators of the universe, each one being the framer of a certain number of worlds; but the more popular view is, that four of these took no active part in the production of nature, being absorbed in the worship and the contemplation of the Supreme; and that the work of creation was accomplished by the fifth, named Padma-Pani. But here again a difference of opinion prevails, for it is alleged by some that Padma-Pani was only the creator of the creators, having called into existence Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, to whom he delegated the task of creating, preserving, and destroying the universe.

It does not fall in with our design, neither does it accord with our inclination, to enter fully on the subject of Buddhist cosmogony. Our readers certainly would not thank us for our pains in endeavouring to enlighten them on a subject so confused, elaborate, and worthless; to those who have a taste for such knowledge, we recommend the first chapter of Mr. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*. The creation is

itself in all these forms of beauty and of harmony, which our world displays, may speak of Adi-Buddha—supreme intelligence—as easily as the most devout of Bonzes, but they do not mean the same thing.

* A different theory is taught by some. Buddha—intelligence, operated upon Dharma—matter, which led to the production of Sangha—the actual creative power which develops all the phenomena of the existent universe. This triad, of Intelligence, Matter, and an Influence produced by the former upon the latter, or according to some, by the latter upon the former, has no resemblance to the Hindu triad. It is a much more profound conception; and whilst it is more philosophical, it is at the same time more dangerous; for in the case of Buddha—by which term is often meant in such a connexion the abstract idea of intelligence conjoined with matter—being regarded as the first of the triad, its tendency is pantheistic, whilst, when Dharma is held to be supreme, Atheism is likely to be the Charybdis upon which the refined speculator is wrecked.

composed of a great variety of worlds or mansions. The highest, called Agnishtha-Bhuvana, is the abode of Adi-Buddha. Next to this are ten, (some say thirteen,) Bud-dhisatwa-Bhuvanas, into which, according to their merits, the followers of Buddha are admitted when they die. Ranking next to these are eighteen mansions, called collectively Rupyavachara. These belong to Brahma, and his devout worshippers are eventually received into them.*

Below these are six mansions, called Kama-Vachara, subject to Vishnu, and prepared to receive his followers. Next to these are the three mansions called Arupya-Vachara, over which Mahadeva presides. After these are the Bhuvanas or mansions of Indra, Yama, Surya, Chandra, the stars, the planets, Agni, Vayu, and the earth, the physical features of which are much the same as those described in the Hindu Puranas. Below the earth are the infernal regions, called Patalas; six of these are the abodes of various supernatural beings, chiefly of a malignant nature; whilst the seventh is divided into eight parts, in which punishment is inflicted according to the demerits of the condemned.† These punishments extend through periods of incalculable duration, and are of every variety. Dante even might have gathered from them conceptions of horror and of agony, which would have deepened the gloom of his *Inferno*. Four of the great hells are intensely cold, and four intensely hot: and some of the victims will alternately endure the agonies of both. To be torn to pieces with red hot irons, ground to atoms between fiery mountains, transfixed on iron spikes, to be cut and torn by the swords and spears of demons, and woes yet more unendurable, are reserved for the guilty. These punishments, as might be expected, are not always inflicted on the principles of rigid justice; sometimes actions of the most dissimilar kind are punished in the same degree, and frequently an offence of a very trifling nature is visited with tortures of the severest kind, whilst deeds of moral delinquency are passed slightly by.

The following extract illustrates this, as well as other observations we have made:—

The infernal days and years differ from those on earth, for every day in the great hells is equal to a thousand terrestrial years; whilst in some of the small hells it equals 600 years, in others 700, and in others 800. 1st.

* It will be remarked how extensively the mythology of India has infused itself into Buddhism. It is simply our business to state such anomalies as Brahma and his worshippers having supernatural abodes amidst the heavens of Buddhism, not to explain them.

† Hodgson's *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*. A very minute and extensive description of the heavens and hells of Burmese Buddhism will be found in the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. On this subject there is considerable uniformity in the descriptions of native authorities.

Those who are irascible, or cruel, quarrellous, or drunken, who are dishonest in deed, word or thought, or who are lascivious, will, after death, in the great hell Seinzi be torn to pieces with glowing hot irons, and then exposed to the cold; after a time their limbs will again unite, and again will they be torn asunder, and exposed to the cold; and this alternation of misery will endure for 500 infernal years. *2ndly*.—Those who, either by action or speech, ridicule their proper parents or magistrates, or Rahans, or the old men, or the studious of the law; those who, with nets or snares, entrap fish or other animals; all those will be punished in the great hell Chalafor for 1,000 infernal years: on a bed of fire they will be extended, and like so many trunks of trees, with burning iron saws and hooks, they will be cut into eight or ten pieces. *3rdly*.—Those who kill oxen, swine, goats, or other such animals, and who are by profession hunters; warlike kings, ministers and governors, who oppress the people; all such will, in the great hell Singate, be ground between four burning mountains for 2,000 years. *4thly*.—Those who do not mutually assist their neighbours, and who, on the contrary, deceive and vex them; those who kill animals by immersing them in boiling oil or water; those who are drunkards, or who commit indecent and forbidden actions; those who dishonor others; all such will have their bowels consumed by fire entering their mouths. This punishment will last for 4,000 infernal years." (*"On the Religion and Literature of the Burmans," Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., p. 219.)

The punishments of the guilty, though long, are not eternal; there is hope even for him who suffers for a period far beyond our powers of calculation. He may, by the commission of new guilt, extend the period of his doom, or sink into a place of suffering yet more terrible; or by submission, penitence, and the cultivation of a devout nature, he may rise to worlds of suffering less and less abhorrent; nay, he may not only purge away the stains of his pollution, but ultimately acquire an amount of merit which will entitle him to all the bliss of Nirvana itself.

Like Hinduism, Buddhism teaches the successive destruction, formation, and existence of the world through periods of immense duration. Fire, water, and wind are the material causes of these changes; but the Burmese say that there are three evils, luxury, anger, and ignorance, which induce the operation of these three agencies.

"There are three modes of destruction" says Mr. Hardy. "The sakwalas—the space to which the light of a sun, or moon extends is a sakwala—are destroyed seven times by fire, and the eighth time by water. Every sixty-fourth destruction is by wind.

When the destruction is by the agency of fire, from the period at which the fire begins to burn to the time when the destruction is complete, and the fire entirely burnt out, there are twenty antah-kalpas.*

* To convey an idea of the immense duration of these periods, the following illustration is used:—"Eighty antah-kalpas make a maha-kalpa. There is a species of cloth, 'fabricated at Benares, of cotton that is unequalled in the delicacy of its fibre.

From the period at which the fire ceases to burn, to the falling of the great rain by which the future world is to be formed, there are twenty antah-kalpas.

From the first falling of the seminal rain to the formation of the sun, moon, rocks, oceans, &c., there are twenty antah-kalpas.

After the lapse of twenty kalpas more, a great rain begins to fall.

Thus there are four great cycles of mundane revolution : 1. Of destruction. 2. Of the continuance of destruction. 3. Of formation. 4. Of the continuance of formation. These asen-kyā-kalpas make a maha-kalpa.*

Besides the beings we have named, there is a large intermediate class between the *dii majores* and mankind. Like the fanciful creations of other peoples, they are very varied in their attributes; some of them preside over particular worlds, and possess amazing power; others of them are fallen beings who yet retain some of their original brightness; some are the attendants of the Buddhas, and not a few resemble the elves and fairies of the western world; generally, however, they are much akin to the asuras, ghandarvas, and giants of Hinduism.

We now come to the distinguishing peculiarity of Buddhism—the finite nature of man may develop itself into the infinite nature of God. Besides the divine Buddas we have mentioned, who form but a part of the speculative theory of the system, there is another class, the mortal Buddhas, who occupy a much more prominent and important position. Their number is variously stated, although only seven are particularly named; and of these Sakya was the last.† This state is only to be attained after the practice of rigid virtue, extreme self-denial, and profound meditation for innumerable ages. Sakya Sinha, before he was born as Prince Sidhanto, had been a Buddhisat, or candidate for the supreme Buddhahship, through many a transnigra-

* Its worth, previous to being used, is unspeakable; after it has been used, it is worth 30,000 nīla-karshas (of the value of twenty or thirty small silver coins); and even when old, it is worth 12,000 karshas. Were a man to take a piece of cloth, of this most delicate texture, and therewith to touch, in the slightest possible manner, once in a hundred years, a solid rock, free from earth, sixteen miles high, and as many broad, the time would come when it would be worn down, by this imperceptible trituration, to the size of a mung or undā-seed. This period would be immense in its duration, but it has been declared by Buddha that it would not be equal to a maha-kalpa.—*Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, p. 1.

* *Hardy's Manual of Buddhism*, p. 5.

† These have reached their high dignity during the successive yugs of the existing world, another has to appear before the end of the Kaliyug. In previous worlds numerous beings became Buddha.

tion; and the legends of the superstition are full of stories of the various events which occurred, not only during the eighty-three times he was an ascetic, and the fifty-eight times he was a king, but whilst he was a thief, a pig, a devil-dancer, and a frog! It must, however, be remembered, that many of these states of existence were not essential to the attainment of supreme beatitude, but assumed as the necessary result of demerit; for even the Buddhisats are not free either from guilt or its penal consequences.

The following passage will give an idea of the various steps by which alone the supreme state can be attained:—

For the space of twenty asankya-kap-lakshas, that is to say, from the time that the Manopranidhana, or resolution to become a Buddha, was first exercised, the thirty Paramitas by Guatama Buddhisat. (1.) He gave in alms, or as charity, his eyes, head, flesh, blood, children, wife, and substance, whether personal or otherwise, as in the Kadirangara birth. In this way he fulfilled the three kinds of dana, viz., dana-paramita, dana-upa-paramita, and dana-paramarthu-paramita (2.) In the Bhusidatta birth, and in others of a similar description, he practised the sila paramita, or observance of the precepts, in the three degrees. (3.) In the Chulla Suttasama, and other similar births, he abandoned vast treasures of gold and silver, and numberless slaves, cattle, buffaloes, and other sources of wealth, and thus fulfilled the naiskrama-paramita, which requires retirement from the world. (4.) In the Sattubhatta, and other births, he revealed to others that which he saw with his divine eyes, and thus fulfilled the praguya paramita, or the virtue proceeding from wisdom. (5.) In the Maha-janaka, and other births, he performed things exceedingly difficult to be done, thus fulfilling the mirya-paramita, or the virtue proceeding from determined courage. (6.) In the Kshan-tiwada, and other births, he endured with an equal mind the opposition of unjust men, regarding it as if it were the prattle of a beloved child, thus observing the Kshanti-paramita, or virtue proceeding from forbearance. (7.) In the Maha-suttasama, and other births, he spoke the words of truth, thus exercising the satta-paramita, or virtue proceeding from truth. (8.) In the Terva, and other births, he set his mind to that which is excellent, in the most resolute manner, never giving way to evil in the least possible degree; thus fulfilling the adhishtana paramita, or virtue proceeding from unalterable resolution. (9.) In the Nigrodhani-ga, and other births, he gave away that which he enjoyed to aid the necessities of others, and took upon himself the sorrows of others; thus observing the maitri-paramita, or the virtue proceeding from kindness and affection. (10.) In the Sara, and other births, he regarded with an equal mind those who exercised upon him the most severe cruelties, and those who assisted him and were kind; thus fulfilling the upaksha-paramita, or virtue proceeding from equanimity,*

Negative rather than positive results are the reward of the being who raises himself to the condition of a Buddha. By means of his mighty efforts, he attains to a state in which desire, anger, ignorance, and every imperfection becomes extinguished. The sorrows of life, and—what is far more

*Pujawalinga-Sadhammaratnakare, cited in Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 101.

pleasing to the oriental imagination—its agitation and restlessness, are passed; an immortality of peaceful repose is the loved inheritance of the thrice-honoured and happy Buddha; and his intelligence is enlarged almost to the extent of a boundless knowledge.

Guadama was the last who reached this state of coveted dignity. Though practically the supreme head of the system, it is nevertheless difficult to define the relation he sustains to our world. It is true that he is represented as the paramount lord of the earth and man; it is true that he fills a space in the Buddhist mind, which neither his six predecessors, nor the Buddhissatwas, nor the Dhyani-Buddhas, nor even Adi-Buddha himself occupies; but whether they have delegated their power and their prerogatives to him; or whether, on the ancient Hindu theory of sacrifices and austerities being sufficient to secure a power not only superior to the gods, but over them, he has become lord of the ascendant; or whether an irreversible destiny, to which both himself and even beings more divine must bow, has fixed him on his elevated throne; or whether his Buddhahood is a position of honour rather than of power, we find it difficult to decide; in fact, traces of all these ideas are to be found in the crude mass of Buddhist opinion.

The bliss to which every Buddhist is encouraged to aspire, seems closely related to that attained by Buddha. Two points of difference, however, at once present themselves:—the latter maintains an individual existence, the existence of the former is merged in that of another; the state of the latter is one of influence, that of the former is one of inactivity and passiveness. The belief in this peculiar form of final beatitude is based on the idea, that the soul is not a distinct individual existence, but a part of the essence of Adi-Buddha, allied to the material creation by misfortune and error, and only awaiting the period when it shall have expiated its guilt, to become free from the thralldom of humanity, and allied again to the supreme essence from which, in sorrow it has been separated. To become free, therefore, from all the mutations and lapses necessarily contingent on an imperfect and sinful state of being; to vanquish those sympathies and associations which ally the soul to earth, and prevent its rising upward, is the highest aim of every devotee, and the hope of every follower of Guadama. The primary elements of Nirvana are, deliverance from the perils and the sorrows of transmigration, and absorption into the divine essence. But the precise nature of this coveted state of existence—or non-existence, it is difficult to ascertain. “In its ordinary ‘acceptation it means ‘extinct,’ as a fire that has gone out.

' Its etymology is from *va*, to blow as wind, with the preposition
 ' *nir* used in a negative sense. It means calm and unruffled.
 ' The notion which attaches to the word is that of perfect apa-
 ' thy. Other terms distinguish different gradations of pleasure,
 ' joy, and delight. But a heaven of *imperturbable apathy* is the
 ' ultimate bliss to which the Indians aspire; and in this the Jains,
 ' as well as the Buddhists, concur with the orthodox Vedantists."*
 " The nature of Nirvana, or cessation of being," says one well
 able to give an opinion, "is obvious from this; it is not the *des-*
 ' *truction* of an existent being, but the *cessation of his existence*.
 ' It is not an absorption into a superior being, as the Brahmins
 ' teach; it is a retreat into a place of eternal repose, free
 ' from further transmigration; it is not a violent destruction of
 ' being, but a complete and final cessation of existence."† Most
 Buddhists, however, do not attach the latter idea to Nirvana.
 The following definition by a Burmese chief priest gives the
 more popular interpretation of the term:—"When a person is
 ' no longer subject to any of the following miseries, namely,
 ' to weight, old age, disease, and death, then he is said to have
 ' attained Nirvana. No thing, no place can give us an adequate
 ' idea of Nirvana; we can only say that to be free from the four
 ' above-mentioned miseries, and to obtain salvation, is Nirvana.
 ' In the same manner, as when any person labouring under a
 ' severe disease, recovers by the assistance of medicine, we say
 ' he has obtained health; but if any person wishes to know
 ' the manner or cause of his thus obtaining health, it can be
 ' answered that to be restored to health, signifies no more than
 ' to be recovered from disease. In the same manner only can we
 ' speak of Nirvana, and after this manner Gaudama taught."‡
 The extinction of existence can never become a popular be-
 lief, much less can it become the object of strong desire and
 devout hope. From the dark unfathomable abyss of annihila-
 tion, the spirit turns abhorrently away. But the Buddhist
 does *not* turn away from Nirvana; on the contrary, he antici-
 pates it as a delightful repose from all the ills of life, and as the
 happy recompense of meritorious effort. It is a prize worth
 struggling for, not a gulf to be shunned. Annihilation, there-
 fore, though a correct definition of the word Nirvana, is not of
 the *thing* itself. But separate existence is lost; yet that loss
 is not the cessation of enjoyment. In what way the individua-
 lity of the soul can cease by being merged into the higher life

* Colebrooke's *Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus*, sec. v., chap. v.

† *Notes on Buddhism*, in the Appendix to Lee's *Translation of Ribeyro's Ceylon*, by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, p. 264.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, London Edition, vol. vi., p. 206.

of the Supreme, and yet its perfection and bliss be enlarged, is one of these fine imaginings which can delight and satisfy the highly speculative mind; but how many minds there must be, which find no firm footing on such a refinement, and are forced downward into the abyss of a dark cold Atheism! Perfect and unassailable repose, then, is undoubtedly the chief element in the conception of Nirvana; yet not such repose as may be illustrated by the calm peace of the soul, when the truth is known and loved after many a weary effort to find it; rather it may be compared to the effects of some strong opiate, when, in a state of profound apathy, the mind, incapable of vigorous thinking, indulges in vague day-dreams and fitful imaginings, which cost it not an effort.

The attainment of Nirvana is deliverance from the eddying vortex of transmigration. That, like most oriental opinions, has both a popular and a philosophical aspect. It is the general notion, that the same soul passes through an indefinite number of births, the nature of which depends on the moral qualities of the one immediately preceding. Another view differs somewhat from this. The state in which any soul may be at present, it is said, is not necessarily the result of what happened in the state just before it, but it may be the consequence of some actions performed in a state long since passed.* Speculative Buddhism is much more refined than even this. "The general mass of the Buddhists of Ceylon," says Mr. Gogerly, are not orthodox in their view of transmigration, as they believe that the same soul migrates into different bodies. But this is contrary to the teaching of Buddha, and of this the learned priests are fully aware; but they do not attempt to correct the error, regarding the subject as too difficult to be understood by the unlearned. His—Buddha's—doctrine is that of a series of existences, which he illustrates by the metaphors of a tree and a lamp. A tree produces fruit, from which fruit another tree is produced, and so the series continues. The last tree is not the identical tree with the first, but it is a result, so that if the first tree had not been, the last tree could not have existed. Man is the tree, his conduct is the fruit. The vivifying energy of the fruit is *desire*. While this continues, the series will proceed: the good or evil actions per-

* The Cambojans have an opinion somewhat different from this. When the soul quits the body, they say, that it departs into heaven or hell according to its earthly qualities; after it has enjoyed an amount of happiness equivalent to its merit, or suffered the just punishment of its guilt, it will return to inhabit a new body on the earth. This body will depend upon the state of the soul in its previous earthly condition, so that innumerable ages of happiness or misery may intervene between one transmigration and another.

‘ formed give the quality of the fruit, so that the existence
 ‘ springing from these actions will be happy or miserable, as the
 ‘ quality of the fruit affects the tree produced from it. Accord-
 ‘ ing to this doctrine, the present body and soul of man never
 ‘ had a previous existence, but a previously existent being, un-
 ‘ der the influence of desire, performed virtuous or vicious actions,
 ‘ and in consequence of this, upon the death of that individual,
 ‘ a new body and soul is produced. The metaphor of the lamp
 ‘ is similar. One lamp is lighted from another, the two lamps
 ‘ are distinct, but the one could not have been lighted had not
 ‘ the other existed.”* It is unnecessary to point out the injustice
 of this theory, or the irresponsible position in which it leaves
 every individual.

Vague and mysterious as Nirvana may be, the means by which it is attained are more definitely made known, nor are those means without such qualities as the mind complacently contemplates after the dreamy abstractions and useless speculations we have been considering. The heart, as well as the eye, is gratified with the verdant beauty of the oasis after weary travel over the barren dreary desert. Voluntary poverty, chastity, knowledge, energy, patience, humility, and self-sacrifice for the good of others, were characteristics of primitive Buddhism. These characteristics still exist in the five commandments and ten sins of its moral code.—From the meanest insect up to man, thou shalt kill no creature whatever. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not commit either fornication or adultery. Thou shalt tell nothing false. Thou shalt drink neither wine nor anything that will intoxicate; nor eat opium, nor any inebriating drug. These are its positive prohibitions. Its ten sins are cognates of these—to kill animals, to steal, to commit adultery, to lie, to quarrel, to use harsh and indignant language, to indulge in idle talk, to covet the property of another, to envy the prosperity of others, to rejoice in their misfortunes, and to worship false gods. Besides these, various precepts are inculcated. Covetousness, scepticism, gambling, idleness, improper company, frequenting places of amusement, are forbidden; kindness on the part of parents, obedience on the part of children, are commanded; honour and deference must be paid by the pupil to the teacher; the husband must act so as to promote to the highest degree the happiness of his wife;† the master is to be kind and forbearing to the meanest of his servants; friendship must be characterised by

* Lee's *Translation of Ribeyro's Ceylon*, p. 246.

† The following extract from a Singhalese work affords a pleasing view of the social tendencies of Buddhism, and contrasts favourably with the sentiments of Hindu and Moslem moralists on the same subject:—"There are five ways in which the husband

the utmost generosity, candour and confidence. These precepts are enforced in every variety of manner:—"As the jipā-nese is the chief among flowers, and as the rice called rat-hal is the chief among all descriptions of grain, so is he who is free from evil desire the chief among the wise." They who abstain from these sins, and practise these virtues, will increase in virtue, until at length purified, elevated, and enlightened, they are worthy of looking on the face of a Buddha, "of hearing his voice;" and at length fitted for Nirvana, they shall never feel the miseries of life again, but young and immortal exist for ever in the untroubled calm of the highest heaven.

The superiority of this morality to that of Mahomedanism and Hinduism, is very manifest. There is an elevation, completeness, and purity characterising it, which is no where surpassed in the east. Even if contrasted with the ethics of the Zendavesta, it will not suffer. None will deny that the Koran gives utterance to sentiments of great purity and righteousness, and that even Hinduism is not without its pure aphorisms, though they are few and feeble in their influence, as are the stars in a dark and stormy sky; nevertheless, the morality of the former—if, indeed, it should be honored by that name,—is cold, stern, and incomplete; whilst to speak at all of the morality of the latter seems to be but burlesque. But we can speak of the ethical *system* of Buddhism. Its uniform utterances on the subject are gentle, benevolent, and pure. But it is destitute of life and warmth. It is mild, cold, and fair like the moon. It lacks both spirit and power. Our observations in succeeding pages will shew, to a great extent, how its moral tendencies are neutralised; but it is proper here to remark, that man needs something besides correct moral precepts to check his passionate tendency to irreligion and to vice, nor does Buddhism supply the want. It is destitute of nearly all those qualities, which lead to obedience. It does not work powerfully either on the love, the fear, the hope, or the gratitude of the heart. "Its cold philosophy and thin abstractions," prevent the exercise of a strong and active faith. Neither the intellect nor the heart is at all likely to find in it anything

'ought to assist the wife:—1. He must speak to her pleasantly, and say to her, 'Mother, I will present you with garments, perfumes, and ornaments.' 2. He must speak to her respectfully, not using low words, such as he would use to a servant or slave. 3. He must not leave the woman whom he possesses by giving to her clothes, ornament, &c., and go to the woman who is kept by another. 4. If she does not receive a proper allowance of food, she will become angry; therefore, she must be properly provided for that this may be prevented. 5. He must give her ornaments, and other similar articles according to his ability. (*Singalovada Sutra-Saume.*) (*Hurdy's Manual of Buddhism*, p. 480.)"

which can powerfully affect the sympathies of the one or the convictions of the other. "In confiding all to the mere strength of the human intellect, and the enthusiastic self-reliance and determination of the human heart, it makes no provision for defence against those powerful temptations before which ordinary resolution must give way; and it affords no consoling support under those overwhelming afflictions by which the spirit is prostrated and subdued, when unaided by the influence of a purer faith, and unsustained by its confidence in a divine power. From the contemplations of the Buddhist, all the awful and unending realities of a future life are withdrawn—his hopes and his fears are at once mean and circumscribed; the rewards held in prospect by his creed are insufficient to incite him to virtue; and its punishments too remote to deter him from vice. Thus, insufficient for time, and rejecting eternity, the utmost triumph of his religion is to live without 'fear and to die without hope.'"

The philosophy of Buddhism is to us, at present, forbidden ground. To treat it as briefly as were consistent with literary justice, would occupy more pages than we have already done. Our readers, therefore, we doubt not, will complacently acquiesce in our silence. Suffice it then to say, that the grand and solemn mysteries, which have ever engaged the attention of the most thoughtful and devout intellects, seem to have pressed heavily on the mind of Guadama himself. He attempted to spell out the meaning of the dark oracle, whose voice we all hear, but cannot understand. His religion vainly essays to popularise many of these mysteries, and its genius is well fitted to stimulate speculators, like the fallen ones of Pandemonium—

————— to reason high
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate;
Fix'd fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute;
And find no end, in wandering mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argued then,
Of happiness and final misery,
Passion, and apathy and glory and shame;
Vain wisdom all and false philosophy.

It is indeed astonishing that so much should have been written on professedly philosophical questions, and written too with such acuteness and labour, yet be so worthless and perplexing. The complaints of Remusat over the prolixity, obscurity and uselessness of Mongol Buddhist philosophy, may be taken up in relation to that of Nepal, Ceylon, Tibet and Burmah as well. From causes which we cannot now stop to explain, it has

* Christianity in Ceylon, by Sir J. E. Tennent, p. 227.

taken a thoroughly negative direction. Even the abstractions it professes to establish cannot lead to any positive or beneficial result. Its tendency to deal with questions of pure opinion where certainty cannot be attained, and if attained, would be worthless, induces a habit of scepticism and indifference which is fatal to all devoutness of heart and earnestness of purpose. Its necessary course is to nihilism in philosophy and disbelief in religion.

We now come to the TENDENCIES of this system. One of the most striking of these is its *exaltation of human nature*.

It recognizes no just and philosophical distinction between the human and divine. That which Hodgson distinguishes as one of the most diagnostic tenets of the Swabhavika school of philosophy, is rather one of the most singular characteristics of Buddhism generally—"man is capable of enlarging his faculties 'to infinity.'" All souls, it is believed, both by those who hold the principles of materialism, and immaterialism, are portions of the divine essence; separated, it may be, for a season from their great source, but destined ultimately to be absorbed into it again; unless, like the mortal Buddhas, the divinity within assumes a more individual manifestation. Now this idea cannot but invest every man, in the view of the devout disciple of Guadama, with a peculiar form of sanctity and dignity. We are not now, be it remembered, giving our opinion of human nature, else we might put its claims to dignity on very different grounds from those we have mentioned; but as expounders of a faith far different from our own, we state, that he who believes that any man, however vile, may ultimately become absorbed into the essence of the Infinite One, nay, that he is a part of that Infinite One; and beyond this even, who believes that the spirit which will become the next or eighth Buddha, is now, it may be, inhabiting his own frame, cannot be indifferent to all the claims which humanity has on our reverence; hence the scrupulous regard inculcated by the system for every form of life: and hence the following tendencies.

If between the divine and human nature there be but a difference of degree, then that nature, even under its lowest form, should be *revered*. Such a dogma, it is true, degrades our conceptions of God, just in the proportion that it invests man with a dignity which is not his own. But when did a people, without the light of revealed truth, manifest any jealousy lest the peculiar prerogatives of the Supreme One should be questioned or denied? To some minds, which admitted this postulate, Atheism would be inevitable; to others Pantheism; to others Lamaism; but in all cases, the essential distinction between

God and man would be lost, whilst the latter would receive a reverence which was as dangerous as it was false; for who can know, the speculatist might suggest, how far any mind may have advanced toward the divine nature! If Guadama, in passing through five hundred and fifty states of existence, was a dog at Benares, a cuckoo and a fish in Oude, and things yet viler still, who can tell the destiny of the spirit which now abides in some poor wretch who performs the meanest offices in our house? May not even the soul destined to become the eighth Buddha, now inhabit the frame which lies before us stricken with disease and sorrow!

If all souls are emanations from the soul of the universe, and equally capable of restoration to their great original, then Brahminical *caste is both untrue and unjust.*

For, what is caste but the belief in an essential difference of nature between the Brahman and the Shudra? No conceivable changes can enable the latter to become the former. That which has proceeded from Bramha's foot can never be that which came from Bramha's mouth. The Shudra can never cease to be the servant of his proud and sacred master. This is not a humiliation to be eradicated by penance, by prayer or by pilgrimage. But if the soul, in its upward and onward progress, sees no impassable limit to its development,—if it is so akin to the supreme intelligence, that it may rise through all the intervening stages, until it enters Nirvana, then the only allowable distinction between man and man is that which arises from merit and demerit, from difference of position on the pathway which leads from alliance with the earthly to alliance with the divine; or rather, we might say, from the imperfect to the perfect development of our nature. The genius of Buddhism, therefore, has ever been antagonistic to caste.

Neither could the receivers of this first postulate of Buddhism acknowledge the claims of an *hereditary priesthood.*

For such claims must be founded on the assumption that the class thus honoured are the peculiar favourites of heaven, as with the Brahmins; or, that existing priests alone have the power of making others priests, as with the Romanists. A denial of caste, the assertion of the principle that all men are naturally equal, involved in it therefore a repudiation of Brahminical usurpation: for, not to speak of the probability—a probability supported by facts—that popular reaction would now and then lead to resistance of Brahminical tyranny and exclusiveness, it was not possible to admit the first principles of Sakya, without denying the right and the necessity of priestly

interference. For, was not every true worshipper a priest? He who himself anticipated becoming divine, surely needed not another to aid him in approaching that intelligence which, though infinite, was yet but the higher manifestation of himself! To such an one the services of the priest would be an obtrusion and an interruption. The tenets of no religion, save Mahomedanism, offer so limited a field for sacerdotal influence. It recognises no atonement in any form. Since one of its principal features is intense self-righteousness, it necessarily scorns the interference of mediators, both divine and human; and for the same reason, since it dispenses with the doctrine of sacrifices, it also needs not the services of a priest to lay the victim on the altar, and to pronounce the acceptance of the offerer before God. Its vaunted spirituality and intellectualism cannot but lead the worshipper to withdraw into himself, that within his own being he may find the means to break through the obstacles which separate him from God, nor could he wish for a third party to aid him in that which must be purely an effort of his own intellect and heart. The sacrifice of the priest would give place to intense meditation on that which himself was to be. In the monastery, the solemn silent forest, far away from the interruptions of human society, he could best be the priest of his own soul, and alone with the Great Being whom he worshipped, and in part resembled, attain to yet nearer oneness with Him. Hence the monastic tendency of Buddhism.*

Whilst acknowledging a *Supreme Intelligence*, it denies his interference with the *affairs of the universe*.

It is like the Epicurean philosophy, in affecting to elevate the Deity far above the care of interfering in the affairs of the countless worlds which lie at the footstool of his throne; but that philosophy fixes the abode of its supreme intelligence in some bright and blessed region of the universe, where conscious pleasure, almost approaching to sensual delight, flows toward him from the various objects of beauty and of joy which are around him

— As thick as dew-drops,
On the fields of heaven;

and in this they are unlike. Adi-Buddha is imagined by the

* Its ministers are "an order of devotees," rather than a "caste of priests." Since their ordination is neither hereditary nor perpetual, they have but few temptations from a *priesthood* to become a *priestcraft*. The ministers of no religion have so little influence as they; and this arises not so much from anything in the hierarchical system as from the positive genius of the religion itself. The priestly robe, therefore, is assumed, not because it opens up the path to wealth and honour, but because it affords an opportunity to gratify a devout and religious tone of mind.

people, who call him god, yet never worship him, as dwelling mysteriously in boundless space and endless time, absorbed in a felicity so profound, spiritual, and impalpable, that it is altogether independent of volition, neither is the slumber of his profound repose ever broken even by a dream. Whence then came the universe? By what power were its palaces and empires built up? What influence is that we see at work wherever we may cast our eyes and direct our thoughts; marshalling the stars of heaven into such glittering forms of grandeur and of harmony; covering the earth with endless manifestations of life; and conducting all things, from the mighty worlds of the universe, to the spiritualized æther which dwells in flowers and lowly plants, through all the stupendous revolutions of renovation, sustentation, decay, and destruction, which stern destiny dooms them to undergo? By the power of Adi-Buddha, once exerted to set in motion the machinery of the universe, say some. By *Swabhava*, says the Swabhavika school of philosophy in Nepal, a plastic power springing from god, yet acting without any co-operation of will or design on his part, by which the universe perpetually revolves between Pravritti and Nirvritti, or creation and annihilation. By *Kusalakusala*—merit, including its privative demerit—say others, which, as an effect existing before a cause, produced through a moral quality all the phenomena of the material universe.* By *Podma-Pani*, say others, who derived his existence from the Dhyani-Buddhas, who derived their being from Adi-Buddha, and who, after the creations of three Buddhisatwas, have been successively created and destroyed, called forth by means of Dhyān—divine efficacy—the existing system of creation, which, in its turn, will pass away and be replaced by the creation of Visu-Pani, the next of the Buddhisatwas.

It is obvious that the followers of a system, which admits of such conflicting opinions on the question of creation, must be wanting in reverence and attachment to the Creator, whatever name he may bear; indeed, it is clear, that the tendency of such diverse speculations must be toward practical Atheism. Mr.

* This mode of reasoning, however opposed to the principles of western philosophy, is not confined to Buddhism. In the *Saukhya-Sārika*, a Hindu work of some repute, it is written—"Effects subsist antecedently to the operation of causes, for 'what exists not, can by no operation of cause be brought into existence.'" It is equally foreign to European reasoning to regard personal merit as a power sufficient to produce physical results. Hinduism, however, as well as Buddhism, presents endless illustrations of this idea. To the Jogi, and the Muni are attributed miraculous endowments and a power superior to the gods, won by the boundless efficacy of contemplation and maceration; nay, even spheres of existence, and abodes as glorious as those in Boikanta, have been created by the power of merit for its happy and favoured possessors.

Hodgson says, that “ the* epithet, Dhyani, as applied to a class of Buddhas, is obviously capable of an atheistic interpretation;” and that this interpretation is attached to the idea of Dhyani-Buddhas and to Adi-Buddha as well, may be shown in various ways. Buddha is without qualities, since his proper and original state is one of quiescence. He is not to be conceived of as doing any thing. “ Rest is not so much his attribute as his essence.” Human language can only describe him by negative terms. Now if the Buddhist sage ask himself—“ What is this I attempt to conceive of ? It has no qualities and no positive attributes. It is a pure abstraction. It exists not save in a state of profound unconsciousness. It has not revealed itself to us by any works of grandeur or of goodness. It is known only by name and by the conception of the mind, and it is altogether incomprehensible. Can it then be any thing—his reasoning may suggest—any thing but the dreamy conception of the imagination? Is it a thing, or a being, or only an idea?” Here then is Scepticism, and with a system so wanting in the dogmatic and the proven, Scepticism will usually result in positive unbelief. To ordinary minds, the result is likely to be substantially the same. Even were there no difficulty in conceiving of an abstraction like Adi-Buddha, the ordinary tendency of our race to render homage to the *presens divus* would lead the multitude to forsake the shrine of the Supreme, that they might render homage to the Buddhas, whom they believe to be the more immediate rulers of the earth’s destiny, and especially to Guadama Buddha, who is now lord of the ascendant. For if creation—the government of the world—the emanation of law—the execution of judicial sentence on mankind, be attributed to others, and not to the Great God, then must these others come to be regarded as the proper objects of worship; or agitated by conflicting claims, the mind will sink into a state of indifference with regard to the attributes and claims of any super-human power whatever. For what is Adi-Buddha to the poor Singhalese, pressed down by the weight of earthly want and sorrow? Adi-Buddha did not make him, he does not care for his distresses, and he is perhaps unconscious even of his existence. Adi-Buddha does not hear his prayer, nor regard his worship. Adi-Buddha has not given him a law by which he may guide his life and shape his destiny; nay, even if he should ever become a part of Adi-Buddha, it will be purely an accomplishment of his own. Adi-Buddha can be to him but little more than a name. In fact all beings above Guadama,—Buddhisatwas, Dhyani-Buddhas, even Adi-Buddha himself, though of importance in speculative Buddhism, are

practically excluded from any share in popular religious worship. The State of China illustrates our remarks. Dr. Medhurst writes—"No first cause characterizes all the sects, and the supreme self-existent God is scarcely traceable through the entire range of their metaphysics; and yet the Chinese manage to combine the apparently irreconcilable principles of Atheism and Polytheism. Gods many and lords many are adopted by every sect, and it is more easy to find a god than a man in China. Though they account no divinity to be eternal, yet they discover a god in every thing. Their temples, houses, streets, roads, hills, rivers, carriages, and ships are full of idols. Every room, niche, corner, door, and window, is plastered with charms, amulets, and emblems of idolatry. So that while they acknowledge no god, they are over-run with gods, and find it their greatest burthen to support and worship their numerous pantheon."*

Whilst teaching the doctrine of *fate* or *necessity*, it cherishes a feeling of *enthusiastic self-reliance*.

The difference between mental, moral, and material laws and operations is not recognized by Buddhism. It assumes that there is a principle at once mental, moral, and material, which equally operates in the production of the elements, the formation of worlds, and the development of organized life. Our world and all other spheres pass through the great Kalpas of duration, subject to a law of inevitable re-construction, progress, and decay. Nor is this law the result of the directing controul of the Supreme, but an indestructible, inherent property of matter. But the mind and the moral tendencies are equally subject to its controul; for there is a productive power in matter, which, when developed into being, constitutes the merit of that being, or in other words, that quality of matter which is called productive power, when viewed in relation to being, is called merit. This productive power or merit, from the time it is developed in conscious life, is ever undergoing a series of refining changes, whilst passing along its course of endless transmigrations; so that that which is *now*, is not absolutely that which *was*, but a refinement of it. The progress of being thus originated seems to be traced in the following manner by Guadama to its final destiny:—"Absence of knowledge.—The want of power to comprehend the sorrows of developed life, permits the free action of material power, which in realized existence we call merit or demerit; thus a consciousness is produced; this necessitates a bodily frame; that develops organization; that neces-

* *China, its State and Prospects*, by the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, p. 319.

' sitates again organic action and impulse; *these* sensibility of
' pain or pleasure; *that* desire of enjoyment; *that* attachment
' to beloved objects, and *this* leads to various states of existence."

All forms of animation therefore, are regarded by the philosophy of Buddhism as the result of a common principle, and passing onward through different stages to a common goal. The identity of all life, therefore, whether of insect, man, or God, necessarily follows from the doctrines of the system. The Buddhist ascetic, therefore, who cherishes a tender love and reverence for all living things, manifests but an appropriate consistency.

The great design of Sakya's system was not to teach cosmogony, nor philosophy, but how to obtain final deliverance from the sorrows and imperfections of our present state. In developing the means by which this great end may be consummated, it was necessary to refer to various other matters; but they are all the accidents of a great idea—an all-absorbing thought; just as Homer's description of the sword, the shield, the casque, and the greaves of his warriors, though no parts of their personal qualities, are yet given to enable his readers to form an adequate conception of them. Wisdom and virtue constitute *kusalakusala*—merit,—and by its possession alone can the vicissitudes of being come to an end, and the peace and perfection of Nirvana be secured. Nor does personal merit tend merely toward a state of mental and moral exaltation and power: it is equally efficacious in conferring supremacy over material agencies. A highly advanced class of persons, therefore, are said to be endowed with a miraculous energy, which can overcome multitudes of physical obstacles, even invest its possessors with vast physical strength, and enable them to accomplish deeds far beyond the ordinary powers of our nature. It is thus that the passivity of Buddhism is neutralised, and its leading principle established, that "the last 'refuge of mankind is man." He must tread alone and unaided the interminable pathway of being, and though destiny forces him on his course, it is himself only who can make that pathway to lead directly to untroubled rest, or tortuous as the labyrinth in which Theseus wandered dangerously. He is the framer of his own destiny. The god whom he acknowledges cherishes no loving interest in his well being, nor will come forth at the voice of his piteous cry to succour and to save. His creed recognizes neither forgiveness nor atonement. "An 'eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," will be exacted with relentless severity. If he offends, there is no escape from the inevitable penalty of transgression, and in vain will he cast his eyes around, searching for one to bear his heavy

load of guilt; the prison-house he must enter, and there is no escape "till he has paid the very last mite." No kindly influences from superior beings will visit him in the hour of weakness and of darkness, like the pleasant dews which the heavens drop on the earth; for, from the fountain of his own being, not from that of another, must he draw the water which will renew and invigorate his powers, or the poison which madens him to despair. Even Guadama Buddha is to him only an example of what human nature is capable of achieving. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Buddhist mind falls back upon itself, and seeks in its own native powers, the strength and the wisdom which are to fit it for its solitary walk through the mysterious pathways of transmigration—pathways dark, dismal, and dangerous, as the valley of the shadow of death, through which poor Christian tremblingly went—or he sinks into a state of hapless apathy and fatalism.

The *popular and latitudinarian* characteristics of this system cannot fail to strike the careful observer.

It was originally the revolt of the intellect against the lofty intolerant assumptions of a priesthood, which sought to perpetuate and strengthen its power by the most impious and singular of claims; and so strong has proved the law of antagonism, that the lapse of twenty-three centuries has witnessed no approach in this respect of the two systems, one to the other. The reason for this immutability on the part of Buddhism is easily explained. It denies that men are naturally unequal, and consequently it repudiates the exclusiveness of a class. If Nirvana be attainable by any one, then surely any one may become a priest, neither can we expect that the priestly office under such restrictions will be invested with circumstances either of splendour or power. Any one free from bodily infirmity and disease, who has arrived at twenty years of age, and who is willing to submit to the rules of the priesthood, may become a member of the order. But he can relinquish the clerical character at pleasure; and even whilst he retains it, his office much more resembles that of the regular than of the secular priests in a Roman Catholic country; and let him choose to renounce his vow of celibacy, or take the life of any animal,* or even "extol himself 'as a saint, or a person endowed with any preternatural gifts,'" and his priestly character is forfeited. "The priest who, 'prompted by ambition, falsely and impudently pretends to have

* The prohibition to take away life is binding only on the priests, though they are at liberty to eat whatever is offered to them. The laity may use animal food, but it is thought meritorious to waive the permission. In this as in other respects the rigidity of the ancient faith has been relaxed. ❀

‘ obtained the extraordinary gifts of *Zian and Meipo*, or to have
 ‘ arrived at *Nirvana*, is no longer a priest of the divine order. To
 ‘ what can he be compared? In the same manner as a palm-
 ‘ tree, cut through the middle, can never be rejoined, so as to
 ‘ live, in such manner shall this ambitious priest be unworthy
 ‘ of being esteemed as belonging to the sacred order.”* As a class
 they are influenced by none of those selfish motives which influence the Brahman in relation to the Sudra, and the priests of a purely catholic country in relation to the laity. The priest is from the people and of the people. No broad line of separation is drawn between the two; he has no strong motive to stand by his order, because his order have little to stand by; and whenever interest or inclination prompts, he can, without dishonour and without sin, abandon the tonsure and resume his place in secular society. Buddhist countries are at least free from one of the evils which more or less has troubled the peace of most civilized and semi-barbarous nations—the unreasonable and ambitious pretensions of the priesthood.

Of all false creeds, this is the least jealous and bigoted. Never has a sacred order guarded its usurped powers as have Brahmans against Kshetryas, Vaisyas and Sudras; nor ever has its iron heel been withdrawn; although fierce and frequent have been the contests between the rival castes and rival creeds of Hindostan. Mohammedanism, whenever it has come into contact with another faith, has given indications of a strongly defined intolerance; and that intolerance is seen in the hostility of Sunnite to Shiite, as really as in the law which dooms to death the Persian or the Turk who dares to exchange the faith of the Crescent for that of the Cross. And Romish intolerance has seldom foregone a favourable opportunity of pressing forward its proud claims, even to the extent of conquest, imprisonment, and death. But Buddhism is essentially tolerant and mild. Even in the days of its youthful vigour, when it could command the power of Hindu kings, its thirst for propagandism was displayed only through the medium of embassies and preaching; nor since then, in its diffusion amongst the numerous nations and tribes of South-eastern Asia, has it resorted to violence or shed blood. Its internal variations give rise to none of that party spirit and virulence which too frequently disgrace the sectaries of other creeds, nor is it inclined to meet aggressors with the stern hostility of Moslemism, or the compact passivity of Hinduism. It is true the Chinaman will reject Christianity, but his natural exclusiveness has much more to do with the act than either his strong love for his

* The *Kammua*, a Burmese book, relating to the ordination of priests.

own system, or his abstract dislike of the religion of the foreigner. On this account, we feel convinced that, if political jealousy could be overcome, Buddhist countries would offer the most favourable spheres for the exertions of the Christian Missionary; and we should see the lofty principles of our holy faith received with a facility, compared with which all modern success would seem to be insignificant.

This latitudinarianism, we must remark, is far removed from high-principled liberality of sentiment. The Buddhist is so tolerant, because he is so indifferent. He cares little about opposing other religions, or the sectaries of his own, because he is destitute of all strong convictions and sympathies for the faith of Guadama. It does not come to him as a revelation of unspeakable love and mercy, as a much needed message of peace from the Sovereign of all worlds; it is rather the belief of certain facts in relation to invisible beings and the theory of the universe, with which he has little or no concern; it excites his dread, but it cannot call forth his love. Vague, dreamy, ungenial, and dreaded, it is like poor Geneva:—

Wild, pale, and wonder-stricken, even as one
Who staggers forth into the air and sun,
From the dark chamber of a mortal fever,
Bewildered, and incapable, and ever
Fancying strange comments in her dizzy brain
Of usual shapes, till the familiar train
Of objects and of persons passed like things
Strange as a dreamer's mad imaginings.

The *intense individuality* induced by this faith necessarily leads to *selfishness*.

The Buddhist has no strong inducements to love any beings in the universe, or to sympathise with them. There is no connecting link, either of love, gratitude, or duty, between him and superior intelligences; whilst not one element of his creed tends to identify him with his fellow-men. It reveals no grand and comprehensive truths to awaken the hopes or the fears of the world. It is a thing not for humanity, but for man. It ignores society, much in the same way as though we were to think of the world, not as a wonderfully beautiful combination of parts forming a perfect whole, but as a mass of distinct atoms; and just as such a view would indicate the want of all appreciation of what is philosophical, beautiful, and comprehensive, does Buddhism display its inability to understand humanity, either in relation to its wants or its aspirations. Its only attempts at generalization are when constructing theories of the physical universe; and here it is as absurd and false as Hinduism. But it deals not with any broad views of truth, and the application of truth to the existing conditions of mankind. We might, indeed, almost say that it makes no pretension

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to be an authoritative revelation from God to man, and *that its* only claim to be called a religion springs out of the *fact that* each individual man feels it absolutely incumbent on him to do something, not because it is morally right, but necessary to secure his own happiness. It teaches nothing of the relations subsisting between God and man,—the designs of creation—the principles of the divine Government—the manner in which all events must ultimately work out the highest glory of the infinite God, and the largest amount of good to His creatures ;—and thus it necessarily follows that some of the truths most calculated to elevate the mind, to enlarge its conceptions, to teach it to think worthily and lovingly of God, to draw out its sympathies toward whatever is holy, divine, and true, are altogether ignored by this cold and selfish system. It follows of course that the Buddhist is as destitute of benevolence toward man as he is of love toward God. There is nothing in his creed to call forth strong sympathy in their behalf. It forms in him the pernicious habit of viewing himself exclusively as an individual, and thus it induces a frigid calculating selfishness, most prejudicial to all that is kindly, generous, and expansive in our nature.

We know nothing so admirable as the manner in which a gracious Providence prevents man reaping to the full the effects of wicked and false principles. Whilst such principles most certainly indicate by their consequences, that they are under the ban of divine justice, the way in which the Moral Governor counteracts their worst effects is no less indicative of his pity and love. The ideal of Hindu society could not be realized. The communistic arch formed on such a model would fall to pieces ere it were finished. The necessary conditions of human society are incompatible with entire and universal wickedness. A large amount of the good man does to his fellow-man, springs out of motives in no respect characterized by benevolence. The Buddhist abstains from evil, not because it is evil, but lest his entrance on Nirvana should be retarded. His faith is ever appealing to his self-interest; and therefore we find that it is negative rather than positive; it tells him much less of what he should do than of what he should not. And thus it happens that Buddhist society is characterized neither by great virtues nor great vices. It is a stranger to that benevolence which produces the former, whilst its self-interestedness leads to the latter. It is moderately bad, because it cannot be magnanimously good, and dares not be recklessly wicked.

The *peaceful tendencies* of this system are among its most striking characteristics.

For centuries there has been less war in South-eastern Asia than in any other part of the world. The terrible struggles which have disgraced and devastated, not only Africa, America, and Western Asia, but even civilized and professedly Christian Europe, have no parallel in the farthest East. Among such a variety of nations, continual peace of course is not to be expected. We, in India, who live under a Government which is almost always at war, and yet always wishing for peace, may well understand how various events may precipitate hostilities among nations who delight not in them. What is to be expected then among such nations is, that wars will be infrequent and speedily brought to a close; and this we find to be the case. The weakness of a reigning dynasty, the oppressions of a cruel tyrant, the smiling verdure of a well-cultivated province, wrong unrepented of, and insult followed by haughtiness, will of course tempt the powerful, the ambitious, the needy, and the down-trodden, to take up the sword and the spear; and yet the comparative infrequency of war can only be accounted for by admitting that there is some strongly counteracting cause.—A creed which, more than any other, holds all life to be sacred, cannot but discourage the shedding of human blood.

The mildness induced by Buddhism leads to this peacefulness, and the “love of order” peculiar to it, tends in the same direction. It is essentially conservative, and therefore inclined to mould society into such a form, as that it shall exist free from violent shock and change. China affords the best illustration of this. Its philosophers assert, that a principle of “order” is every where discoverable in the arrangements of the world; and that this principle should be the object both of our reverence and of our imitation. And the operation of this idea is seen everywhere. Even the conception of Government and society is based on it; the emperor professedly sustains a closer relationship to his people than any other Asiatic prince. He is the head of the state, for its sake, not for his own; and throughout all the departments of Government, and all the orders of society, it is manifest that a *principle*, rather than a *will*, presides.

The tendency of Buddhism to *deaden the intellect* demands a more extended notice than we can now give.

It represses the mind within a very limited range of ideas. It is favourable neither to strength nor energy of thought. Subtle speculation, the dreamy play of the fancy with metaphysical abstractions, contemplations which lead to no practical result, are what the Buddhist delights in. His faith acts upon him like a strong narcotic. The half-despairing, indolent,

sensuous language of Tennyson's "Lotos Eaters" is strikingly expressive of the Buddhist's aspirations :—

Let us alone. Time driveth onward fast,
And in a little while our lips are dumb.
Let us alone. What is it that will last ?
All things are taken from us, and become
Portions and parcels of the dreadful past.
Let us alone. What pleasure can we have
To war with evil ? Is there any peace
In ever climbing up the climbing wave ?
All things have rest, and^d ripen towards the grave ;
In silence ripen, fall, and^d cease ;
Give us long rest, or death, dark death, or dreamful ease.

Under such influences, the intellect could not be expected to flourish. It has never been creative and suggestive. Genius has not been one of its attributes. This faith has produced fewer great minds than any other. Even Hinduism can boast of no mean array of poets and philosophers, whose names have lived long, and will survive through many a future age ; but Buddhism has hardly a single name which suggests aught that is great and good. Perishable as the vegetation of an Indian jungle, its generations have successively sunk into oblivion, leaving no memorial behind them. They present to the sad gaze, nothing but a dead level of mediocrity. Since nearly all onward movements are led by superior minds, which alone seem to have the power of originating and directing them, we find that Buddhist nations, being destitute of such minds, have made no progress. Their civilization has been both peculiar and limited, nor will they ever be able to stand conspicuous among the great family of nations, until they discard the dreamy sceptical faith which has so long been their bane.

The facts we have just stated will be all the more striking, if we remember the manner in which this faith glorifies the intellect. "The one infallible diagnostic of Buddhism is 'a belief in the infinite capacity of the human intellect.'" The very signification of the name it gives to deity is "Supreme Intelligence." And yet it has not caused the intellect to grow. Nowhere, perhaps, is there less intellectual life than where it is dominant ; it is like the enchanted prince of the *Arabian Nights*, "a dead man among the living, and a living man among the dead." Whilst it is incompatible with a state of barbarism, it is clearly incapable of elevating mankind to a high state of civilization. The nations who honour Guadama, whose chief characteristic is intelligence, have for centuries made no progress. Perhaps one great reason why the King of Heaven has permitted this system to exist for so many ages, is to give a fresh illustration of the fact, that "the world by wisdom knows not God."

- ART. III.—1. *The Administration of Justice in Southern India.*
By John Bruce Norton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Madras, 1853.
2. *A Scheme for the Administration of the Government of India.*
By George Campbell.
3. *Selections from Public Correspondence, published by the Governments of Bengal and Agra : by the Home Department of the Government of India, and by the Board at Lahore.*

ENGLAND is a great country. She is great not merely in what she has done, but even in what she has left undone; great in warlike traditions, historical associations, commercial enterprise, and peaceful triumphs. She is great too even in her very faults, and in the vices which have inevitably been generated by a long course of progressive civilization. Every genuine Englishman has settled down into a comfortable belief of this kind. An axiom which has been repeatedly thundered forth on the hustings, within the walls of Parliament, and at convivial entertainments, which has been transmitted over the whole world by the press and retailed by the fireside, is not likely to be assailed, in its main points, by any one but a discontented or factious demagogue. The true greatness of England, her unbounded wealth, her social system, her well-balanced constitution, the reverence of her citizens for law, order, and discipline, the liberty blent with obedience, and the equality which is not incompatible with privilege—all this, within the last five years, has repeatedly drawn forth the undisguised admiration of statesmen in and out of place, of chiefs out of war, and of stranded exiles. There can be no reasonable doubt in the minds of all educated Englishmen of a fact so gratifying to the national pride, as the moral and social greatness of England. Still, for a captious observer, who wished to prove all our grandeur a sham and a delusion, it would be no difficult task to make such a selection of national blots and fundamental errors, of gross vices in the very frame-work of the machine, of moral diseases tainting the very atmosphere and poisoning the life-blood, of crimes created by the legislation or by that law of society which is more powerful than any written code, as should fill the mind of every politician with apprehension, of every calm and observant Christian with awe. A Ledru Rollin, a Louis Blanc, even a quiet and dispassionate writer, with property in the three per cents, in no anxiety for either his personal comforts or his daily meal, would have not far to cast a glance, ere he would find ample materials for the composition

of a long work on the moral and political evils of England. Some such reflections as the following would, we think, naturally occur to such an enquirer. The boasted representative system of England, besides being founded on no reasonable principle, is productive of the greatest debasement of the electing body. Not an election occurs which is not marked in some parts of the kingdom by intimidation, false swearing, open bribery, and drunken revelling ; in others, by outrages on property, bloodshed, and loss of life. At Elections a perfect Pandemonium of evil passions is let loose on earth. Turn to the Laws, and you find the Court of Chancery one tremendous machinery of oppression, for the enrichment of lawyers, the ruin of widows and orphans, and the impoverishment of fine estates. Novels have been written to show up this frightful oppression, and it is only after a century or so that any remedy has been provided. As for the boasted order and legality that prevails in the streets of the metropolis, and the good spirit which regulates the morals and manners of the lower orders, it is well known that no body of men, brought together for any purpose, have been capable of such unreasonable acts of folly, such capricious vengeance, such savage Vandalism, as an English mob : nor is it less certain, that no police annals in the world can show such instances of brutality exercised on weak, helpless, and unoffending women, by their husbands or their paramours, as those of the London police courts. Duelling, a practice condemned by human and divine laws, and utterly unknown to the classic nations of antiquity, has just sunk into disuse, and that more from the dread of ridicule than from any reasonable abhorrence of the crime ; while prize-fighting is still maintained, and even patronized by men who affect to read of the combats of Gladiators with undisguised pity, and who would not go to a bull-fight in Spain. But legislative evils, the severity of the criminal code, the game laws, the Court of Chancery, defects in representation, degrading pursuits, and occasional frantic out-breaks of violence, all sink into nothing when we cast a look on the vice and misery, the filth and destitution, which infest our great cities, and most of all, the metropolis. In no age of history, in no country in the world, have luxury and wretchedness, low vice and elegant cultivation, ignorance and learning, grandeur and debasement, been brought together in such fearful, such undisguised, such perilous proximity. Within half an hour's walk of the West End of Town, where civilization is daily prodigal of its choicest gifts and its latest discoveries, there exist to this hour dens of misery and nurseries of vice, which the pure breath of

heaven never ventilates, on which the bright sun never shines, where the voice of useful instruction is never raised, where the rudiments of moral and religious education have never been set forth. With the exception of a few philanthropic individuals, whom no difficulties can daunt, not a tenth of the upper classes have the faintest conception of the loathsome atmosphere which hundreds of their poor countrymen are breathing, of the vile food they are condemned to live upon, of the moral contamination to which they are hourly exposed. These poor creatures have been cradled in want, nurtured in pollution, and at last introduced into the world by infamy. The powers of language may be taxed in vain to re-produce, in its true colours, this startling antithesis. It gives the lie to our civilization: it contradicts the story of our greatness: it stands foremost in the catalogue of national sins: and it will be sure, in the end, to bring a tremendous retribution on the heads of those who, generation after generation, can look idly on this hateful inequality of Dives and Lazarus.

Any candid reader will easily anticipate the reply which would be made to a tirade of this sort. It is simply this. Great events, great systems, must be looked on as a whole. All partial and distorted views are to be shunned. If the results of the last century of our national history prove that civilization has made sure and solid progress in all material subjects—if social evils are no longer kept out of sight, but are enquired into, analysed, and, in part, remedied—if statesmen feel conscientiously, that though much has been accomplished, much more remains to be done, and that the problems of education amongst the poorer classes, and the purity and cleanliness of great towns, are to be boldly grappled with—then, we say, the verdict to which the England of the nineteenth century is entitled at the hands of posterity, will be one not merely of cold and formal acquittal, but of undisguised admiration and praise.

And the same candid readers, who will turn from the spectacle of England's greatness to that of England's most splendid dependency, will, by the same reasoning, arrive pretty nearly at the same results. The rule of the Company must be judged of as a whole. If that rule has been attended with increased agriculture, commerce, and traffic—if there have been no periodical outbreaks and no deep under-current of disaffection—if the science of governing a huge population of aliens has been better understood—if administrative talent has pushed its enquiries into most branches of the public service—if private speculation has been more freely encouraged—if, at least, one or two Presidencies can point to successful results in

almost every department of the state, to which the history of other dependencies can supply no parallel—if taxation is light, education is encouraged, free discussion not prohibited, and reforms are gradually introduced, we submit that the Government of India by the Great Company must, in spite of delays and blunders, be spoken of, not in terms of qualified praise, still less in those of violent censure, but in the language of positive panegyric. And we venture to maintain this position, though justice be still tardily or imperfectly administered, though communication or postal arrangements be still far from satisfactory, though we eat salt under a monopoly, and see all posts of emolument or eminence reserved for an exclusive service! Take any administration in the world, hold up its errors, declaim on its sins of omission, carefully exclude all mention of the difficulties it has encountered, the chasms it has bridged over, the perils it has shunned, and those it has boldly met, and the result will be a picture of hideous administrative deformity. A very moderate acquaintance with the art of vituperation will do this. But we shall hope in this paper to look at things as a whole, and to advert to some of the main points in the Government of India, which are fairly the objects of censure and of praise. The judicious and dispassionate reader will then form his own conclusions.

A glance at the past external relations of the Indian Government may not be ill-timed here. The various wars, in which we have been engaged since the passing of the last Charter, the arguments on which they are to be justified or condemned, the reasons for which they were undertaken, and the results to which they have led, are too familiar to every reader to require any prolonged discussion. No one now doubts that the little war in Coorg—Lord William's sole warlike undertaking—was a necessary and just measure, or that the Affghan campaign was a gigantic error from beginning to end. Even the Scinde spoliation is not without its defenders, while the moderation of Lord Ellenborough, in the campaign of Gwalior in 1843, from whatever motive it emanated, has left us morally and politically little or nothing to regret. The Sutlej and Punjaub campaigns can be spoken of by the soldier with approval, by the statesman and administrator with exultation, and by the severest moralist without one condemning word. We may say in short, that all the wars undertaken within the last twenty years, with one exception, have been either politic, or imperative, or just. The Affghan expedition alone, to use the fine metaphor of Burke, hangs like "one black cloud" in the distance, on which present and

future generations may gaze with awe. No one can have read the two picturesque and animated volumes on the War in Afghanistan without feeling that he has perused the account of one of the most solemn and instructive retributions that the world has ever witnessed. No such event has inspired the historian, with the exception of the Moscow expedition of Napoleon, since the days of Roman supremacy. The surrender of Stanhope at Brihuega, of Burgoyne at Saratoga, are nothing to the impressive moral of the Khoord Kabul. That catastrophe comes upon us at a distance as the slaughter of Varus and his three legions in the forests of Germany must have come on the Court of Augustus. In all that history there runs a deep and solemn feeling of an impending Nemesis, like that which pervades so much of the delightful narrative of Herodotus, the most simple-minded, the most truthful, and not the least moral of ancient writers. It would have formed a grand subject for a Greek Trilogy, in the hands of those who were the preachers, as well as the poets, of antiquity. The first play, we think, would have ended in smoke and exultation, in the capture of citadels and the occupation of towns, amidst the pæans of elated soldiers, and the lamentations of a *chorus* of helpless women. The second drama would have been the Agamemnon of the Trilogy. We should have had the deceitful calm before the outbreak of the tempest, the smoothness of the torrent before it dashed itself over the precipice, the stillness that precedes the conflict of two mighty armies. The opening scenes might have suitably been marked by the ill-grounded vaunts of the conqueror, and by the Cassandra-like denunciations of some prophet of evil, who could discern, in the bright calm of a summer's day, the black whirlwind forming on the horizon. On a sudden the storm cloud would have burst, the vengeance would have been exacted, and the curtain would have fallen on massacred leaders, a soldiery perishing with frost, triumphant barbarians, and women and children threatened with hopeless captivity. The third play would, of course, have brought with it the salve to national vanity, and the standard of the invading army would have been planted once more in honorable triumph on the enemy's towers. The whole Trilogy might have concluded with its appropriate moral, written in such large letters as that he who runs should read, and the messenger who recited at the City of Palaces the particulars of the long expected victory, would conclude with a prayer to Heaven against the recurrence of any more such triumphs, so dearly purchased, and so long delayed.

We live too near the scenes about which we are writing, and

in too unpoetical an age, to enter fully into the spirit with which the old tragedy would have infallibly dealt with such a subject. But the moral to statesmen and administrators, to Boards and Presidents, to directors and councillors, should be as plain as that of a child's story book, or as one of *Æsop's* fables. As however, the Honorable Company have been acquitted of all participation in the origin of the war, and the onus thereof has been taken by one of the former Presidents of the Board of Control, we have no wish to linger any more on this subject; and we turn readily to those points on which the success of the internal administration of the country cannot be denied.

It is easy to point to a dozen different things which the Company have not done: to a judicial system which stands in need of much improvement, to roads (which have not been laid down, to bridges unbuilt, to cities unpurified, to life and property left insecure, to an absence of vigour or of celerity in the administration, to the want of any well-organized system which, starting from a central point, might ramify and extend itself to the furthest limits of the empire. To some of these acknowledged deficiencies, we shall advert in this paper; but we shall commence first with a brief enumeration of the subjects in which the Governments of India have, beyond all detraction or gainsaying, managed matters wonderfully well.

The direction in which our observation is first turned, is that of Agra. It has of late been customary to point to this as a sort of model-farm in the East. And certainly, no large landed proprietor, desirous of showing off one of his best-managed estates to some inquisitive foreigner, could make a more fortunate selection. Whatever has been done in this quarter, it is the work of the Company's servants alone. No third-rate statesman from England, no superannuated diplomatist, ten years too old for his work, has been striving, in the stereotyped phrase, to develop the resources and to promote the welfare of the country. A Governor, who has risen from the ranks, if we may use the expression, has for nearly ten years been quietly and steadily prosecuting his enquiries in every department of the service, and following up enquiry by immediate and vigorous action. To say that a revenue settlement has been completed, that boundaries have been adjusted, that records have been carefully arranged, is hardly to convey an adequate idea of the extent to which a great measure of this kind binds up together the interest of the governed and the rights of the state. It has freed a host of small proprietors and tenant cultivators from uneasy fears; it has, in the agency of Putwarries or village accountants, provided checks against the frauds of the

dishonest or lazy cultivator, and the oppression of the unscrupulous landlord; it has given the population some interest in the apportionment and the realization of revenue, which is not self-assessed, because voluntary taxation is a thing of which Orientals have no possible conception; it has shut the door against a vast deal of illegality, and has shortened litigation; it has recorded just rights, curtailed unfair privileges, and substituted for chance or uncertainty, regularity, method, and plan. At the same time, and under the same auspices, a determined attempt has been made to improve indigenous education, to supply better books than the existing vernacular literature possesses, to send qualified visitors to look after the village Dominie, and to carry out, what we believe to be a sound maxim, that, in order to elevate a whole population, you must visit them in their huts, speak and write in their language, cast up with them their primitive accounts, observe their unpolished modes of mutual intercourse by letter, and practically acknowledge that the system of education to which thousands of ryots and small farmers have for generations been accustomed, cannot at once be summarily displaced for a cultivated literature and a foreign tongue.

As regards public works, the Jumna canals, the great Ganges canal, and the Grand Trunk road, are monuments, of which any European Government at this day might be proud; and in every district, communication has been facilitated, partly by a fair expenditure of the public revenue, and partly by an improved working of the Ferry Fund Committees. The postal arrangements, hitherto perhaps the weakest and most faulty branch of the Company's system, have, in the North-west Provinces, been placed on as satisfactory a footing as the resources of the department would allow, and the whole of the administrative machine has been repeatedly overhauled, repaired, oiled, and set a-going under the practised eye and the strict scrutiny of a Governor, of whom it has well been said that he can tell at a glance the particular duty of every officer subordinate to him, can mark in a moment the often imperceptible line which separates one department from another, and can say what is reasonably due respectively from the Commissioner and from his head clerk, from the Collector and from his Tahsildar, and from the Magistrate and from his Thannadar. A revenue settlement, to which those of Shir Shah and Akbar were inferior in care of execution, in lightness of assessment, and in breadth of design—a system of education which commences at the right end—a liberal expenditure in remunerative and beneficial works—communication between distant parts gradually

improving—a police which has totally eradicated some crimes and severely checked others—a supervision which detects evil only to remedy, and merit only to reward. If these things are not indications of a wish to govern every part of this empire with a view to the real good of its inhabitants, or for India herself, as the phrase is, we do not know what form it is expected those indications should assume, or how they should be practically shown in action. Admitting that there is yet much to be done even in the North West Provinces, especially in the departments of civil and criminal justice, will any dissatisfied individual, or Association, or Committee, or general philanthropist, pretend to say, that he or they would have governed a kingdom any better than Mr. Thomason has governed Agra? And will any candid third person say, that they would have done it one-tenth part as well? The obvious inference to be drawn from the above statement, every part of which is capable of instantaneous proof, and which, by all dispassionate persons, has never been doubted, is, that when the other presidencies shall be placed, as far as their relative circumstances will admit, on the same footing as Agra, shall be presided over by similar ability, and be backed by the same support—the results in each case will be those gratifying ones which we have endeavoured briefly, but decisively, to set down above.

A still more gratifying task, a more expansive theme, awaits the writer, who should attempt to chronicle the administration of the Punjab. In our Number for April, while relating the events of 1852, we endeavoured to review a few of the measures by which the defunct Board at Lahore have provided for the security of life and property, for the realization of the revenue, and for the increase of cultivation and the security of traffic in that naturally fruitful land. At some future date we may describe, with greater detail than has as yet been attempted, the remnants of the system which Runjit Sing had established, and the introduction of another, by which the old regime has either been improved or supplanted. We are sensible, too, that an account may be received with distrust, which is confined to assertions, which takes the facts for granted, which deals not with long statements of figures, and exhibits no statistical returns. But in estimating the character of the Company's administration, it is impossible not to give a very prominent place to the Punjab. Into the brief space of four years have been crowded a variety of reforms and improvements, which in other presidencies have been sparingly scattered over a quarter of a century. All the errors of past administrative experience have been avoided: all the lessons learnt by practised

hands, in the earlier stages of our ascendancy, have been acted on : all the latest appliances, all the standard maxims of good government, have been widely and unhesitatingly introduced there. What has been the goal only just attained, after long and cautious plodding, in other provinces, has been the starting place in the country of the Five Rivers. Whatever had been laboriously devised in order to simplify justice, to quell crime, to improve jail discipline, to facilitate the collection of revenue, to anticipate disputes, to record rights, to unite distant tracts, to provide against future emergencies, whether arising from material or moral causes, has been at once, in its integrity, adopted in the Punjab. Matters such as resumptions, which in Bengal or Agra had been allowed to lie over for half a century, have been promptly enquired into at once. Such questions, which from never being agitated, have in other provinces lulled landholders and tenants into a deceptive security, and when agitated at length, have excited great discontent and not unreasonable apprehension, have been taken up already, and ruled on broad, comprehensive, and statesman-like principles. Trees have been planted, new canals have been dug, old ones have been cleared out, boundaries have been surveyed, mineral resources explored, rent-free tenures have been released or resumed, old servants of the Durbar have been paid up and discharged with gratuities, the crimes of Dacoity and Thuggee have been hunted out and well nigh extirpated, order has been established, the crook and the coulter have literally displaced the spear and the sword. We give every one of the above assertions as absolute facts. We know not where else to look, in order to find a parallel to this metamorphose, from riot to tranquillity, to peace from misrule, that has taken place in India, before our very eyes, over the plains of the Punjab. All the dreams of the fondest enthusiast have been well nigh realized, all the practical results anticipated by the clear and comprehensive glance of "Economist," have been more than attained. It is in truth a marvel to see how a population, national in its sympathies, proud of its associations, and endowed with thews and sinews, with stout hearts and warlike hands, have quietly settled down to plough broad acres, to draw water, and to hew wood. The winds and waves, after the famous *quos ego* of Neptune, were not more suddenly pacified ; the angry bees are not quicker appeased *jactu pulveris exigui* ; the Highlanders, with sword and target, lining the living side of Benledi, sank not down more rapidly at the mere bidding of their chieftain. We shall not hesitate to apply to the tranquillization of the Punjab, the lines familiar to us from infancy, with this difference, that we trust the warriors of the Punjab have sunk down

never again to rise. The population was disarmed, as well by the literal fulfilment of a command to that effect, as by the tendency of the popular and just measure of a liberal assessment, devised with skill and applied with honesty of purpose. Lord Dalhousie, we say, had but, as it were, to wave his hand, and immediately—

Down sunk the disappearing band.
Each warrior vanished where he stood,
 In broom or bracken, heath or wood :
 Sunk brand and spear and bended bow,
 In osiers pale and *corpses* low.
It seemed as if their mother earth
Had swallowed up her warlike birth.
 The wind's last breath had tossed in air
 Pennon and plaid, and plumage fair ;
 The next but swept a lone hill side
 Where heath and fern were waving wide.
 The sun's last glance was glinted back
 From spear and glaive, from targe and jack,—
 The next—all unreflected—shone
 On bracken green, and cold grey stone.

We hope to take an early opportunity of comparing the past and present state of the five Doabs which consolidate our empire on the North West Frontier, and of supporting our assertions by statements of figures and greater details of facts. We shall endeavour to show how favourably situated was the Punjab for the reception, not of new-fangled theories, but of all that had been thoroughly tested by experience; how the absence of all system, and of all those complications which a regular or peaceful rule inevitably brings with it, enabled our administrators to commence work unfettered, on a clear and open field. For the present we shall conclude our remarks by saying, that such a great work as the pacification and settlement of the Punjab proves, to our thinking, not merely the expediency, but the absolute necessity of having a body of men, regularly and exclusively trained in the service of the state. A short time since one of the Calcutta papers pointed to the satisfactory state of things in the Punjab, as proving that a great measure, in a new country, could be easily carried out without an exclusive Civil Service, that is to say, by the aid of the superfluous or redundant talent which is supposed to be everywhere seeking for a competence, or for an opportunity of distinguishing itself. To those who know who *have been* the men to work out the wise measures proposed by the Head of the Government, or who have originated sound and wise projects themselves, such a remark will only excite a smile. No doubt, there are such officers as extra-assistants in the Punjab, either natives or qualified Europeans, or Eurasians, who, under proper drill and

supervision, have done very useful service. No doubt, such men as the late Mr. Carne and Lalla Mithun Lall are not to be got every day. But it is well known to any one who knows any thing at all of the subject, that the main and primary duties, the labour of organizing the subordinate departments, the drudgery of setting the machinery in action, of starting this plan, of guiding that reform, of drilling that corps of native functionaries, of controlling this agency—have been entirely the work of civilians or military men, who from long training have learnt the trade and science of civil business. The administration of the Punjab affords a clear and indisputable proof of the necessity of having a regularly graduated service, dedicated to one set of duties. In a dozen instances which we could mention, the civilians selected for the Punjab have had not merely to perform the common work of deciding civil and criminal suits, of assessing the revenue, and of looking after the police, but they have had to drill raw policemen, to educate half-educated thannādars, to make selections from hosts of eager but unqualified candidates, and to turn these unpromising selections into able and useful ministerial officers. There is no doubt that the Punjab work has been well done—and who have done it, but the civilians and soldiers sent there, in and since 1849? Thus, without intending to cast any slur on the uncovenanted branches of the Company's service, who in their several departments have been of much use everywhere, and are now actively employed in the Punjab, we have only to ask whether it is probable that chance-bestowed talents, if deprived of the *appui* and support of highly educated men, trained to their business, could have done what has been done within the last four years? We think not. We are of opinion, that without the energy and the talent which has characterised the exertions, especially in the settlement department, of such officers as Messrs. Davies, Prinsep, and Temple,—without the experience in the management of districts and jails, and the admirable method in police and conservancy matters, which has marked the labours of Messrs. Campbell, Saunders, Cust, and others,—without the energy and judgment of Lieuts. Becher and Lumsden, and Major Nicolson,—without the practised pen of Mr. Christian,—without the cautious supervision exercised by such commissioners as Messrs. Montgomery, M'Leod, Barnes and Edmonstone, and Majors Mackesson and Ross,—and above all, without the indomitable zeal, the large sympathies, the extensive knowledge, the fertile resources, and the honest perseverance of the two brothers, the Lawrences—without something of this sort, we say, all the

chance medley of talent, all the unemployed genius in India that could be got altogether by vice-regal proclamation, would have been as little competent to organize and carry out an effective system, as the British Indian Association is able to regenerate their countrymen, or the diatribes of party spirit are likely to deprive the Company's administration, in the judgment of posterity, of the praise and admiration really its due.

When we look around at independent native states, or at states with which we interfere as the paramount power, the moral effect of the Company's administration is more marked now than it ever was at any previous period. There is not a native prince internally independent, who does not seek as his primary object to secure the guarantee of the British Government for his recognition as the lawful representative of a Mahratta or a Mohammedan dynasty. The contrast between the internal administration of Oude or Hyderabad, and even the worst governed presidency under the Company, is too obvious for any detailed exposition; nor, indeed, considering the frightful misrule and anarchy prevalent in the former state, could any Indian administrator take much pride to himself for bearing away the palm in such a comparison. The petty states in Central India, while they collect their own revenues and punish their own criminals, owe to the British Government, in some cases, the preservation of their independence from the encroachment of some powerful neighbour, and in others, the retrieval of their credit from utter ruin during the minority of a young and inexperienced chief. There are dozens of small principalities in India, which, but for the strong curbing arm of the Company, would be swelling the train of adherents to some energetic ruler, or be wasted in endless warring with some aggressive neighbour. In Rajputana is seen the remarkable spectacle of a set of chieftains, who, though fallen in some respects from their pristine dignity, still exhibit much that commands sympathy, or excites admiration, adjusting their mutual differences at an International Court, and paying a tribute to the influence of reason and of law. The wildest and most savage races, neglected, persecuted, or ridden down, owing to the proud indifference, or the exterminating policy of Hindu or Mohammedan, have, under the guidance of British officers, enlisted in our armies, endured our discipline, and learnt the arts of civilized life. What has been done by Cleveland in the last century for the hill-men of Bhaugulpore, and by Outram for the Bheels, and by Dixon for the Mhairs in this generation, is not easily appreciated by those who look for the first time on the

mere results of their labours. If there is a set of savages to be civilized, a state that claims the fulfilment of engagements by another state, an old family to be saved from the money lenders, a young prince to be snatched from the hands of unprincipled hangers-on, an endless boundary dispute to be adjusted, a road to be laid out through several distinct principalities, merchants to be protected from the exactions levied on the wealthy caravan by each robber chieftain at a dozen different toll-houses, if any one great moral or material work is to be executed, the Company Bahadur must take the initiative and lend its aid, or that work will not be done. In a dozen instances within the last few years, from Scindia to Holkar, from the edge of the sandy deserts of Jessulmere to the states bordering on the Nizam, the aid and interference of the British Government has been sought and sued for on behalf of helpless infants, defrauded creditors, and injured queens. There is not a rich merchant, who has two or three small native states deep in his debt, who would not gladly submit all his claims to the arbitration of the Company, nor a dying ruler who would not joyfully make his infant heir the ward of the British representative, nor a wise minister, if such there be, who would not call in the surveyor and the settlement officer, to guide and assist him in the assessment and management of his little realm. The good that has been effected, in a quiet and unostentatious manner, by Residents and Agents at native courts, all over Central or Upper India, with their subordinates, in preventing exactions, in mediating between belligerents, and in protecting those who cannot protect themselves, is not half known at the Presidencies even in Indian circles. It may be fear on the part of native princes, it may be only that feeling which induced Attalus to make the Roman Senate his heir, it may be a simple tribute to the good faith and integrity of the British officer, it may be the force of circumstances, or "the force of character," but the existence of a feeling amongst native princes, which makes them have recourse to British protection on all occasions of moment, is a fact which is unquestionable. It has been the fashion with some writers of late to point to the absorption gradually of all independent states as a desirable consummation to the progress of our power in the East. Even the generally calm and unprejudiced judgment of Mr. Campbell seems to have been somewhat biassed by what we must term a fallacy. Arguments to defend such a policy are of course readily found. Our title in the East, it is said, is as valid as that of Mahratta, Mussulman, or Seikh. Our rule any day is a better one. The Paramount Power in every feudal

system is entitled to all lapses and oscheats. Wielding the universal sceptre, and collecting the entire revenues of all India, we should be enabled to remove the burden of taxation wherever it may be found to press heavily on our older subjects, and to disburse larger sums on great public works. We should enjoy the additional security derivable from the extinction of all nationality, and from the absence of any nucleus for the disaffected; and we should be strong with the strength which is conferred by universal supremacy, moral influence, and complete centralization. All this sounds plausible enough. But there are arguments on the other side. Putting aside all questions as to the political morality of such a doctrine, the lust of aggrandisement which it would argue, and the hardship with which it might be enforced in particular instances, and without stopping to enquire whether the British Government is really the feudal superior of every other state in India, it appears to us open to discussion, on the grounds of mere policy and expediency. Let us try and conceive the restless feeling that would be excited in the mind of every native ruler, if it were generally made known that the Company were quietly waiting to pounce on his ancestral property on the very first pretext! A disturbed frontier, a caravan plundered, the assemblage of a hundred unruly subjects, a childless succession, would of course be the signal for taking possession of the coveted prize. Then again, some territories are literally not worth the taking, though we should blush to see the question put and decided mainly by an argument of this sort. A good deal may be said, moreover, on the advantage of having two or three native states as a set-off to the *Anglo-Saxon* rule, for this is the term which has been repeatedly employed whenever an extension is considered desirable. If the native states are tolerably well governed, they may check the vanity of British administrators, and incite them to improve or perfect their own system; if they are ill governed, as they will be in four out of five cases, the contrast will be gratifying to all real philanthropists, to all, in short, except those who resolutely maintain that Hindu and Mussulman Ryots prefer the kicks and cuffs of one of their own creed or colour, to the formal or cold benevolence of an heretical foreigner. Some men may think, too, that before aspiring to universal supremacy in India, we had better consolidate our system in the old provinces; simplify what is complicated, purify what is corrupt, and infuse vitality into a dull or inert mass. Of course there may be instances when existing engagements, or dangerous proximity, or violence offered to our subjects on our own

frontier, may warrant the extension of the well-known *red line*. But these must be judged on their own merits, and meanwhile it may be a subject for congratulation, that there are still around us independent principalities, ready to absorb many of the restless elements that would otherwise be left to ferment within our territories, and to carry off yearly the scum and raff of a population, in whose eyes plunder is a profession and rapine is law.

The comparison between the Government of natives and that by foreigners, which has always been a stock subject for Indian writers, leads us to consider some of the points where the Company's rule, while it actually lasts, is never likely to gain credit. A mild and just Government, which subverts, or succeeds to an arbitrary or cruel despotism, will be honored and respected by the generation which enjoyed the happy privilege of comparing the two. But with the second and third generations, there will be, obviously, little credit given for what has *not* been done—for the torture that has *not* been wantonly inflicted—for the taxes that have *not* been arbitrarily raised—for the justice that has *not* been openly bought—for the privileges that have *not* been as openly sold. The unprejudiced writer, the benevolent sojourner, will draw his own conclusions, and, with a greater or less degree of complacency, will be thankful that his Government is not one of the axe, the rack, and the scourge. But the mass of the native population cannot always be expected to acknowledge this truth, and the vain and empty-headed specimens of half-educated natives *will not*. Were the Company's rule to cease to-morrow, the suffering ryot, the ousted zemindar, the frothy politician,—the last nurtured in English learning which is rarely practically applied,—would be the first to raise the sounds of wailing and woe. No one would then question the honest intent of the white men from beyond the sea. The inability to enquire with patience and to decide with care, the anxiety to grow rich by short and obvious methods, the dislike of accountability, the hatred of subordination and the impatience of law, which form the characteristics of the oriental temperament, would then be seen every where, would guide the minister as they now guide the individual, and would rule in the durbar and the court of justice, as they now prevail in the cottage, the bazar, and the halls of business. We will exemplify our meaning by an illustration, not entirely drawn by fancy, nor founded on isolated cases, but taken from numerous documents, which are authentic and of recent date.

Every one knows, that under native Governments it was, and

is still, a common practice to raise money by the grant of monopolies to individuals, or by farming out the collection of portions of the miscellaneous revenue of the state. Every one knows, too, that all extra cesses and all vexatious exactions for the purpose of swelling the general resources of the treasury, have under British rule been entirely swept away. Yet it is a common thing for petitions to be presented in Government offices, up to the present hour, by persons who pray for the revival in their favour of some obsolete tax, or for the establishment of some new duties which they alone shall be privileged to collect. We have seen repeatedly documents of this sort, compiled not by jungly or uneducated natives from wild or distant parts of the country, but drawn out in tolerably good English, by men resident in the heart of civilization and close to the City of Palaces. The petitioners pray, for instance, that an exclusive license may be granted to them to collect the old town or transit dues—to catch certain birds—to kill certain wild animals—to clear the land of rogues and robbers—to transport the public over certain ferries—to sell this or that article of merchandise. In every instance the petition is backed by the offer of a considerable *bonus* and of a yearly payment: the stipulations insisted on are that no other man living is to be permitted to interfere with the right of the grantee, by the exercise of any similar privilege for ten or twenty miles round, and the aid of the executive is to be freely given to maintain the fortunate holder in the sole enjoyment of his purchased rights. It is easy to anticipate that the Secretary, or the Governor, to whom these characteristic papers are submitted, reads them with a smile, and records them without an order. But what would have been the course followed by a native Government in similar circumstances? Hitherto we have only dwelt on facts: we may be allowed to presume the conduct of a native Vizir or Raj Mantri in dealing with such a prayer, under the rule of a Mohammedan or Hindu sovereign. The course, in all probability, judging from antecedents, would have been somewhat as follows. One day the Prime Minister, having received earnest petitions from some individual, backed possibly by the usual accompaniment, intimates to his royal master, that the funds in the treasury are running low—that the expense of the last festival, or the latest marriage in the palace, has been very considerable, and that he has hit upon an expedient to recruit the exhausted finances. It is proposed, accordingly, that to the petitioner aforesaid, who is a man of some substance and note, be conveyed the sole privilege of establishing a fish market within a certain space of some eight or ten

miles. The arguments in favour of this measure are then skilfully unfolded. The poorer people will be plentifully supplied with fish—the price of this necessary article of food will, of course, fall with the abundance of the supply—the designs of interested or oppressive individuals who compel the poor to buy in places remote from supervision, will be frustrated—population will be attracted to the spot—order will be preserved by the police—and in addition to all the above advantages, the royal treasury will receive a good round sum in hand now, and an annual increase hereafter. The king, too anxious to receive the money, and too careless to foresee or weigh the consequences of the measure, consents to grant the request. A royal firman or sunnud is drawn out, stamped and sealed, and duly delivered. It purports to empower the holder to have the exclusive privilege of selling fish to the native population, and exemplary punishment is threatened to all who shall venture to sell a fish of the size of a sprat anywhere else, to the wrong of the farmer. For some little time things go on tolerably well. The population grumble a little, but the police are on the side of power and possession, and no great inhumanity is practised. At length however rapacity is increased by success—intimidation and oppression are freely resorted to—the retainers and agents of the farmer, on pretext of loss to the bazar profits, commence plundering boats, dragging helpless Ryots from their houses, and compelling all who attend the bazar to buy fish at extravagant rates. Not a day passes without fraud and violence. For a time the population suffer and submit. One or two outbreaks of feeling take place, but these are quietly put down by the agency of a police, purchased by the grantee or directed by the minister; and the matter is dexterously represented to the king, as one where some disaffected individuals were conspiring to defraud the patentee of his just and lawful dues. At length oppression becomes unbearable: the people assemble *en masse*: and one fine day, the courtyard of the palace is filled with a multitude, excited almost to frenzy, and clamorous for redress. The minister, unable to appease the disturbance, or to explain its cause, stands speechless and terrified: a private enemy comes boldly forward, and exposes the iniquity of the whole transaction. The king rouses himself, for once acts with decision and vigour, and learns the whole history of the case from the mouths of the sufferers. Then comes one of those strokes of punishment, which, falling like a thunderbolt, dazzles the mob, sets forth the majesty of justice and the omnipotence of royalty, and appears to atone for months and months of previous oppression and cruelty! The unscrupulous farmer

and his guilty retainers are speedily sent for, and summarily dealt with: a wise man, Pundit or Moulavi, as the case may be, gives vent to some pithy saying from the Hitopadesh or Gulistan as to the duty of a sovereign: conviction follows on arraignment, and punishment on conviction. The head of the farmer is speedily taken off, and thrown out to the wondering multitude; half-a-dozen of his most nefarious agents are mutilated or imprisoned; the wicked minister is disgraced: and patents and patentees are at a discount for the next few years. The populace disperse, eulogizing the great and unsparing justice of the sovereign: all the events of the previous months are ignored: and tortured ryots, defrauded fishermen, boats ransacked, and plundered houses, are one and all forgotten in the decapitated farmer and the gracious king.

The probability of a series of events, such as we have just described, will be readily allowed by all readers of oriental history, as well as by all men who have had an opportunity of looking into the details of a purely native regime. Whether the knowledge be derived from the "cold medium of books," or from ocular observation, the same truth will be apparent to a discerning mind. But what is the moral which we would derive from such a tale? Not certainly that the British Government should have recourse to similar expedients for replenishing or augmenting the treasury, or that it should thus incautiously place power in the hands of natives eager to grow rich. The lesson which such tales should teach is that of the necessity of entering thoroughly into Asiatic feelings and Asiatic maxims regarding the delegation of power, the consequent abuse, and the inevitable result. The native minister or king, who overlooks the probable consequences of some financial measure, in order to reap its immediate fruit, will care little to apportion the degree of punishment to the amount of the crime, and will hardly enquire how far the evils which are to be remedied spring from his own neglect and carelessness. It is the essence of native rule that rewards should be disproportionate, penalties arbitrary, pardon capricious, and justice vague. It is the characteristic of a native population to remember more keenly the retribution that falls on the evil-doer, than the evil deeds which called that retribution down. One example of severity seems to wipe out a hundred crimes. The capture of a notorious free-booter, the execution of some Dacoit who has long been the terror of the country, will out-live the remembrance of the cattle that were harried, and the barns that were burnt. We have it on the very best authority, that the rule of General Avitabile in Pe-

shawur—a rule characterized by barbarities almost unknown to the Seikhs, and such as the pen refuses to chronicle—is still remembered there with admiration and awe. To govern a people actuated by these feelings, all this must be taken into account. We do not of course mean to recommend a resort to the quick and expeditious mode of dealing with criminals practised under Nawabs and Emperors; but in comparing the Company's rule with that which preceded it, we must bear in mind that the generations which dreaded yearly invasions from the pirate Mugs of Arracan, or from the Mahratta cavalry, have long passed away; that while the mass of the population enjoy immunity from irregular or arbitrary taxation, they are not in the habit of witnessing those rapid strokes of justice, or those undoubted evidences of a hand which is prompt to pursue, detect, and avenge; that in the districts round the metropolis, there is much normal crime to be dealt with; and that the predominant feelings amongst an agricultural population teach them, in times of excitement, to know no law but that of the passions, and in the day of oppression to welcome with blind and admiring ignorance, the rapid visitation that avenges them on their tyrants.

The consideration of these points leads us, not unnaturally, to the relative merits of the two systems established, in what are familiarly known as the Regulation and the Non-regulation provinces. It is a melancholy truth, that *some* of the best specimens of successful administration are to be found, not in the districts longest under our rule, but in those to which the bulky volumes of our code have not been made applicable, and which are governed by a few comprehensive, clear, and simple rules. We would desire to speak with caution on this point, because it will never do to assert sweepingly that justice is fully done, and law is well administered in all territories not under the Regulations, and that the more refined and complicated system, where circulars are issued monthly, and constructions of the law have swelled to volumes, has in every case been a dead failure. This style of rash assumption, this reckless generalizing from special instances, has of late been frequently and mischievously employed. The truth is, that precedents can be quoted on either side with much reason. The Government of Agra may be held up as the most successful specimen of the administration of a large country under Regulation law. The Punjab, on the other hand, will be pointed to by the advocates of a simple and unfettered system, as a proof of what can be done by it in four short years. The freedom of Mysore from crime, the growing prosperity of the province of Arracan, are instances on

the same side. But we could name two extra regulation provinces, where the mischiefs of *jus vagum aut incertum*, under young officers, deciding civil and criminal cases on their own notions of equity, have been worse than any caused by the technicalities or crochets of any Sudder Court or Board. A decision based on the law such as it is, but without common sense, may be not worth much; but a decision which has neither law nor common sense to recommend it, and which is directly opposed to another decision just passed on the same subject, in a neighbouring court, by another officer, is worth nothing. Yet of this kind have been many of the decisions passed in provinces not under the Regulation code, and dignified by the name of "natural law, law stripped of its technicalities, law springing from natural equity, and the good sense of plain-spoken men:" for it is by such deceptive reasoning that blunders and ignorance have been attempted to be veiled. We have known of one complicated case, in which no less than *forty* different orders, each one as irreconcilable with its predecessor as it could be, were passed by various functionaries in the course of ten or twelve years. And this was in a Non-regulation province, presided over by one of the most active and successful administrators that the ranks of the Civil Service could furnish.

The truth is, that the two systems are dealing with two different states of things. The non-regulation district presents simpler and more primitive features. Interests are there less complicated, and rights less prone to clash. A great deal has been done by personal conference and local enquiry. There has, perhaps, been less of correspondence, and much has been effected by the influence of the Commissioner or Agent, and his staff. Yet it would be absurd to say that a province under the Regulations, with all the complicated machinery of civil courts which increase and protract litigation, is not in a more advanced state than one where the revenue and the civil courts are almost identical, where justice is dealt out on a small code of rules, and where there is hardly such a thing as an appeal to the Sudder Court. It may be a very melancholy fact, that there is so much litigation in Bengal, that so much property is ruined, and so many fine fortunes are impaired, owing to endless civil and criminal suits. But is there no evidence of wealth and power in the mere fact that there is so much property that is worth contesting, and so many fortunes that can bear great expense? Again, take the outward aspect of the country. In many a Non-regulation province, the cry is for

sappers and pioneers to clear away the jungle, for the wood-man and the back-settler, who,

Silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum.

Nothing can be done, the local authorities will say, till large rewards are offered for the destruction of wild beasts, and the district officer can hardly visit particular localities, because he is not certain that he will find two days' supplies for the followers of his camp. On the other hand, many districts of Bengal and Agra, our readers will hardly require to be told, do not contain one single unproductive acre, and no individual can remember the time when a tiger was last seen or heard of. Then look at education, which after all is no bad test of real advancement, and see what is the case with nearly every extra-regulation province. The native officers, who are to compose the staff of the civil and criminal courts, *must* be brought from the older provinces. The dominie, who is to teach the youth of the locality at the school of the central station, must be summoned from afar. The men who are to measure boundaries, write orders, arrange records, take down evidence, and furnish reports, are not forthcoming within the limits of the new acquisition. Places would remain unfilled if we had to trust only to men born and bred on the spot. In time, perhaps, the natives of the new province will become capable of giving efficient aid; but for the first few years, recourse must be had to the "surplus talent" of older and more settled tracts. And thus men, who maintain that a new province, summarily dealt with under a few comprehensive rules, is far ahead of the older acquisitions in everything, *except education*: may perhaps forget that this very education is one of the surest indications of progress, and not the least mark of well-being. If education is to make better public servants, more useful citizens, more enlightened zemindars, then the territory where the demand for, and supply of, this valuable article is most abundant, cannot be absolutely standing still. He who has education on his side to point to, is not so very far behind in the race.

The truth appears to us to be, that it is unfair to compare two subjects which have no points of resemblance. There are many things in which a new province stands quite by itself. It has, probably, an uncleared jungle, a simple and scattered or a barbarous population, no great traffic, some amount of normal crime, and rights not very much entangled or confused. The complex and varied state of society in Bengal or Behar, or in the

North West Provinces, growing with the mere growth of time, and helped on originally by neglect on the one hand or some hastiness on the other, is too well known to require much notice. There are many things which we could not give to a new province, even were they desirable. But there are certainly some points in which the greater vigour, or the greater simplicity of such systems as that of the Punjab, could be given with singular advantage to Agra and Bengal. It is a desire of this kind which has led some writers to generalize too quickly, and to assert that a non-regulation province and its system should serve as a model to all others. Taken as a whole, the theory is simply impracticable. We cannot go back to the battle of Plassey. But there are some points, such as simplicity of procedure, the attendance of parties in their own suits, the abbreviation of long written proceedings, and characteristic vigor in the enforcement of law and police jurisdiction, in which the later acquisitions of the British Government in India have an undoubted superiority over their older sisters.

Do we then intend to assert that there are no serious defects in the composition of the Indian Government, that all the faults discernible in the administration are mere *isolations*, having no connection with each other, not proceeding from any want of system, not referable to any general failing, not likely to increase and multiply, and to give coherence and permanency to what is radically wrong? We assert nothing of the kind. There are one or two grand mistakes in our Indian system, and we intend to devote the latter part of this paper to the enumeration thereof. We have no great faith in the hundred and one plans which have been put forth within the last two years, with all the presumption of ignorance, with all the infatuation of conceit, with all the well-grounded confidence of talent, with all the tenacity of error, with all the honesty that love of truth and world-wide sympathies can exhibit, by individuals or associations, in order to re-construct or re-cast the entire existing machinery of Government. The greatest opponent the Company ever had, who prefaced by a patient study of years a series of attacks on Indian Government, unrivalled for their assiduity, their eloquence, and their zeal, distinctly admitted that he would never lend a hand for the destruction of any established Government, which was not absolutely incorrigible. Unfortunately men are to be found now, who forgetting this wise and judicious maxim, imitate Burke only in his errors, display his blind zeal without his splendid eloquence, adopt his exaggerated invective without his enlightened philosophy, and forget that the last sixty years, which

have taught the East India Company so many instructive lessons, should have taught their opponents as many more. Nor have we much faith in the capacity of politicians and philosophers to draw out permanent constitutions for the Government of any dependency or kingdom, without a careful observance of existing forms. The events of the last five years in Europe have taught all candid persons, that constitutions will not spring up at the bidding of some conjuror: you may create a franchise, but you cannot create the integrity which is necessary to its enjoyment: you may bid councillors assemble at a Board, but you cannot command sagacity in counsel and wisdom in debate: you may dignify an ill-poised system by titles the most alluring, associations the most historical, and precedents the most solemn, but you will not vivify an inert and inanimate mass with Prometheus fire, or recast the oriental temperament in the Anglo-Saxon mould. Those who seek to improve the Government of India, had better learn in what the existing institutions are susceptible of gradual reforms on sound principles. There is something almost amusing in the presumption of men who, blind to all that history can teach, would have us believe that nothing in the present arrangement is worthy of preservation or capable of expansion: that time does nothing to fuse or harmonize elements originally brought together, perhaps, on no scientific principles: that the past leaves no inheritance, experience conveys no warning, and contemplation gives no reward.

The first and most natural subject of enquiry appears to us to be this. Are the four, or, we may say, the five, Presidencies of India—for the Punjab is distinct from the rest—governed on one and the same principle, or on different ones? If they are governed by the same rule and method, why are they not at all in a similar state of progress? If they are not so governed, what are the results in each case? In theory, as far as the powers and responsibilities of the various Governments are concerned, they are all on a par. The Governors can expend the same sums on their own will and responsibility: they are subject to the same checks in every financial, political, or legislative measure: and they stand to the Supreme Council of India, with a few very trifling exceptions, on the same footing of intercourse by paper and supervision. Yet it is almost universally admitted, that the Government of Agra is ahead of the other Governments in everything that constitutes a sound, wise, and efficient administration. But if an administration be held to be better or worse, according as it may be nearer to or farther from the Supreme Council, then, by this

view, Bengal should be far ahead of every other Presidency: if, on the other hand, the influence of the Supreme Council is baneful, and it is a good thing to be exempt therefrom, then Bombay and Madras should be at least on a par with Agra. The truth would seem to be, that to secure a good executive system, it is necessary to have a man conversant with the affairs he is to direct, from the commencement: not one who spends his two first years in learning the elements of his duty and the routine of business; but a man who shall bring to the task a knowledge of the subjects likely to pass before him, in all their great and comprehensive bearings, if not in every one of their minute details. To such a man it will matter little whether the Supreme Council shall sit at his very doors, or a thousand miles off. We are aware that it is a common argument with members of the service, and residents generally at the other Presidencies, to complain of the distance at which the controlling power resides: of the minute and vexatious interference of what should simply have been a guiding and supporting power: of the little regard that is paid to repeated and earnest protests against the disproportionate attention that is lavished on the affairs of Agra and Bengal. No person, who has held ten minutes' conversation with any gentleman from Madras or Bombay, but will have been half-deafened with a protest of the above sort. On the other hand, it may be contended by the partisans of the existing system on this side of India, that the financial control is, after all, nothing more than what the Charter Act intended it should be: one, at least, of the minor Presidencies, it will be said, invariably shows a deficit of receipts compared with disbursements: in legislative matters, the representations of the local Governments are often taken on trust, and are not subjected to that minute and severe scrutiny, which awaits every proposal for a change of law emanating from Bengal or Agra: and, finally, it may be hinted, that in all great questions of social and internal progress, the written productions of Madras and Bombay reformers are not remarkable either for luminous condensation, cogent reasoning, or unanswerable force. This last objection may seem to narrow the point at issue between the two contending parties. The men of Bengal may, perhaps, object with some show of plausibility to a want of clearness in the statements, of precision in the narrative, of lucidity in the arguments of the distant Government; while that Government may turn round, and say that nothing can be clearer or more convincing to persons at all acquainted with the requirements of the remote Presidency, but that it is lost time and labour to endeavour to impress men

ignorant of local wants, terms, and peculiarities, with a vivid sense of their great and paramount importance. Without presuming to decide which party is in error, or who has the best of the argument, we may remark with Mr. Campbell, that one of the great hindrances to a comprehensive system in India, is the ignorance and apathy displayed by one Presidency in regard to another. This concentration on local topics, this *insouciance* to the wants of other distant spots, which has been vainly imagined to be peculiar to the Mahratta Ditch, exists more or less at every town and station in India. It was pertinently remarked by a gentleman, who wrote an account of a winter's stay in India, that every man appeared so occupied with his own district, that he could tell nothing of what was passing two districts off; and the result was, that no person could give a traveller in fault any satisfactory information about the road between Agra and Indore. This carelessness or abstraction, or pursuit of present objects to the exclusion of all others, is much more conspicuous when we come to the revenue system, or the criminal and civil codes of each Presidency. With the exception of a few persons, who endeavour to gain a general notion of the system in force in every department in the four Presidencies, the amount of each person's knowledge of anything but his own part of India, is literally nothing. There may be good reasons for this ignorance, but the fact is undeniable. Has a Bengal magistrate any distinct or adequate conception of the criminal laws as administered by a magistrate in the Deccan: of the powers with which the latter is vested: of the punishments which he, or the Mamlutdar, or the Patel, inflicts? Or could a collector in the North West Provinces explain the process of assessing and realizing the revenue in Coimbatore, or discuss familiarly the law of distraint there, or talk confidently on the modes of irrigation in Southern India. The style in which the subject is entered upon and gone through, and finally got rid of, when residents from two opposite sides of India meet and talk about the administration of their respective localities, is somewhat of this sort:—"The plan of encouraging the formation of and preservation of huge estates, or the consolidation of village communities, or the ignoring of every thing but the actual cultivator, (as the case may be,) is admirably suited to your part of the world, but it would never answer with us. We require one sort of machinery to work with and you another; you have a Board of Revenue, we have Commissioners and no Board; or (perhaps) you have a Board that is always stationary, while we have a Board that travels

‘ about, and we dispense with Commissioners ; you want good
‘ roads, we want extensive irrigation ; you must have embank-
‘ ments to keep out the water, and we require the same works
‘ to keep it in ; you concentrate the revenue and the magis-
‘ terial in one and the same hand : it is essential with us that
‘ they should be kept widely asunder ; all this, doubtless, is
‘ exactly as it should be : what is salutary in your case, would
‘ be destructive in ours : each province has its own particular
‘ wants, and they must be provided for in proper time and
‘ fashion, by those who know them best.” There is some deal of
truth in the last observation. But it is hardly too much to say,
that pre-eminent as the Bengal Presidency has been hitherto,
from its position, productions, roads, or extensive water carriage
supplying the place of roads, and financial importance, the
ignorance displayed by men of note at Madras and Bombay,
relative to all that pertains to the administration, is something
almost discreditable. It is not uncommon to find men at
either of the above Presidencies, ignorant of the fact that
Bengal Proper is not governed by the Supreme Council, and
to hear them talk of the Governor of Bengal, or the Deputy-
Governor, being assisted by his *Council* ! All this may be
partially remedied by Electric Telegraphs and Railroads ; but
in the meanwhile the absence of intercommunication between
Presidencies, the respectful distance at which Governors and
high functionaries keep from each other, and the entire want
of anything like hearty co-operation and generous rivalry, are
things which it is impossible to dispute or deny. And this
brings us to a point, which has been repeatedly discussed by
local writers, and has not escaped enquiry before the Committee
sitting on the Charter—the propriety of maintaining Councils
on their present footing at Madras and Bombay. We will set
down the remarks which have occurred to us on this important
question, without presuming to decide in favour of any one
particular course. Now it is indisputable that Councils are
not required at Agra or Calcutta for the Executive Govern-
ment there. No one has ever proposed that Mr. Thomason
should be hampered with a Council of two respectable gentle-
men. No one seriously thinks that Bengal would make one
single stride in advance, by any similar addition. All are
agreed that the addition of a Council here, or at Agra, would
only cause increased expenditure and delay, and perhaps
terminate in unprofitable discussions. The chief of an Execu-
tive Government here should be as free and unfettered as it is
possible he should be, consistent with a due sense of personal
and moral responsibility. But is it quite certain that Councils

are of no use in Bombay Castle or at Madras? On the contrary, much may be said in their favour. In the first place, though this is no powerful argument, it is contended that the Members of the Bombay and Madras services, being excluded from seats in the Supreme Council, have a right to expect one or two lucrative and important posts, as the reward of their twenty-five years toil. In the next, it is asserted, that the Members of Council are often of eminent usefulness and assistance to a new Governor, lately transferred from some Crown colony, and entirely ignorant of the wants of the Presidency which he is to govern. This assistance cannot be so well given by a Secretary, as an office of this sort does not vest its occupier with any open, direct, and acknowledged responsibility. A Secretary may advise, it is said, urge on a good measure, and remonstrate against an ill-omened one, but the part he may have taken one way or the other, will never clearly appear. He signs no minutes, he has no right to speak in debate, he can claim no privilege to record his opinion on paper. The personal influence exerted by him may be such as it is impossible to over-rate; but no one, removed from the *penetralia*, can appreciate its exact amount, or tell the uses to which it is put. Every thing about such an officer is shadowy, uncertain, dim. A Councillor, on the other hand, stands out whenever scrutiny is brought to bear on any delicate investigation, as a pillar of the state. He may be dumb or obsequious in the Council Chamber; he may write no long minutes, nothing may be seen of him, when a portentous Blue Book is published, except his name; no indignant remonstrance, no generous appeal, no luminous array of facts, no logical deduction from premises accurately surveyed, may bear his mark and precede his signature, but still he is there, in his proper place. Whatever may have been the measures of the Government, of which he is an unit, for good or for evil, he is rightly supposed to be a party to them all. The truth can be ascertained in a moment. If his voice has been that of assent, he will share the triumph or divide the opprobrium, reap the reward of infamy, or partake the favouring gale. If he has been the first to originate, or the foremost to help on a beneficent and wise measure, how great the satisfaction! If unshaken and dauntless, he has resolutely contended against a narrow or injurious policy, how honored his name! Moreover, in all ordinary deliberations, the experience and knowledge of detail possessed by such a councillor, and the calm impartiality which is exhibited by a man, who has reached the top of his profession and is proof against petty jealousies, may be of incalculable advantage. The weight of legitimate

influence in council of such a man as Mr. J. P. Willoughby, should not rashly be fore-gone. On the other hand, how could such a man as Sir George Clerk be the better for a Council? What is a necessary drag, or a fortunate adjunct to some second-rate Governor, who comes to recruit his shattered fortunes in India, or to some worn-out diplomatist, who ought to have been shelved at the passing of the Reform Bill, is a dead weight on the progress of a well-selected Governor, who thinks and matures, matures and carries out, conceives and executes, of his own hand. The result of our observations will not then justify us in asserting much more than this. It is a positive advantage for Madras and Bombay, of which the members of the Supreme Council naturally know the least, to have responsible councillors on the spot whenever the head of these Governments is a soldier, who can know but little of civil business, or a civilian, who has never made India his study. It is more than questionable whether the best man of the Presidency, a Munro or an Elphinstone, would not find the highest good of a Council to be mere harmlessness, and any activity on their part to be positive evil. It is quite certain that Councils are not wanted for Agra or Bengal. Beyond this we cannot go.

But out of the question just reviewed, arises another. It has been urged in behalf of Madras and Bombay, that they are neglected and injured, by having no representative in the Supreme Council of India: that an additional member from each Presidency would secure respect and attention for the claims of the absent: and that the denial of this reasonable request has placed two large portions of the empire at a great and unfair disadvantage. Those who contend for this measure, must of course be prepared to give up the four councillors now allotted to Bombay and Madras. A full Council at the subordinate Presidency, and a representation in the Supreme Council at Calcutta, cannot obviously be maintained together. Nothing could warrant the increased expense; nor, if a Presidency has a responsible individual to protect its rights, give prominence to its best interests, and back its claims, can the Governor or chief of the executive require anything more. Instead of calling on his colleagues at his elbow to support him with their influence in any cherished project, he will from Parell House or from St. Thomas' Mount be dispatching earnest missives to the representative of his Presidency at Calcutta, in order to secure his hearty co-operation and watchful care. But he can have no claim to the double help. If then the local Councils are to be abolished, and an additional member is to be sent to represent each Presidency at the metropolis, it is easy

to conceive that a host of practical difficulties may arise. The new members will of course occupy themselves mainly, if not entirely, with their own local grievances and rights, and will find in them ample materials for reflection and thought. A man of tact and energy, knowing the real wants of his Presidency, lucid in statement, powerful in reasoning, earnest in conference, untiring in exertion, might in such a position do a great deal of good. After a little time, his personal influence would, probably, procure the ready assent of the Governor-General in Council to any thing he might recommend. But what good could result from the presence of a superannuated veteran in such a body: and what harm might not be occasioned by the selection of a professional grievance-monger or a narrow-minded bore?

Then again, the Governors of Madras and Bombay must appear to some extent dependent on the exertions, and inferior to the dignity of the representative of their interests in the Supreme Council. If the Governor be an English selection, the success of his measures will be mainly affected by the co-operation, or otherwise, of the councillor at Calcutta. If the Governor be a Clerk or a Thomason, the case will be the same, or even worse, unless the Calcutta councillor be a Clerk or a Thomason also. And in any case it will be imperative, in order to secure the harmonious working of this new system, that the gentleman deputed to the metropolis to bargain for a fair hearing for his own Presidency, shall be a man not merely possessed of great energy, application, and tact, but shall be endowed with an amount of single-heartedness and honesty, and a freedom from jealousy and petty-feeling, such as in men of human failings and prejudices it is not always reasonable to expect. If a great measure is carried, will the local Governor or the Calcutta councillor reap the credit and reward thereof? Will no misunderstanding arise as to the particular share of either party in the business? Will there be no secret enmities, no quiet obstruction, no growing dislikes? And if good measures are postponed, and reforms come to a stand still, will not the local Governor tax the representative with lukewarmness, and may not the representative in his turn, unless he be wonderfully free from all local prejudices, departmental crotchets, and cherished fancies, be likely to throw the blame on the Governor for originating measures which deserve neither encouragement nor support? It is not rash to assert that difficulties of this nature must arise in such a scheme. We should much prefer to see enlarged powers conceded to such dependencies as Madras and Bombay: Agra and Bengal

being left to depend more on the *personnel* of their chiefs, and the readier access which such would have to "the ears of Cæsar." Or, to carry out a plan which has lately been introduced into the Bengal Government, with promise of the happiest results, why should not members of the Supreme Council, as at present constituted, visit each Presidency in turn, and make themselves master of the wants and requirements of the community? An active-minded man, by personal conference, a thing unhappily never much in fashion in India, and local investigation, might bring away, after a month's visit, a stock of information on what is required for the Deccan, or the Concan, or the Northern Circars, sufficient to remove all doubts as to the necessity of this reform, or the propriety of that new measure. There would be no room here for the indulgence of pet fancies and peculiar idols. Neither could there be any of that jealousy which is so apt to spring up between men interested in the same reforms at the same spot. The Supreme Council could hardly suffer by the occasional absence of one of its members, and the member deputed would certainly be the gainer by his trip. With sufficient previous experience on his own side of India to enable him to detect points of resemblance and points of difference in another system, pledged to no particular measures, bound up in no class interests, confined to no one set of views, with no early prejudices to warp, and no youthful partialities to mislead his judgment, a man deputed on such an errand might be the means of doing an immense deal of good; he would receive suggestions, and perhaps make them; see with his own eyes and hear with his own ears; learn more in this way in a week than he could by the perusal of all the bulky reports ever written, and be glad to forward measures, in the begetting of which he had had no share, but in the propriety whereof he entertained a well-grounded confidence. There may be objections to this plan, as to any other, but we think that the fairest chance of an improved general administration lies between some such measure as this, and the subordination of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies to the Home Government only, with exception to legislation, which would still be reserved for the Supreme Council alone.

It really appears to us that, in order to "do justice to India," the relations between the Supreme Government of India and the four Presidencies must be improved before any thing else can be done: either the powers of the local Government must be enlarged, and their dependence on the Government of India be lessened, or the connection between the two must be of

a kind to secure from the higher authority cordial co-operation and ready support. We may condemn and improve, alter and reform particular departments of the administration as we may, but the first grand requisite is a uniform, practical and comprehensive scheme of Government for each division of the empire. This, to our thinking, will be effected, not by the admission of natives to legislative councils, or by chartered debating clubs, but by a selection of real, trained, administrators to govern the minor Presidencies, under adequate support from the supreme controlling power, wherever that may be. When provision has been made for this first "crying want," we may then turn to the diffusion of sound education, to the extension of intercourse, to the undertaking of great public works, to the consolidation of codes, and to the improvement of the judicial system. We shall only be able to notice the last of these subjects in the present paper, our attention having been attracted thereto by Mr. Norton's pamphlet. But before saying any thing on this point, which at once attracts and repels, encourages and disheartens, we must give a little space to Mr. Campbell's scheme for the Government of India, which so many pens have noticed, and nearly every body has read.

Mr. Campbell, in a volume which will take its place among the standard works on the East, has shown us what we are in India at present; he now comes forward to tell us what we should be. He has described the events which led the way to our ascendancy; sketched the dissolution of empires, and analysed the component parts of native society; he has probed and laid bare a complex revenue system; discussed the finances, moralized on the habits, lectured on the laws that now prevail in the East. A residence of two years at Home has led him to view men and measures with an English eye, so that with his Indian knowledge still fresh, but with less of Indian prejudices, he has been at the pains to draw out an elaborate scheme for the future Government of this country. Whatever comes from Mr. Campbell, set forth, as it is, with the greatest perspicuity of arrangement, and in a clear and forcible style, must be worthy of attention, especially at the present moment; but we rather suspect that most readers will prefer Mr. Campbell dealing with Punches, expounding the agricultural system of the North West, and setting forth the motives by which native officials are actuated, to the same author when he sets about to construct "Senates" and "Courts of Experts," or whisks us away, in a breath, to a new capital of the East, on the top of the Himalayas. Mr. Campbell's brochure is divided into two parts, the first provides for a better Government at Home:

the second for a more effective administration in India. In all that the author says about the defects of the present Home Government; the double offices in Cannon Row and Leadenhall-street; the voluminous nature of the written proceedings; the obstruction to reforms, which is occasioned by a controlling power, which can only control, but never originates any thing; the vexation, drudgery, and humiliation through which men have now to wade, in order to attain a seat in the Direction; and the exclusion of the best men from the Court as at present constituted—in all this, all men, from Lord Ellenborough and the *Times*, down to the last unsuccessful candidate, are pretty well agreed. As the author intimates, there *must* be something vicious in a system, under which a Governor like Elphinstone will not canvass; a man like Mr. Holt Mackenzie can have no voice or share in the direction of Indian affairs; and an administrator like Mr. R. M. Bird can sit down, after the accomplishment of a magnificent work, like the settlement of the North West Provinces, with his matured experience and his unimpaired energies, to write himself *armigero* in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation, amongst the “obscure magistrates” of the county of Bucks. The remedy for all this is, in Mr. Campbell’s opinion, for Her Majesty’s Government to make nominations to a certain proportion of seats in a new Indian senate, from amongst persons of a certain service, and of definite Indian qualifications. But here we must permit the author to speak for himself. He says, page 39—

May it not be that, in a feeling of reaction from the abuses of the past, we run to the other extreme, of too much distrusting the Government? Do we not, in some degree, confound abuse of patronage in the creation of unnecessary offices and emoluments, or the omission of necessary duties for the sake of patronage, with its use in filling, under proper restrictions, in the light of day, and subject to the judgment of popular opinion, legitimate and necessary offices? Though most anxious to see a radical reform of abuses, I am conservative enough to wish for a strong Government; and it strikes me that Governments of the present day, far from having too much power, have too little; that they have, as it were, too little ballast; that the *ius*, as a matter of course, become gradually unpopular, and the wheel revolves more and more speedily. In this view, the exercise of *legitimate* patronage by the Government is anything but a disadvantage, and is the best safeguard against the creation and abuse of illegitimate patronage. You cannot altogether muzzle the oxen that tread out the corn. The only question is, how far the proposed arrangement is liable to abuse? Now, we must admit that *non-professional* appointments—those to which any one may be appointed—are still, even if not grossly abused, most frequently given away rather by personal favour than by merit; but wherever the choice is limited, and the candidates are known, in all professional appointments, I believe that public opinion is now an amply sufficient safeguard, and that gross abuse is rarely met with. Take all the higher legal, and I will even go so far as to say clerical appointments. Of

two qualified candidates for a judgeship, one on the right side may, no doubt, be generally preferred (and even this consideration is, I imagine, in some instances little attended to), but the appointment is never made matter of mere patronage, and never abused. Is there any recent case in which any Ministry have ever been even accused of wilfully making a bad judge? Have not even the bishops been generally respectable men, till they attained that elevation so dangerous to all human virtue? And great as is the patronage held by bishops, it is by no means indirectly exercised by the Ministry; bishops use their patronage for personal, but not for political objects. Might not Senators be nominated the same way as judges are nominated? From a limited profession, from persons who have served a certain time in that profession, and who can produce testimony of their efficiency, I would nominate a certain number of professional working Senators, and the appointments should be for life—or for so long as the incumbents are fit for the duties—and with a retiring pension. I would give two-thirds of the Senate a power of veto, or rather would require the concurrence of one-third in the election of a person named by the Crown in a *congé-d'élire*. It would follow that no one Ministry would have the appointment of all or of many Senators. When a vacancy occurred, the party in office would nominate; they might consider politics as much as they do in a judgeship; but even this is not probable, as Indians so seldom take part in politics. I hardly think that it would be a disadvantage if there was some additional stimulus to induce retired Indians to get into Parliament, and take a part there. If a very unfit person were nominated, he would be excluded by the Senate. I do, then, believe that such a mode of nomination would not be seriously abused in the present day, and that the services would be made available of many distinguished and efficient men, who are now excluded from the Direction. It must be remembered, in addition to other arguments, that, as I would very much reduce the value of a Senator's patronage, and would not make the salary high, there would be much less temptation to job the appointment away. It is urged that public opinion would not tell with the same force on Indian professional appointments as on appointments from professions in this country—and, no doubt, the press and the public would not be so all-powerful; but still there is now a very strong Anglo-Indian public, and it would be amply represented in the press. I believe, therefore, that it would be sufficiently powerful to prevent any very great abuse in so public and important a matter as the appointment of a Senator. I do not suppose that you would get *only* the best men, but I think that, if the position of a Senator were at the same time made what it ought to be, you would have all the *most* distinguished men, and no *very unfit* ones. Under such a system, Elphinstone, Mackenzie, and R. M. Bird, would have been long ago members of the Direction, and between election and nomination, you would have secured a sufficient proportion of the most fit men.

. Objecting as we do to all change in names without very strong reasons, and having an old-fashioned prejudice in favour of the terms "Directors" and "Company," we think that there is a good deal to be said in favour of this part of the scheme. It is clear that, under the present plan, few high-minded men will have the courage to canvass all the holders of India stock; it is clear, too, that ministers of the crown cannot be left to nominate men to the Direction from any class, or without certain restrictions and tests: and it is patent that the holders

of Company's Paper, or the officers of the Indian army, would be equally unsuited to wield so vast and important a power. The remedy then lies in some such arrangement as that of Mr. Campbell's; and the details, on which every man would have some suggestion to offer, might well be left to be settled by the Parliamentary Committee.

We suspect that the second part of the plan will find fewer supporters. The remedies for existing evils in India are set down as follows. The name of the Crown, but not the reality, is to take the place of the Company. The Government is to be one of centralization. The seats of the Supreme Government, and of some of the local administrations, are to be changed. Ministers are to replace Secretaries, and are to be, in some respects, responsible advisers and executive chiefs. There are to be Committees for advice and discussion, and Councils for important measures. Natives are to be invited to form a sort of "Privy Council," and they are to have the privilege of addressing written memorials to Government on public matters.

Now one great objection to any of the above sweeping reforms in our opinion is, that Mr. Campbell has entirely failed to prove that the present system of a Supreme Council works ill, or at least that reforms are delayed solely owing to the present system; or that there is any such necessity for a total re-organization, as he has well demonstrated in the case of the Government at Home. But we will go through his reforms *seriatim*. In the first place, the substitution of the name of the Crown for that of the Company would, if it were not absolutely pernicious, surely be something even less than nominal. The *Kumpani*, undignified as it may be, has by this time become a household word in India, and has been implanted too deeply in the native mind, to be eradicated at the bidding of a Minister, or by an Act of Parliament. Change titles as you may, the *Company Bahadur* would still retain that undefinable prestige which, from the village to the palace, from the shores of the Bay to the foot of the Himalayas, has so long and so powerfully influenced native feelings and thoughts. The Rajput or Mahratta chief would still, we think, acknowledge that he owed his succession to the throne of his ancestors to the Company's protecting favour. The Dacoit and marauder, in some districts, would still fear the Company's tribunal. The sepoy would still eat the Company's salt. The ryot, with a broken head, or a rifled granary, would still persist on calling for justice on the Company's name. It is, indeed, a surprise to us, that a man like Mr. Campbell, who has dealt so long with natives, visited them in their homes and vil-

lages, and made friends with sturdy Jat cultivators, should think that there is no great name which conveys "reverence to the imaginations" of natives, or light to their understandings, and that "all this might be easily changed." The understanding may not be enlightened, but we deny that the imagination is not affected; and whatever may be the distinct idea which the name of *Kumpani* conveys to the half-educated native, whether that of an old lady, or of a venerable assembly, or of some mysterious and indefinable controlling agency, we venture to surmise that its prescriptive right of more than one hundred years is quite sufficient to warrant its retention, and quite conclusive against any violent change.

In the next place, the system of the Supreme Government, with its Councillors and Secretaries, has not worked so very badly. We are told, indeed, that successive Governors-General have had their time taken up with harassing wars and political anxieties. We are reminded that the Law Commission has failed to produce an uniform code for the empire, with the exception, perhaps, of the Macaulay code, which, as all know, is still a theory. We are warned against passive Councillors, and irresponsible Secretaries, and an immense stress is laid on the tendency of the climate of the plains to debilitate the energies of men otherwise active and able. With regard to the first objection, it may be said that external wars have well nigh run their course, and that even if they had not, and even if the next ten years were to witness as many campaigns as the last ten, the primary duty of the head of the Supreme Government must be to direct such wars politically, and to bring them to a prosperous result. War, external and internal, is no doubt to be deprecated; it exhausts the finances; defers reforms; brings improvements to a dead lock; but we must depend on the foresight of the statesman to prevent its occurrence, or on his sagacity and judgment to guide it when it occurs, instead of mixing up together defects which arise from natural and unforeseen causes, and defects which may spring partly from the constitution of the Government. With regard to the legislative failure, Mr. Campbell says, "It is the most complete of all.

"We seem to be no nearer codification than ever. Our laws are more uncertain, insufficient, and unintelligible than before. The way that has been gained by partial and patchwork amendment on the part of the legislature, has been more than lost by the accumulation of crude and contradictory precedents, constructions and other judge-made laws; and the absence of result is really (I can call it by no milder word) disgraceful." Our author can hardly here have weighed his

words with his usual care, and he cannot have been aware of the vagaries of the Criminal Code at each Presidency before the last charter of 1833. That we have not a *Code Napoleon* for all India is admitted: that the Acts of the Governor-General in Council are more misty and uncertain than the old regulations, we wholly deny. The system of making laws for each Presidency is, all things considered, as fair and good a system as can be devised. Let us suppose a case where a law is required for a particular department or province, the remotest possible from Calcutta. Is it to be imagined that the law originates with the legislative member of the Supreme Council, and that failing this, the head of the department or the local officer sits down quietly, contemplating positive evils which should be remedied, and devising reforms which ought to be introduced, until it shall please the Supreme Government to cast a glance in his direction, after all more pressing or important claims have been satisfied? No, there is a penalty to be enforced; an interest to be protected; a right to be reclaimed; a custom sanctioned by time and dignified by precedent, to be made permanent by law; a new form of procedure to be set a-going; a new tax to be levied; a new court to be established. The magistrate or local officer consults with the Commissioner, or the Commissioner with the local officer. The evil is pressing, the remedy simple, and all parties are agreed. The result is a report to the local Government, pointing out the imperative necessity of a new enactment to meet the difficulty or supply the want. The said report will be accompanied with all the details that long experience can furnish, and with all the explanations that men living on the spot can supply. A Draft Act may, in several instances, be actually prepared by the subordinate officers, and will accompany the report. The local Government peruse the report; point out, it may be, several difficulties; make objections, which are speedily answered; and call for additional information, which is soon forthcoming. After a little bandying about of the subject, and, perhaps, some animated discussions on paper, the whole subject is laid before the Supreme Council. If the matter have been carefully considered, if the reasons for a legislative enactment be clear and convincing, and the whole scope and tendency of the Draft Act be in accordance with the general principles of the administration, the proposal will meet with entire acquiescence. The local officer will have given the facts, the local Government the reasons, and the Supreme Council will give the law. Thus we are unable to see why a law should be "uncertain," because it deals with a subject which has been fully discussed by competent persons; or

"insufficient," if it satisfies the wishes of those who recommend it: or "unintelligible," because we have no law exactly like it on this side of India. This is the plan on which legislation must proceed in a country like India, where there are so many distinct systems, so many various rights, so many "differences of form and of conventional language," and so many peculiar customs, which each require separate treatment. The local officers must give facts and experiences: the legislative council must harmonize the whole. And this mutual dependence of the highest department on the lowest, for early and accurate information, of the lowest on the highest for the constitutional aid of law, or something like it, must ever continue, until such indefinite time as we can get a set of councillors who shall each have mastered all the languages and all the customs of Southern and Northern India, who shall have served long enough in each department to have become familiar with its minutest details, and who shall yet have retained that power of looking on measures with the broad views and the enlightened policy that mark a real statesman.

With regard to the working of the administration, there is a good deal in Mr. Campbell's argument that is deserving of notice, but there is certainly no such proof of inefficiency and mis-government as would warrant the entire changes which he recommends. We shall not, therefore, venture to dissect the new constitution, or to speculate on the probable doings of the "minister of the interior" or the "minister of finance." But with all that Mr. Campbell says as to the want of a separate Government for Bengal; the objectionable practice of accumulating masses of documents in all public offices, without any attempt to condense or analyse them: and the necessity for either accelerating progress at Madras and Bombay, or allowing those Presidencies a freer action for themselves, we cordially agree. There are, however, one or two more points in Mr. Campbell's scheme, which cannot be passed over. Mr. Campbell would have a native Privy Council to advise Government regarding our internal administration. As we understand him, he would concede to these councillors no real power to carry any measure. He would merely assemble them to expound their views and to represent their countrymen: he would allow them the privilege of addressing written memorials to Government on public matters, or he would enjoin all Governors to call for their opinions by Circular. But Mr. Campbell must surely be aware that Government can and does constantly consult Natives and Europeans resident in the interior, through the commissioner, collector, or magistrate, whenever any measure which affects local interests is

under discussion. And he should have known, and indeed it is a matter of wonder to us that he should not have known, that the privilege of addressing written memorials on any subject, has long ago been conceded, not to any particular body, but to the humblest native under the Company's Government! There is not a Draft Act published in the *Gazette*, nor a local grievance, nor a permanent want, which may not be and indeed is not made the subject of representation to the Executive or the Legislative Department. The Bengal British India Association have made use of this privilege half a dozen times within the last few months. Individuals, bodies, committees, and societies, of all sorts, high and low, have done the same. It is the commonest thing in the world for elaborate or wordy memorials to be laid before Government. The privilege which Mr. Campbell would only now bestow on "natives of talent and distinction throughout the country" has been long enjoyed and appreciated not merely by men "placed in such a position as the Nawab of Rampore," but by the Roys and Chowdaris, the Setts and the Seals of Bengal, by Tin Kowri who steers the humble native skiff, and by Gopal who feeds the cows. Substantially then, what the author advocates has long been in force, and if there is no bar to the free discussion of grievances, which is the grand object, it would seem unnecessary to bestow any particular honorary distinction, without real power, on any peculiarly constituted native council.

Another point, on which Mr. Campbell appears to have written rather hastily, is found in page 61, where he gives as a reason for substituting the Crown for the Company, on which we have already made some remarks, the respect which the change would command on the part of native states, and the power which it would give us to settle on a definite footing the real position, rights, and liabilities of such states. All the vagueness, in our relations with Hyderabad and Holkar, with Scindia and with the Rajput princes, we are given to understand, emanates from the undignified character of the Company. Put the Crown in its place, and we shall have a feudatory chain linking together the pettiest native principality, the Hindu or Mohammedan dynasties which are yet unsubverted, and the Paramount Power. Each chief will then have the power which he ought to have, and will lose that which he ought never to have possessed. If, by the above, we are to understand that the Crown might step in and treat as inferiors those with whom the Company treated as equals; that Her Majesty's Minister for India may dis-

regard whatever was guaranteed by twenty-four Directors or *their* Governor-General in Council ; that treaties may be ignored, stipulations be forgotten, and pledges be shelved—we must at once demur to his doctrine. Yet this is the conclusion to which his premises must infallibly lead, if they lead to any thing. Mr. Campbell is much too good a lawyer not to know, that if the Crown were to assume the functions of the Company to-morrow, it would assume them with all the “parts and pendicles” appertaining thereunto ; it would continue to pay the interest due on Company’s loans ; it could not swerve one hair’s breadth from the line laid down by the Wellesly of Mysore or the Wellesly of Assaye ; it would maintain good faith towards the *Punica fides* of the Mahratta ; it would respect the sandy principality of Bikanir ; it would not take one more rupee from the Nizam, nor levy one additional soldier from Scindia. There is not one of the chiefs of Central India, for whom Mr. Campbell would create a special Chief Commissioner or Lieutenant-Governor, that has not his rights and duties in regard to the Paramount Power defined with exactness and precision, under the solemnity of treaties duly signed and sealed. These provisions may be various in each case. They may have been laid down at a time when our position in India, our pretended claims to dictate to, interfere with, or to overawe every body, may not have been clearly understood ; they may be favourable to chiefs on the one hand, who had gained their empire by the sword, with no better title than the adventurers from an island in the German ocean ; or too unjust to Thakurs on the other, whose origin is lost in the very twilight of history ; but they stand recorded in black and white, linked with the good name of noted captains and statesmen, and based on the proverbial honor and good faith of the Company. Colonel Low must deal with the Nizam in one fashion. Sir H. Lawrence must manage the Rajputs in another ; and the Minister of the Crown, who should rashly undertake to set the British Government on a pinnacle as lord paramount, and to make every other native prince a mere feudatory baron, in spite of his treaties, would almost deserve a penalty, once repeatedly threatened, but one almost out of fashion now, a solemn Parliamentary impeachment.

The last point in our author’s plan is the situation of the supreme and of the subordinate Governments. For this, as many of our readers are aware, Mr. Campbell has been guided almost entirely by the choice of good climate and a pleasant retreat. No doubt, it would be a charming thing to work with

the thermometer in the months of May and June at 64° instead of at 96°: to look on gushing cataracts, green pines, and wild raspberry bushes, instead of dusty plains, or flooded rice fields; but with due deference to Mr. Campbell's opinion, he is going the wrong way to work. First, let us have the European colony in the Deyrah Doon, and then we will think about spending a million sterling to found a capital at Mussoorie Deyrah. A great capital was certainly founded, at a vast expense, by a Roman Emperor, on a site designated by nature for that end, but in most other cases the choice of a metropolis has been determined by a dozen different causes. How few of the European capitals are central! And as regards India, it seems beyond a doubt, that the place where there is most intelligence, wealth, real cultivation, and refinement,—where society is composed of the most varied elements constantly on the increase,—where there is most to run counter to or to expand the narrow views which men shut up in one small circle, wherever that may be, invariably contract,—where are most bustle and activity,—where there is a focus of religion and science,—should be the seat and centre of the Supreme Government. That Calcutta has all the above, more than any other place in India, is doubted by no one who has had an opportunity of comparing it with the next largest cities in India; and as to celerity of intercourse with other places, we shall leave all this to the wires of Dr. W. O'Shaughnessy and to the sleepers of Mr. Stephenson and his staff. An Electric Telegraph and a Railroad will, in the course of a few years, unite the most distant bounds of the empire, and Madras will “launch forth” to meet Calcutta, interchanging thought and vying with it, we hope, in generous emulation. Moreover, as to the climate, of which Mr. Campbell thinks so much, “the Minister of the interior” and “the Minister of justice,” must take their chances of that like ordinary men. No one has ever seriously complained that the absence of a cold climate is one of the main obstructions to reform and progress in India. On the contrary, amaze-ment has repeatedly been excited at the amount of labour which is got through, at the voluminous reports that are compiled, at the physical energy displayed by men who never quit the plains for years. As to the unhealthiness of Calcutta itself, we have heard medical men of ample experience testify to its salubrity in no measured terms, and expatiate on its unfailing ice, lofty houses, and ventilated halls. And the truth is, that Mr. Campbell's scheme for enabling the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the legislative

member of Council, and the governors of other Presidencies, to exchange the *pingue solum humilis Ferenti*, for a *celsæ nidum Acherontæ*, can hardly be looked on as other than the ingenious speculation of a really able man, whose original views on the administration of India have experienced a little deflection during his two-and-a-half years' residence at home. It cannot surely be concluded that Hoshungabad, a wild and not important district of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, could be more suited to the political Commissioner of Central India as a residence, than Saugor or Jubbulpore: or that the Government of Madras and Bombay ought to be administered by men perched up on the hills far off from their Capitals; and, indeed, Mr. Campbell (page 144) seems internally convinced that such an arrangement would be inexpedient. As for Calcutta, we believe that the metropolis, or the commercial capital, by whichever title it is to be designated, is of far more importance to the members of the Supreme Government, than the members of the Government, individually or collectively, can be to Calcutta. In any case we venture to think, that one of the recommendations of the committee sitting on the Charter Question, will not be for the formation of a new Nefelecocyggia in the mist and clouds of the Himalayas.

We must take leave of Mr. Campbell, differing with him in some respects as to the real wants of India. Whatever this clear and forcible writer takes in hand, will be found always worthy of attention; and we may predict that a highly useful and honorable career will be open to him whenever he may return to India, with renovated health, expanded views, and a fresh stock of administrative measures drawn from the purest and most untainted sources.

Though rather late in the day, we proceed to give a little attention to the pamphlet by Mr. J. B. Norton, of the Madras Bar, on the administration of justice in Southern India. We do this not for the purpose of wading through a number of decisions in company with the author, which, to say the least, are worse than anything we have read or heard of on this side of India, and are quite inconsistent with a good administration; nor for the purpose of palliating or excusing any particular class of cases, nor for that of throwing doubt on the purity of intention by which the author of the pamphlet has been actuated. We have no doubt that Mr. Norton is most anxious to see the judicial system of Southern India, not merely patched up, but reformed, and we place the greater confidence in his statements, because he has

broadly stated his opinion, that the remedy is not to place barristers as judges in the Mofussil, but to improve the system, to train the members of the Civil Service specially for the Bench, and to combine in their education these two things, which as yet have been kept widely asunder—a knowledge of native habits and of the revenue system, and a knowledge of the first principles of the science of law. Taking all Mr. Norton's statements for granted, we think that there is much food for deep reflection in all the remedies which he proposes in order to secure his reform: in the reasons which he gives *against* the introduction of the jury system: in those for the abolition of useless Pundits and Mooftis, or Hindu and Mohammedan law officers: in his suggestions for the curtailment of pleadings, the arrangement of a general code, and the education of the mass of the people. *But our paper is a general one on the administration of the Company, and we have not space enough to analyse the working of one special branch in one particular Presidency. We shall therefore confine ourselves to general views.

Whence then, we ask, is it, that the judicial department is confessedly the weakest point in the Company's Government? The aim of this branch is to do justice between one man and another, to discover the truth, to protect property, to reward the innocent, to punish the guilty, to secure the poor man from the contumely of the proud. In simple phraseology these are the objects, more or less, of all civil and criminal justice. Why is it that they are not attained? To do justice and to get at truth are equally the objects of other departments of the service, but in those other departments truth is got at, and justice is done. For these, the revenue or the settlement officer in a new province expends all his energies with the happiest results. He has to find out the rightful owner of the land, to decide endless disputes about boundaries, to watch the encroaching neighbour, and to fix the lawful dues of the state. He has to do all this, and he does it, in spite of fraud, in spite of corruption, in spite of all the artifices and all the concealment which natives can so easily practise when their interests and their passions are excited. Every one who knows anything of the subject allows, that in making a settlement of the revenue, the great efficiency of the Company's servants has been proved beyond a doubt. There is, however, no department where the phraseology is so peculiar, the customs so strange, the temptations to over-reach so manifold, the necessity for a close and searching investigation so paramount, the objects at

stake so important, the results so widely felt. But here, we say, justice is well done between the state and the tenant-proprietor, between the landlord and the cultivator, between one peasant and another. There are no complaints, or comparatively few, of uncertain or arbitrary decisions; of rights misinterpreted; of customs misunderstood; of long-winded and unintelligible decisions; of suits repeatedly remanded; of justice delayed. Yet there is no doubt, that a sound and good settlement of the revenue demands, on the part of the officers engaged in it, from the settlement officer to the commissioner, not merely the activity, the assiduity, and the tact of executive functionaries, but the exercise of some of the qualities which belong to the judge; a careful sifting of conflicting claims; an anxious and unwearied zeal in the discovery of truth; an attention to forms; a familiarity with what we shall term the common law of the country—all this is looked for, and it is certainly found in revenue officers. Why is it not found in the judge? The reasons for this marked and painful discrepancy are variously given. Some men tell us, that, after all, in questions of real property, it is more easy for men on the spot to discover the truth. Natives, it is allowed, when their passions are excited in some village feud, or their cupidity is appealed to by some powerful agent, or their talents for forgery and perjury are to be put in request for some great and unscrupulous landlord, in a ponderous civil suit, will lie like the truth without fear of detection and without restraint. But this is not the case, it is said, when an officer goes to the estate or the village and makes his enquiries in open bazar, or under the shed of the great banyan tree or the mango grove. The presence of rival claimants will here act as a restraint, and that of dozens of impartial witnesses will afford instantaneous means of detecting falsehood. Interested parties will here lie with more caution, and some of the villagers will perhaps not lie at all. This is one reason why truth can be got at more readily, and when the truth is got at, the law is simple, and justice is soon done.

Then, again, we are warned that the best officers are invariably drafted off for this sort of work. The interests of Government are mainly concerned; the well-being of the population, the tranquillity of the district, the preservation of the public peace, hinge chiefly on a broad, equitable, and carefully devised settlement. Give us, in the judicial line, the same amount of talent, the same rewards held out as incentives to exertion, the same close and effective supervision, the same power of dealing with

principals as in their villages and their home-steads, and we shall soon have the same results. But when it is considered that men *distinguished* as "crack collectors" are rewarded by commissionerships, seats in the Board of Revenue, important places in the Secretariat, and high positions in newly ceded provinces, what talent, it is pertinently asked, remains to adorn and elevate the Bench? The picked men of the service find other spheres for their energies, and the judicial line is lucky if it get a few hard-working and pains-taking individuals, with here and there a man of note, amongst a brigade of incapables, or a set of drones.

Finally, we are reminded, that, after all, the revenue department requires, it is true, great talent, familiarity with native customs, attention to procedure such as it is, and sound common sense; but it demands no knowledge of law as a science: it argues no conversancy with the main elements of jurisprudence. Though it may teach young and clever officers when a native speaks truth and when he is telling a falsehood, it does not teach them what is *legal* evidence and what is not. Thus, it is maintained, perhaps with justice, that the very best revenue officers, if seated on the Bench, would, with all their previous experience, find out their deficiency in accurate legal training. They would hasten no doubt to supply the omission; they would study law; they would, by individual exertions, counteract the defects of the system; but an original defect would still be there, and it would have to be remedied. Common sense cannot make a man a lawyer, and without law, amongst an acute and litigious people, there will be no justice. It is imperative that we should depend for our supply of justice and law, not on the energies of conscientious individuals, or on happy accidents, but on systematic and general training to one particular end.

In our humble opinion the defective administration of justice may be sufficiently accounted for all over India by the above three causes. There are greater facilities for getting at truth in revenue and settlement matters; there is a larger amount of talent secured for this particular branch than for others, and a consequent denial of the same talent to the judicial branch; and it is certain that, though common sense may do a great deal in the salt, the revenue, or the opium lines, may there detect falsehood and make truth conspicuous, it will not supply the want of law on the Bench. It is on the Bench that men need the aid of fixed principles, without which all the experience, and all the knowledge of natives in the world, will no more conduct judges

invariably to a sound legal decision, than energy and activity, without seamanship and navigation, will invariably conduct a stout-hearted man across the ocean, from Liverpool to New York, from the Cape to Plymouth.

No doubt, amongst the several "crying wants" of India, the simplification of judicial proceedings, and the special training of judges, are the foremost. But we much question the will or the capacity of Parliament or of any Select Committee to legislate on this important subject. That Committee may do a great deal to secure a more effective administration for all India, and a better Government at home; it may and will no doubt provide for a moderate system of centralization, which shall bestow a free action on the distant Presidencies, and leave a due amount of supervision with the Supreme Council; it will possibly arrange for a more liberal disbursement of public money, either in the shape of a per centage on revenue, or of annual fixed sums within the competence of the local Governments, to facilitate intercourse and extend education; it may modify the constitution of the Supreme and local Councils; but it will hardly plunge headlong into the mysteries of the judicial system, with its strange phraseology, its admitted difficulties, and its complicated evils. To hear some men talk, it would seem as if the defects in the administration of justice were entirely owing to want of capacity in the judges, and not in any way, to the utter want of truth and the absence of all scruples which characterize natives of any rank whatever when pursuing their private ends. A rich native does his best to make a judicial court a pool of iniquity, and then talks complacently about the pollution of the courts! But the fact is, that an Act of Parliament will not make a whole people speak truth, nor will it banish forgery, nor check a litigious spirit; and the proper way to set to work at this necessary reform is to urge its importance on the local Governments in India. We are well aware that the apathy of the Indian Governments will be pleaded as a reply to this; but apathetic or not, there is more chance of improvement being carried out by temperate agitation on the spot than by wild clamour at the doors of either House of Parliament. All the reforms in revenue, all social or internal improvements, and nearly every philanthropic measure, have originated in India. But it suits a certain class of natives, who, as Mr. Campbell truly remarks, have the least possible claim to be regarded as "natives," to see themselves in print as the representatives of India; and it gratifies the genuine Anglo-Saxon,

to talk about his deep knowledge of the requirements of India, his long familiarity with the customs and languages of the natives, and his unselfish sympathy with their wants.

It has been the fashion lately in several of those petitions, which we noticed in our last issue, and which have stamped the year 1852 with its own peculiar mark, to ignore every good or honorable motive on the part of the Indian Government and its servants, and while briefly adverting to benefits which it is impossible to conceal or deny, to attribute them, as we understand it, to "the force of character" or to some natural cause. This may, after all, be a covert tribute to the honest zeal and systematic efforts of scores of public servants in India. But at first sight it reads as if India had been ameliorated in spite of herself, had been duped into wealth and deceived into aggrandisement, by the agency and operation of men who were unconscious ministers in a splendid work, unwary servants of the great cause of progress, heedless supporters of the best purposes of philanthropy. It might be as well to enquire what this same "force of character" has done for the dependencies of England in other parts of the world. It was then no doubt the "force of character" alone that disgusted our American colonies in the last century, and drove them into rebellion. By the "force of character" were Canada and Jamaica driven into excesses, which were only appeased again by "the force of character" in a chosen Company's servant producing the very opposite results. Disaffection at the Cape, disgust at the Mauritius, a rebellion in Ceylon, almost in the very sight of the Company's territories, are due not to any mismanagement, but solely to the "force of character." It is this same mysterious and inexplicable cause that in India has tamed such savages as the Bhils and the Mairs, that put down an emeute last year in the very stronghold of Hinduism without the shedding of a drop of blood, that has attached Hindu sepoy to their officers by unconquerable fidelity, that has half-subdued the fierce intolerance of Mussulmans, that has wholly conquered the national feeling of the Seikh. Under the same strange "force of character," the servants of Government in the Punjab often commence work at day-light, continue it through the heat of the long summer's day, and complete it or leave it unfinished, wearied and jaded with their exertions, only at ten o'clock at night. The "force of character," and nothing more, is making out of Scinde a prosperous and productive province, has made the North West Provinces what they are, has sustained Mr. Thomason in spite of himself, and is transforming the Punjab from a field of battle

into a garden of delight. We envy not the disposition of those men who can look on what has been done for India without some feelings of admiration; with a determination to see nothing but barrenness, with no generous feeling for the past, with no hopeful anticipations of the future.* The most earnest advocates of the Company, the most zealous partisans of Government, know best how much there is yet to be done to fix the foundation of England's greatness in India, on "that noblest basis, the amelioration of social institutions." Such men are, we believe, the most anxious to profit by the lessons and the errors, by the warnings and hopes, by the failure and the success disclosed in the administrative experience which has spread over the better part of a century; such men, while they would welcome with approbation and eagerness any carefully devised project, from whatever source it might emanate, will only regard with calm indifference or undisguised mistrust, that violent partisanship which mistakes driftless clamour for cogent reasoning, exaggerated representation for impartial narrative, and reckless innovation for judicious reform.

* It is to be observed that by the Up-country papers the statements of the petitions were handled in no gentle fashion. Indeed, the thing was in some points beyond a joke; and the editors, who have the *misfortune* to live entirely under the Company's shadow, and really know something of the defects and benefits of our administration, spoke out like men, and treated mere querulousness as it deserved.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Biblical Geography of Asia Minor, Phenicia, and Arabia.* By E. F. C. Rosenmüller, D. D., translated into English by the Rev. N. Morren, A. M. (*Biblical Cabinet*, vol. III.) Edinburgh, 1841.
2. *Essai sur L'Histoire Des Arabes avant L'Islamisme, &c. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval.* (In three vols.) Volume First. Paris, 1847.
3. *The Historical Geography of Arabia*, by the Rev. Charles Forster, B. D. Two vols. London, 1844.
4. *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*: edited by John Kitto, D. D. Edinburgh, 1845. Articles, "Arabia, Ethiopia, Cush, Nebaioth, Idumea, &c."

It is an interesting question to investigate by whom Arabia was first peopled; and, with reference to the assumed Abrahamic origin of the religion of the Kaaba, it is a question of some importance.

But the subject is one on which we may in vain look for any light from the original tradition of Arabia itself. The most ancient information from this source consists of the genealogies of Himyar kings, and of the great Coreishite stock. The latter do not ascend much beyond the Christian era, and the former only five or six centuries farther. The earlier parts of the Himyar line were probably derived from inscriptions; and of the Coreish, we have hardly anything but a bare ancestral tree, till we come within two or three centuries of Mahomet.

Beyond these periods, Mahometan tradition is entirely worthless. It is not original, but is taken at second hand from the Jews. Mahomet having claimed to be of the seed of Ishmael, his followers early required from the Jewish Rabbins an acknowledgment of the claim; and they sought to bring the genealogical lists of the Old Testament, and the rabbinical traditions, into accordance with the received notions and principles of the Arabs. Thus it was that Joktân (whom they found in Scripture to be an early immigrant into Arabia) became identified with Cahtân, the great ancestor of the southern tribes;* while Mahomet's paternal line, which he himself

* Some of the adjutors of Medina, though of the Cahtân stock, yet anxious to establish their descent also from Ishmael, have been known

to refer to individuals specified in the Old Testament under different names. (*Vide e. g. Tabari*, p. 51, *et alibi*.) So after quoting a pretended genealogical tree, in

declared could not be followed beyond Adnân, (that is, about a century before the Christian era,) was nevertheless traced, by fabricated steps, eighteen centuries farther, up to Ishmael. Both the Mahometan legends, and ethnological facts prior to the Christian era, being thus derived directly from the Jews, possess no original value, and as evidence must be rejected entirely. They are the result either of simple plagiarism, or they refer to Arab personages and events of a very modern date, travestied and often caricatured, into the patriarchal characters and stories of the Old Testament.*

We must, therefore, fall back implicitly upon the Mosaic record as our only guide to the original settlements in Arabia; and we shall find that the general statements and incidental allusions of that inestimable history, supply a clue to the events out of which Modern Arabia has developed herself.

It has been inferred with considerable probability, that a portion of the descendants of Cush, the son of Ham, found their way into Arabia, and formed the first body of post-diluvian settlers there.† The names of Cush and Cushan are evidently

which Mahomet is traced up to Ishmael, the traditionist adds, "And that is an ancient tradition, taken from one of the former books" (that is, the Jewish books).

وذلك انه علم قديم اخزم الكتاب الا (Tabari, p. 52.)

The following tradition also illustrates the practice. Hisham ibn Muhammad related as follows:—"There was a man of the people of Tadmor, called Abû Yacûb ibn Maslama, of the children of Israel; and he used to read in the Jewish books and was versed in their traditional learning. Now this man mentioned that Bûrach (Baruch) ibn Baria, the scribe of Eremia (Jeremiah), proved the genealogy of Maad ibn Adnân (Mahomet's ancestor), and placed it on its proper basis, and wrote it out; and this genealogy is notorious amongst the doctors of the people of the book (the Jews,) as being certified in their books. Now it closely approaches to the above list; and whatever differences there are between them arise from the difference of language, their names being translated from the Hebrew." (Tabari, p. 53.)

* The simple plagiarisms are such accounts as those of the Fall, the Flood, and the various passages in the history of the Israelites. The travestied scenes are such as the actual events of Abraham's and Ishmael's lives, misapplied to Mecca and its vicinity, and connected with the remotest links of the Corcish genealogical table: thus Abraham's intended sacrifice of *Isaac* on Mount *Moriah* is metamorphosed into the intended sacrifice of *Ishmael* on a height in the valley of *Minâ*; so Ishmael is married to the daughter of a Jorhomite prince, who could not have lived long before the Christian era. M. Caussin de Perceval (*Essai*, I. 173 & 184) calls this a myth; and it is no doubt mythical, in so far as it embodies the Moslem tenet that Mahomet was descended from a cross between the seed of Ishmael and pure Arab blood. But it is not the less a grossly travestied tale. One of the canon (II. I.) laid down in a previous article in this *Review* is here applicable (*Vide* No. XXXVII. p. 53.)

† That the majority of the scriptural notices of Cush refer to the country towards Abyssinia is clearly shown by the learned translator of Rosenmüller's Geography. (*Vide in Kitto's Cyclopædia*, the Rev. N. Morren's, *Articles*, CUSH, ETHIOPIA and ARABIA.) Yet there are passages which apparently refer to Arabia. Thus the inspired historian in 1 Chron. iv. 40, after specifying Gedor, a country seemingly in the vicinity of Arabia Petrea, adds, "For they of Ham had dwelt there of old." So in 2 Chron. xx. 16, he notices the Arabians that were near the Cushites as attacking

associated by the sacred writers both with Arabia and with Africa, and the titles of his sons have been traced, though with some uncertainty, in the names of existing tribes.* But there is no proof or probability that the Cushites remained in Arabia a distinct and separate race; it is likely that they soon mingled with the subsequent immigrants, and lost their national individuality.†

The next colonists of Arabia are thought to have been the progeny of Joktân, the son of Eber, and the fifth in descent from Shem. The sacred records inform us that they settled eastward, that is, in the language of Moses, in the North of the Peninsula, or the country stretching from the head of the Red

Judah, where the original conveys the impression of the Cushites as a people inhabiting Arabia. The deduction from Moses marrying a Cushitess, is either that the Midianites were called Cushites, or (which is less likely) that Moses married a second time: the parallelism in Hab. iii. 7, though not conclusive, is in favour of the former supposition. In 2 Chron. xiv. 9, Zerah, the Cushite, having attacked Judea, Asa is described as overthrowing him and spoiling the cities to the North of Arabia; but Zerah may have been an Abyssinian adventurer, for he appears to have had a body of Africans with him, and *chariots*, which were never used in Arabia. (*Vide Heeren's Res. Africa*, I. 417.)

For the whole subject see *Rosenmüller's Biblical Geography*, English translation, III. 280—285. The articles above quoted from *Kitto's Cyclopædia*, and *Forster's Geography of Arabia*, vol I. part 1, section 1.

* From the identity of the names of three of the progeny of Cush, viz., *Havilah*, *Sheba*, and *Dedan* with those of the Shemitic branch, and the similarity of a fourth, viz., *Seba*, it becomes difficult with satisfaction to assign to the Cushites exclusively any of the Arab tribes whose names assimilate with these. None of the other names, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*, are successfully traced by Mr. Forster, notwithstanding his indefatigable ingenuity and conjecture. *Raamah* is classed with the tribes of Arabia by Ezekiel. (*Chap.* xxvii. 22.)

† There are no traces, in original Arabic tradition, of a separate Cushite race aboriginal of Arabia. Some tribes may have been darker than others, and possibly so in consequence of their original descent, though the circumstance is never so explained. On the other hand, the negro inhabitants appear always to be referred to in the earliest accounts as Abyssinians who had immigrated from Africa. There appears never to have been any national sympathy or congeniality between the two races.

M. C. de Perceval (I. 42—46) has a theory, that in South Arabia there were two distinct races, Cushite and Joktânide, the former *Sabeans* (Seba), the latter *Shabeans* (Sheba). The first he identifies with the Adites; and the extinction of the Adites in Arabia (as held by Mahometan tradition) he attributes to the emigration of the entire Cushite race, and their transplantation thence to Abyssinia. The theory is ingenious, but devoid of proof, and in itself very improbable. As for the Adites, it has been satisfactorily shown by Dr. Sprenger, that they lived near the Thanudites, North of Mecca: they were therefore entirely distinct from the Sabeans of Yemen. (*Sprenger's Life of Mahomet*, p. 13.)

His farther theory (I. 5-6), that the Phenicians are a colony of Yemen Cushites, seems also to rest on a very slender basis. *Herod.* i. 1 (φοινίκας) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους κ. τ. λ., presents no identification either with Yemen or with the Cushites. So Trogus Pomp., quoted by Justin. xviii. 3, is still more vague. It appears to us most probable that this tradition arose from the children of Israel having come from the Red Sea to occupy Palestine. Living near the Tyrians, the fame which attached to the Israelites would, with a little misapprehension, come in the course of time to apply to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and thus to the Tyrians also.

Sea towards the Persian Gulph.* The names of some of Joktân's sons are identified with the appellation of certain Arabian districts;† and it is not unnatural to believe, that this race extended rapidly southward, wherever tempted by pasture or oases in the desert, until it reached the fertile lands of Yemen and Hadhramaut. There, intermingled with the line of Cush, it formed, from the Straits of Bâbal Mandab to the Persian Gulph, the permanent settlement of the Himyar and other aboriginal tribes.

Descending with the stream of Time, we find that, several centuries later, a new race spread over the North of Arabia. While Joktân proceeded southward, his brother Peleg—so called, “because in his days the earth was divided”‡—remained in Mesopotamia. But in process of time, Abraham, the sixth in descent from Peleg, “gat him out from his country, and from his kindred,” and “went forth to go into the land of Canaan,” where he sojourned as a Nomad Chief; and it is from the stock of this Patriarch that the northern settlements of the Peninsula were supplied. The Abrahamic races may be thus enumerated: 1. the *Ishmaelites*; 2, the *Keturahites*; 3, the *Edomites*, or descendants of Esau; 4, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*; 5, the *Nahorites*.

1. The ISHMAELITES, or Hagarenes. Hagar, when cast forth by Abraham, dwelt with her son in the wilderness of Paran, to the North of Arabia.§ Faithfully was the divine promise of temporal prosperity in favour of Ishmael's seed fulfilled;|| and his twelve sons became “twelve princes ac-

* After enumerating the children of Joktân, it is added “and their dwelling was ‘from Mesha, as thou goest, unto Sephar, a mount of the East.’” (*Genesis* x 30.) It does not appear to us that any successful attempt has been made to identify the names here specified with any existing ones, but the *direction* of the country indicated is clear enough.

† Forster as usual presses his similarities and inversions of names beyond the bounds of legitimate argument, and frequently into the region of mere fancy. Yet we may admit that Hazarmadeth is perpetuated in *Hadhramaut*; and perhaps Havilah and Sheba in the *Khaulân* and *Saba* of the present day. M. C. de Perceval, as well as Forster, identifies Uzal with *Awzâl*, the ancient name of a canton of Sana (I 40.) It may also be conceded, that the *Ophir* of the Bible belongs to the south-western coast of Arabia, and was so denominated from one of the sons of Joktân. Of these names, however, Havilah belongs also to the Cushite line; and Sheba both to the Abrahamic and Cushite families, and in the slightly different form of Seba to another Cushite branch. The latter name appears to be distinguished from the former in Ps. lxxii. 10. The “kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts,” or as in the prayer-book version, “The kings of Arabia and Saba,” so also verse 15. Mareb, called also *Saba* anciently, may have some connection with the Joktânide Sheba and the famous queen of Solomon's time, but the name cannot with certainty be attributed to either line exclusive of the other: (*Forster's Arabia* I, 154, *et seq.* *Rosenmüller's Geography*, III. 298.)

‡ Gen. x. 25—1 Chron. i. 19. § Gen. xxi. 21—xxv. 18 || Gen. xvii. 20.

ording to their nations.”* These fruitful tribes probably first extended along the frontier of Arabia, from the northern extremity of the Red Sea towards the mouth of the Euphrates.† They appear to have occupied each a separate district, and followed a Nomad life, in moveable encampments, with perhaps fortified places of refuge for their cattle.‡ They seem also to have practised merchandize, and were probably from this cause wealthy and influential. Of the progeny of Ishmael, *Nebaioth*, the first born, proved the source of the Nabathean nation, who succeeded the Idumeans in Arabia Petrea, and whom we find at the commencement of our era holding a wide political influence in Northern Arabia.

The second son, *Kedar*, was so famous in his Arab descendants, that the epithet *Kedarenes* came to be applied by the Jews to the Bedouins in general.§ Less noted are the names of *Duma*, *Thema*, *Jetur*, and *Naphish*.|| The progeny of the remaining sons either mingled with other tribes, or penetrating the Peninsula, have escaped historical record.

2. KETURAH bore to Abraham six sons; and these he sent away to the eastward while he yet lived.¶ Their descendants, it is probable, established themselves as Nomad

* Gen. xxv. 16.

† “They dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria.” (Gen. xxv. 18.) This means probably from the margin of the Persian Gulf to the south-east angle of the Mediterranean Sea.

‡ (Gen. xxv. 16.) “These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles: twelve princes according to their nations.” (Cnf. *Rosenmüller*, III. 143, and the translator’s note.) The “towns” probably meant moveable villages of tents, and the “castles” fortified folds for protection in time of war.

§ (Vide *Rosenmüller*, III. 145.—*Kitto’s Cyclopædia*. Art., KEDAR.) It has been conjectured that this tribe dwelt next to the Israelites, who being best acquainted with them, applied their name to the Arab nation generally. In the time of Isaiah, M. C. de Perceval holds the posterity of Ishmael to have been divided into two branches, those of Kedar and Nebaioth (the Arabic Nâbit.) “All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee.” (Is. lx. 7.)

|| Duma is perhaps preserved in *Dûmat al Jandal*, a town about half-way between the mouths of the Nile and the Persian Gulf. Thema corresponds with more than one Arab place called *Tayma*. Both Duma and Thema are noticed as Arabian in Is. xxi. 11 & 14. For other scriptural notices of Thema, (see *Rosenmüller*, III. 147. *Jetur* and *Naphish* are mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 19—20, as in alliance with the Hagarenes, vanquished in the time of Saul. From *Jetur* may come *Iturea*, and perhaps the present *Jedur*. (*Rosenmüller*, *ibid*.)

¶ C. de Perceval would identify the progeny of Ketura with the Bani Catura, who settled at Mecca along with the Jorhomites; but the connection seems to be nothing more than the similarity of name. The descendants of Ketura resided in the North of the Peninsula, while the Bani Catura came to Mecca from the South.

It is also very unlikely that so many tribes having descended from Ketura’s sons, any one of them should continue for seventeen or eighteen centuries to be called exclusively by her name. This instance exhibits the danger of following mere similarity of name, even when the philosophy and caution of M. C. de Perceval are at hand: how much greater the danger when those qualities are absent!

tribes throughout the great Desert in the North of Arabia. The *Midianites*, sprung from the fourth son, soon increased into an extensive people. With the Moabites they endeavoured to obstruct the progress of the children of Israel towards the Holy Land, and in the time of the Judges, they overpowered the same nation for seven years.* *Dedan* and *Sheba*, children of Jokshân, the second son of Ketura, are also connected with Arab associations.†

3. The *EDOMITES* or *IDUMEANS*, descendants of Esau. This race early peopled the country of Arabia Petrea. Their capital was Mount Seir, whence they expelled the aboriginal Horites, and succeeded to their possessions.‡ Two grand-sons, Zeman§ and Amalek,|| became the progenitors of separate

* (*Numb.* xxxi. 2, &c. *Judges* vi. 1.) They would appear then to have spoken the same language as the Israelites, for Gideon understood the Midianite reciting his dream. (*Judges* vii. 15)—*Cnf. Is* lx. 16, where a tribe of the name of Midian is mentioned as famous for its breed of camels.

† *Shuach*, the sixth son, may also be connected with the Arab tribe noticed in Job ii. 11; and if so, his family must have continued to inhabit the North of the Peninsula. *Sheba* may also be related to the tribe noted in Job i. 15, as in the vicinity of Uz. (*Forster*, i. 327.) The nation of *Dedan* settled near Idumea, and is repeatedly spoken of by the prophets in that connection.

‡ The blessing of "the fatness of the earth, and the dew from heaven," was given by Isaac to Esau. (*Gen.* xxvii. 39.) As to their country, see Deut. ii. 12. The cause of their first leaving Canaan and settling at Mount Seir should be noted as illustrative of the influences, which would urge the Abrahamic races onwards in the direction of Central Arabia. Esau "went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob, for their riches were more than that they might dwell together, and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle, thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir. Esau is Edom." (*Gen.* xxxvi. 6—8.)

§ Job. ii. 11.—Jerem. xlix. 7.

|| There is no doubt that a nation of Amalekites descended from Amalek, the grand-son of Esau. After enumerating Amalek among the six grand-sons of Esau, by "Alphaz," Josephus proceeds: "These dwelt in that part of Idumea called Gebalit, and in that denominated from Amalek, *Amalekitis*," &c. (*Antiq.* II. 1.) In describing the attack of the Amalekites on Moses, he specifies their country as "Gobolitis and Petra." (III. 2); and in the time of Saul, he speaks of them as seated "from Pelusium to the Red Sea." (VI. 7. 3.—1 *Sam.* xv. 7.) The objection grounded on the sudden increase of the tribe is well answered by Ryland, for Israel had increased with equal rapidity; and besides, a warlike and successful people would attract adherents from other tribes (as we find in the after history of Arabia), and all would fight under one banner and be called by one name.

The notice of the "country of the Amalekites" as smitten by Chedorlaomer (*Gen.* xiv. 7.) refers to a period long anterior to the birth of Amalek; but it is remarkable, that while other conquered nations (the *Rephaims*, &c.) are spoken of simply as such, the "country of the Amalekites" is specified. It is hence deduced with likelihood, that what is meant is "the people inhabiting the country afterwards peopled by the Amalekites," otherwise we must of course hold that there was another nation of Amalekites, not of Abrahamic descent.

Morren holds that the Amalekites are not descendants of Esau, and that they were never associated with Esau's posterity either by Jewish or Arab tradition. (*Vide his note at p.* 219, Vol. III. of *Rosenmüller's Geography*, and *IDUMEA in Kitto's Cyclopædia*.) But Arab tradition for the period in question is valueless; and both Josephus and the Old Testament favor the opposite view. (*Vide, in the same Cyclopædia*, Art. AMALEK, by Ryland, which is more satisfactory.)

Michaelis also regards the Amalekites as identical with the Canaanites. But M. C.

Arab tribes. The Amalekites had at least a partial seat at Petra, and the country about the head of the Red Sea, till near the year 700 B. C., when they were driven thence, probably in a southern direction. The Mahometan legends speak of Amalekite tribes as the earliest inhabitants both of Medina, of Mecca, and of the country towards Syria.

4. The NAHORITES. Uz and Buz, the sons of Nahor, Abraham's brother, were the progenitors of extensive tribes to the North of Arabia; and the Bible repeatedly refers to them in this connexion.*

5. The MOABITES and AMMONITES, descended from the two sons of Lot, are prominent in scriptural history. They lived more North than any of the other nations specified; their most southerly stations lay East of the Dead Sea, and comprised the fine pasture lands of Balcâa and Kerek.

From this brief survey, it cannot but have struck even the casual observer, that a singular number of distinct and yet most populous tribes sprang from the Patriarch Abraham, or from collateral branches, and that they must have occupied a position of very commanding influence in the North of Arabia, throughout which the greater part of them spread abroad. The sacred writers, from their site in Palestine, noticed only such of these tribes as lived upon its border, or inhabited the vicinity; but we are not to conclude that the progeny of Abraham were confined to that quarter. The natural expansiveness of nations in those early days, while the earth was yet imperfectly peopled, and the Nomad habits of the race, would force them on towards the South and East; and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that a large portion of the central and northern plains and high lands of Arabia was peopled by them, or by nations closely allied and blended with them.

This conclusion is strengthened by the indisputable evidence of *tradition* and of *language*. The popular voice of some of the tribes asserted their descent from Abraham, and even as far South as Mecca, the opinion was current before the time of Mahomet. No doubt it is very improbable that this tradition was from the remote age of the Patriarch handed down in a

de Perceval, on the contrary, holds them to be the descendants of Esau through Amalek. We concur in his view, that the Amalekites of Arabian tradition refer to the same people, but in a vague and general sense, which embraces many other tribes of Abrahamic descent. (*Essai*. I. 22.)

* Uz is referred to in Job. i. 1.—Lament. iv. 21.—Jerem. xxv. 20. From the latter passage, the country of Uz would seem to have been of some extent. Buz is mentioned among other Arab tribes, in Is. xxv. 23, and Job. xxxii. 2 most likely refers to the same people. (*Rosenm.* III. 138.)

direct and independent line, and that it was not supported by the records of the Jews, if not entirely borrowed from them. Still the fact of its gaining even a partial and intermittent currency in any tribe, affords a strong presumption that the tribe was really of Abrahamic descent or connection; and that in its habits, its language, or its religious tenets, it possessed common points and associations derived from its origin, which naturally fell in with the tradition and occasioned its adoption.

Still stronger is the evidence derived from the close affinity of the *Arabic language* to that spoken by the Israelitish branch of the Abrahamic stock. The identity of both tongues, as to nine-tenths of the Hebrew roots, the similarity of declension, and the analogy of idiom and construction, are so striking, as to point indubitably to one ethnological origin. Besides the Arabic, there was current at least one other tongue, the Himyaritic, in the South of Arabia. But there, too, at last, the Arabic gained the ascendancy. It had long been the language of song and of oratory among the wild Bedouins even of Yemen extraction (while the Himyar speech was confined to the settled population in and about the towns); and eventually, with the help of Islam, it altogether displaced its rival.* So wide a diffusion in Arabia of the most polished branch of the Syro-Arabian language, affords a corresponding evidence of the prevalence of Abrahamic blood. The conclusion is important, and must be borne in mind; for it may help towards the explanation of some of the peculiarities of the Meccan worship.

But while it is undeniable that a great proportion of the tribes of Northern and Central Arabia were of Abrahamic descent, we have no materials for tracing their history for near two thousand years. Severed from the rest of the world by inhospitable deserts, and dissociated from civilized society by an insuperable diversity of manners and customs, the Arabs who inhabited this tract of country passed through these long ages unnoticed and unknown, while our knowledge of the race is confined to the casual accounts of the few border tribes which came in contact with the Jewish and Roman Governments, and to a casual glimpse (as in the case of the Queen of Sheba

* When Mahomet sent Ayash, son of Abu Rabia, to the Himyarites, he bade him tell them to "translate into Arabic the Coran, when they repeated it in another tongue." فَاِذَا رَظَنُوا نَقْلَ تَرْجَمُوْا (*Wâchidi*, p. 55.) This appears to imply the currency then of the Himyar language; but it did not long survive the inroads of Islam.

All the ancient fragments of ante-islamitic poetry, even among the pure Cahtânite Bedouins (who were aboriginal of Yemen) were in *Arabic*. We hear of no *Himyar* poetry whatever. (*C. de Perceval's Essai*, I. 57.)

and the Roman expedition, farther back. We may not, however, doubt, that during the five-and-twenty centuries which elapsed between Abraham and Mahomet, the mutual relations of the Arab tribes were undergoing an uninterrupted succession of those revolutions and changes to which human society, especially when broken up into numerous independent fragments, is ever exposed. Some of the tribes, like the Horirus of old, may have been extirpated; others, as the Amalekites of Petra, driven from their original seats; some may have migrated to distant settlements, or have merged themselves in other more commanding bodies; while intermarriage, conquest, and phylarchical revolution may have often united races of different origin, and severed those sprung from a common stock.* But of such changes, excepting in one or two border tribes, we have no record.

In the absence of any annals of Central Arabia, it remains for us to gather up and bring together the brief notices which are to be found of the north-western outskirts of the Peninsula.

As early as the time of Jacob, some of the Abrahamic races had already undertaken commerce, for we find the Ishmaelites even then carrying to Egypt upon their camels the spicy products of the East.† The facilities of transport, which those invaluable animals present, coupled with the position of Arabia, secured to its inhabitants from the earliest period the privilege of carrying the merchandize of the South and of the East; and one of the chief lines of traffic lay through Arabia Petrea.

The Idumeans and Amalekites, as we have already seen, supplanted the aboriginal inhabitants of Mount Seir, and settled themselves in Petrea. A monarchical government was early set up by them, and we find in the writings of Moses, the record of several of the dynasties and the seats of their government in Edom.‡ They obstructed the passage of the Is-

* That the Arabs of Northern Arabia were a mixed people of intermingled races, is gathered from the express notices of Scripture. Thus in Jerem. xxv. 24, after enumerating several Arab tribes, it is added, "and all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert." So also in the times of Moses and Gideon, the indiscriminate use of the terms *Ishmaelite* and *Midianite* argued that these races did not keep entirely distinct.

† Gen. xxxvii. 28.

‡ Vide Gen. xxxvi. 13, &c., and Exod. xv. 15. These passages mention both a *kingly* and a *ducal* government. Rosenmüller supposes that the kingly government existed only in the north-east of Edom, while simultaneously a patriarchal or oligarchical rule by "dukes" subsisted at Mount Seir. He thus reconciles Deut. ii. 4—8, with Numb. xx. 14: "It is by others ingeniously supposed, that the change from an oligarchy to a monarchy, took place during the wanderings of the children of Israel." (Rosenmüller, III. 185.—*Kitto's Cyclopædia*; Art. IDUMEA.)

raelites into Palestine; and they were attacked and overthrown by Saul and by David.* A series of interesting political relations then commenced between Judea and Petrea. The whole of the latter country was garrisoned by David; a naval station was established by Solomon at Ezion-geber or Elath,† the modern Akaba; and there he fitted out a fleet to bring him gold from Ophir. During the reign of Solomon, the communications between Arabia and the Jewish Government were frequent and intimate. The artificers and seamen to build and to man the fleet would, in part at least, be drawn from the natives of the country; the expedition to Ophir would bring the coasting establishment into contact with the marine tribes; and Solomon himself patronized the Arab caravans, and encouraged "the traffic of the spice merchants," and of the "clapmen," who, no doubt, carried back glowing accounts of what they had seen among the Jews. The renown of the Jewish monarch was so great throughout Arabia, that the Queen of the distant Sheba set out to gratify her curiosity; for "the report which she had heard in her own land" was so marvellous, that "she believed it not till she came and her eyes had seen it."‡ His political supremacy was also acknowledged, for "all the kings of Arabia, and governors of 'the country, brought gold and silver unto Solomon." Nor was this connexion transient.

About a century later, we find that Idumea was governed by a Jewish viceroy,§ and that Jehoshophat built another fleet at Ezion-geber, which was wrecked by a tempest. In the following reign the inhabitants rebelled; and though they were subsequently reduced by Amaziah, who conquered Sela or Petra, and gave it the name of *Joktheel*, and by Uzziah, "who built Elath," or Akaba, "and restored it to Judah;" yet they eventually became independent of the Jews.|| After an ascendancy

* The predatory attack of the Amalekites on Ziklag, and David's pursuit and recovery of the spoil and of the prisoners, are highly illustrative of Arab life. The surprise of the encampment, and the slaughter of all "save four hundred young men, which rode upon camels and fled," remind one of many a raid in the time of Mahomet fifteen or sixteen centuries later. (See the account in 1 *Sam.* xxx.)

† "And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Elath, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom." (1 *Kings* ix. 26—2 *Chron.* viii. 17.)

‡ "She came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold and precious stones." (1 *Kings* x. 2.) "Neither was there any such spice as the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon." (2 *Chron.* ix. 9.)

§ (1 *Kings* xxii. 47—*Rosenmüller*, III. 187.) This "deputy," called elsewhere the king of Edom, joined the Israelitish and Jewish monarch in an attack upon the Moabites. (2 *Kings* iii. 9, 12, 26.)

|| This corresponds with the address of Isaac to Esau. "By thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." (*Gen.* xxvii. 40)

of nearly two centuries, the Jews in their turn began to suffer from the Edomites. In the reign of Ahaz, they made incursions into Judea, and carried off many captives. Rezin, king of Syria, after besieging Jerusalem (742 B. C.) expelled the Jews from Elath, and reinstated the Edomites in its possession.* But we find a few years later, that a body of the tribe of Simeon made a successful attack upon Petra, where a remnant of the Amalekites still dwelt, and finally ejected them from thence: the movement was, however, partial, and did not affect the general prosperity of the Edomites. Unchecked by the Jews, they prosecuted in peace their mercantile speculations, and extended themselves on all sides from Bostra on the North to Dedan on the South.† They took advantage of the adversities of the Jewish nation to appropriate to themselves the southern part of Judea, from which, however, they were driven by the Maccabees; ‡ and they were in part at least finally incorporated among the Jews by John Hyrcanus, who forced them to submit to circumcision and other Jewish customs.§

But before this period, the Idumeans had already been supplanted in their southern possessions by the Ishmaelitish tribe of the NABATHEANS. These had probably lived hitherto in the Desert or by the Red Sea, and followed the occupations of a Nomad and of a mercantile life.|| They now took possession of Petra, and thence commanded the traffic which flowed northward from Western Arabia. We first hear of them three centuries before the Christian era, baffling the attacks of the Macedonian monarchs of Babylon, at the approach of whose armies they dispersed their flocks in the unapproachable Deserts, and defended their other property behind the rocky ramparts of Petra. On one of these occasions, their steady adherence to mercantile pursuits is exemplified by the absence

* 2 Kings xvi. 6, as explained by Rosenmüller, III. 188.

† This is evident from allusions in the Prophets:—*Jer.* xlix. 8, 20—22.—*Is.* xxxiv. 6; lxiii. 1.—*Ezek.* xxv. 13.—*Rosenm.* III. 189. See also *Ezek.* xxvii. 16, as rendered by Heeren. Addressing the Phœnicians, the prophet says, “Edom also managed thy trade, and thy great affairs; emeralds, purple, brodered work, cotton, bezoar, and precious stones, she gave thee for the wares thou deliveredst to her. (*Asiatic Researches*, II. 102.)

‡ 1 Maccabees. v.

§ Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 9, 1; see also the authorities quoted by the translator, Whiston. It is remarkable that the Idumeans, though clearly of Abrahamic stock, did not previously practise the rite of circumcision, the more so as the other Abrahamic tribes farther South appear never to have foregone it.

|| See an elaborate paper by *M. Quatremere*, *Journ. Asiatique.*, Janv. Fevr. Mars, 1835. After noticing that the Nabatheans are not alluded to either in Scripture (wherein he seems mistaken), or by Herodotus, he adds that the Greek and Latin authors, “tous s'accordent à placer dans l'Arabie la contrée qu'occupait cette nation, moins guerrière qu'active et industrielle.” (*Page 6, tome xv.*)

of most of the men, who are noticed as having been engaged in a commercial expedition. Their manners and habits, as described by Diodorus Siculus, coincide remarkably with those of the Arabs of the present day. Passionately fond of freedom, their home was the inviolable Desert, where the springs were known to themselves alone, and whither, in perfect security, they betook themselves, with their flocks and their herds of camels, when attacked by a foreign foe.

Such was the independent kingdom of the Nabatheans. It was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the West, by Egypt; on the North, by Syria and Palestine, and on the South and East by the Desert and the Aelanitic Gulph; but in the latter direction, its borders, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, advanced some way along the shores of the Red Sea, and into the heart of the Peninsula. Pliny refers to them as the Arabians next to Syria.* And their monarchs, "the kings of Arabia," are frequently noticed in the later annals of the Jews and of the Romans, under the names of Aretas and Obodas.†

Whilst the prosperity of the Nabatheans was at its height, a singular attack was made by the Romans upon the spicy regions of Arabia Felix. About the year 24 B. C., during the reign of Augustus, Aelius Gallus set out in command of a Roman army of 10,000 men, assisted by Obodas, king of Petra, with a thousand of his Nabatheans and five hundred Jews. The expedition started from Cleopatriis or Suez, and having reached Lenke Come (probably *Haurâ*),‡ a port of Nabathea, on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea, was there delayed by sickness for a year. The Roman army, beguiled by the treachery of the Nabathean minister, then traversed by circuitous and difficult routes, a country alternately desert and fertile. After a march of many days, they passed through the friendly country of Aretas, a Nabathean and a kinsman of Obodas. At last they reached and took *Mariaba*, a city six miles in circumference, and from thence proceeded to *Marsyaba*, the siege of which, from the strength of its fortifications, and the scarcity of water, they were obliged to raise: they then retreated hurriedly along the coast toward the North. The advance, owing to the artifices of the Arabs, and the asperity of the

In Nabateis, qui sunt ex Arabia contermini Syriæ. (*Hist. Nat.* XII. 37.)

† Aretas and Obodas are the Greek forms of *Harith* and *Obeid*, or *Abad*, or *Abbâd*. The name of Aretas is common in Jewish and Roman history. The Arabian wife of Herod Antipas, will be in the memory of all, as the daughter of Aretas, king of the Arabians; and the Aretas of Damascus is familiar to every reader of the Bible (2 Cor. xi. 32.) In the weak reign of Caligula, he had seized upon Damascus. (See also *Joseph de Bell. Jud.* I. 4. 7.—*Antiq.* XIII. 15. 1.)

‡ See *M. Quatremere's Mem. Journ. As.*, XV. 36.

way, occupied six months; the retreat, only two. From a port called Nera Come, they again embarked for *Myos Hormos*, on the Egyptian Coast. In Mariaba and Marsyaba have been traced the names of Mârel and Saba, capitals of Yemen;* but there is a singular obscurity in the account of this transaction given by Strabo and Pliny, and though the former was a personal friend of Aelius Gallus, and his narrative may therefore be depended upon, it seems impossible, except in a very few instances, to recognize with confidence the names of the towns, or peoples, or districts through which the expedition passed.† Neither do we gain much knowledge as to the social

* Mareb, as we have seen above, was anciently called also Saba. They may have formed two capitals; or the one have been the appellation of the district, the other of the capital. Some Arabic geographers say that Saba was the name of the city, Mareb of the royal residence. May they not both have been combined into one name MarSaba, or Marsyaba? (*C. de Perc.* l. 53—*Mallet Bruin's Geography*, B. xxx., p. 215.) The reader, who is curious to follow out this question, should consult two very elaborate, ingenious, and learned papers in the *Journal Asiatique*, for July and September, 1840, by M. Fulgence Fresnel, who endeavours to reconcile the varying statements of Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy. The writer exhibits some curious recognitions, in modern names, of the ancient appellations, but the general impression is one of surprise, that out of such extensive materials, so little common ground has been discovered between *Classical* and *Mahometan* Arabia, especially, when we consider how stationary upon the whole are the names of places and tribes in that country.

† This obscurity is not to be wondered at. The genius of the Arabic language so foreign in its structure and pronunciation to the Roman ear, the strangeness of the country, and the bewilderment occasioned by the unfriendly and circuitous guidance of the Arab allies, would involve the route, as well as the name, in uncertainty.

Mr. Forster says of Arabia, that "the writers of antiquity possessed both more 'extensive and more accurate information than ourselves' (l. 35.) This conclusion, without very great modification, we believe to be erroneous. If confined to some tracts on the north-west of Arabia, and to Yemen, or at least to the space between Oman and Yemen, (as it is by M. F. Fresnel, *Journal Asiatique*, Juillet, 1840, p. 84.) it becomes more intelligible: for those parts then possessed a Government in some measure civilized, and held communications with Europe. But as to the Peninsula generally, our knowledge is surely now much more extensive and accurate than that of the Ancients. In their time, indeed, there was less of exclusive bigotry; but the inhabitants were infinitely more barbarous, and their sub-division into a thousand independent sections would render the acquisition of any general view of the country nearly impossible. Now, on the contrary, although Islam has excluded *marchers* from a small and sacred circuit, yet it has united the Arabians under a common supremacy, and rendered it easy to gain concentrated information. We have now the advantages at many various points of a civilized and often literary population; of geographical works by the Arabs themselves; of professional travellers, both Mahometans and others; of a European settlement at Aden; of scientific surveys of the coast, and of much internal geography, illustrated by the wars in Arabia, from those of Mahomet to the extensive operations undertaken by the Pacha of Egypt in the present century for the subjugation of the Wahabites. Much of Arabia is still unexplored, but there is reason to believe that such portions of it are chiefly sandy deserts.

But whatever may have been the knowledge of the Roman geographers, it appears to us, that Mr. Forster has failed in obtaining from them any intelligible account of the route of Aelius Gallus. The arguments by which he carries the Roman commander across nearly the whole of Arabia seem to be singularly fanciful. The time passed is no decisive argument. Six months might very well be wasted by an artful Arab in conducting, by devious and difficult passages, an army from a port on the North of the Hedjâz along the Meccan range of hills to Negrân, and thence to Yemen. Delay in carrying a body of troops through a difficult and hostile country is not to be estimated by the marches which an unencumbered traveller makes. A

or political state of Central and Northern Arabia. The most important fact brought to light, as connected with our present survey, is the wide range occupied by the Nabathean Government; for it possessed a port for commerce some way down the Red Sea, and was connected inland, as in the case of Aretas, with influential off-shoots of the same tribe.

The kingdom of Nabathea, thus extensive and powerful at this period, became gradually dependent upon Rome; and was at last subdued by Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria (A. D. 105), and annexed to the vast empire of Trajan. Out of its ruins sprang up, in due time, other phases of border government, and these eventually formed themselves into the Ghassânide Kingdom. But the history of the dynasty of Ghassân cannot be developed without the aid of Mahometan tradition, (on which it is not our intention in the present article to trench, and) which, at this era, begins first to cast the glimmer of an imperfect twilight upon Arabia.

In the Amalekites and Nabatheans we recognize very plainly

considerable period must also have been spent in sieges and warlike operations. In the retreat, on the contrary, a direct and much easier road was indicated, and it was traversed with all possible expedition.

We have little faith in many of Mr. Forster's conclusions. His sanguine belief in the identity of places, appears often to increase with the difference of name, and the amount of mystical *anagrammatical inversion*, which is impalpable to ordinary eyes and ears. He thus identifies *Caripeta* with *Cariatin*: "This name has needlessly perplexed the critics. *Caripeta* is an easy and obvious misnomer, probably of transcribers, for *Cariat*, an inland town previously mentioned by Pliny and the seat apparently of his *Carrei*, and *Cariata* exists at this day, on the very route in question, the Nedjd road to Yemen, in the town of *Kariatain*." (II. 314.) But *Kariatain* thus forced into resemblance with *Caripeta*, is a common appellation grounded on a grammatical formation: it is the dual of the word "village," and signifies "the two villages;" and thus has no connexion either with *Caripeta* or *Cariata*, the latter of which would signify "(single) village." Again Mr. Forster "recovers" the *Calingü* of Pliny in the *Beni Khalid* of the present day, from the *resemblance* of the names! (*Ibid*, 311.)

Mr. Forster takes credit to himself for another discovery: "The author at length was led to observe in the well known classical denominations, *Katabani*, *Kotabanum*, or *Kabatanum*, and *Kattabeni* or *Kottabani*, so many easy inversions of the name *Beni Kahtan*." (I. 83.) This again is identified with the *Bana* of Ptolemy (p. 84), and *Baenum* (p. 91.) But it is in the last degree improbable, that the classics should have taken the common prefix (*Beni*) to every tribe; and in this case placed it at the end of the name, and otherwise incorporated it with the word. To trace any connection between *Bana*, *Baenum*, and *Beni Kahtan*, is simply absurd. Again, by an "anagram or inversion, the *Mesha* of Moses, and the *Zanes* Mons of the classical geographers prove to be one and the same name" (p. 99.) These are also identified with *Masemanes*, *Mishma*, or *Mashma* Sumama, and are finally "contracted into *Shaman* or *Saman*!" (p. 100.)

Diklah, the *Joktânide*, is "clearly discernible" in the modern *Dhu'l Khalaah*, *Dhulkelastæ*. "The names *Diklah*, *Dhulkelastæ*, and *Dhu'l Khalaah*, will be readily recognized by orientlists, as one and the same in pronunciation" (p. 148.) Few orientlists will admit this, besides that the modern name is evidently a compound, formed by the possessive *Dhu*. Contractions usually occur after the lapse of years, but here Mr. Forster would have us reverse the process; and assigning the *developed* name to the moderns, refer the contraction of it to the times of Moses!

the descendants of Esau and of Ishmael. It is not necessary to suppose that a conscious knowledge of this descent always rested in the nations themselves, or that the tradition descended among them without interruption or cessation. The vicissitudes occasioned by conquest, migration, and foreign connection, render it, in the last degree, improbable that a clear sense of traditional origin would be preserved for so many centuries by a barbarous people possessed of no recorded memorials. Yet the circumstances of name and location would themselves suggest the probability of this descent in the mind of those possessed of the Mosaic record; and we find in the Jewish authors, inspired and uninspired, sufficient indications that such conclusion was actually drawn. The natural inference would, from time to time, spread from the Jews to the tribes themselves whom it concerned, and reinforce the imperfect remnants of loose tradition still lingering in their mind, their habits, or their language. The Jews so extensively peopled the north-west of Arabia, and at one time possessed so great political and social influence there, that their scriptural and traditional accounts of patriarchal times must necessarily have obtained a wide notoriety, and commanded a general acceptance among the Abrahamic tribes. When the latter, therefore, by the increase of population, migratory habit, or the force of war, were driven southward into Central Arabia, they no doubt carried with them, and re-produced in the new settlements, their patriarchal traditions.

We learn from Mahometan tradition, that the earliest inhabitants of Mecca, Medina, and the desert Syria, were Amalekites; and that it was an Amalekite tribe, which, attracted to Mecca by the well Zanzam, there received and nurtured the youthful Ishmael and his forlorn mother. The legend is a myth, or rather a travestied plagiarism from Scripture. Amalekite or Idumean tribes were no doubt scattered over the country, and formed either the aboriginal population of Mecca, or settled there, perhaps in conjunction with immigrants from Yemen, at a very remote period. Subsequently, an Ishmaelitic tribe, either Nabathean, or of some collateral stock, came thither also, and acquired great influence. It brought along with it the patriarchal legend of Abrahamic origin, and engrafted it upon the local superstition, which was either native or imported from Yemen; and thus arose the mongrel worship of the Kaaba, and the Ishmaelitic legends, of which Mahomet took so great advantage.*

* It hardly needs be added, that this theory is quite independent of the question, whether the *Nabatheans* were an Ishmaelitic race. We believe them to have been

Regarding the religious tenets and customs of the Abrahamic races of Arabia, we have but scanty information. That they originally possessed a knowledge of God, and of the verities which exercised the faith of Abraham, cannot be doubted. We are assured by the inspired pen-man, that Abraham cared for the moral culture and religious training of his progeny; and for some time at least, "they kept the way

so, and their wide-spread shoots (as evidenced by the story of Aelius Gallus,) present a ready source for an Ishmaelitic settlement at Mecca; but as far as regards the theory stated in the text, it may have been any other Abrahamic tribe, possessed through intimacy with the Jews, of the necessary patriarchal legend of descent from Ishmael, &c.

On the special question of the affiliation of the Nabatheans, M. Quatremere (*Journ. As.*, XV. 98.) and after him M. C. de Perceval (l. 35) hold that they are not Arabs; but the latter admits that "the rams of Nebaioth" (*Is.* lx. 7) refer to the Nabatheans "(Nabit des Arabes,) *la postérité d'Ismael.*" (l. 180.)

M. Quatremere's arguments against the position are: I. That the Nabatheans are not reckoned by the Mahometans as Arabs, which they would have been if descended from Ishmael. But the reason why they are not so reckoned, is because of their foreign dialect and manner, acquired by settlement in the northern country, and their contact with the Syrians and Chaldeans (*C. de Pere*, l. 37.) They spoke Chaldean as well as Arabic, and the former infused itself into the idiom of the latter. The Arabs, punctilious above all things in the purity of their tongue, excluded these barbarous speakers of it from the pale of Arabs, and by consequence from the privilege of a supposed descent from Ishmael. An intelligent Hajji, who had lately travelled in Arabia, when questioned about this tribe, gave just this reply: "*They are still extant,*" he said; "*but they do not speak pure Arabic, and are not therefore strictly speaking Arabs.*" II. Arab tradition does not mention this descent; but Arab tradition is original and trustworthy only as far back as the Christian era, and then only for a few particulars regarding the ancestry of the Coreish. Beyond that it is mere plagiarism from the Jews, and possesses no authority. It appears to us most uncritical to rest upon it at all: much more to place it (as M. Quatremere has done) in a successful antagonism as evidence to disprove the plain intimations of the Old Testament. III.

The name of the Arab tribe is written with a ط (نبط or انباط) whereas "Nebaioth," the son of Ishmael, is written both in Hebrew and Arabic with a ت (نابت or نبئت). There is no doubt that the Arabs do make this difference, and if their authority were that of a witness speaking from original knowledge, it would have much weight; but this we have shown not to be the case. Besides, the two letters are not invariably kept distinct. In another of the sons of Ishmael, *Tem*, the Hebrew letter corresponding with ت is rendered

by ط thus طيع (*Vide Wäckidi*, p. 8.) IV. Lastly, the Mahometans are acquainted with a tribe called Nabatheans, and ascribe to them a different origin, some tracing the descent from Ham, others from Shem, but none from Ishmael. To this again we reply that their evidence is mere conjecture and no authority whatever; otherwise, it would follow that the Mahometans allude to some other tribe under the name *Anbat*, different from the Nabatheans of the Jews and Classics.

It will be objected that if a Nabathan tribe settled at Mecca, its own tradition of descent from Ishmael would have prevented the Mahometan opinion as to the non-Arab origin of the Nabathan tribe. But it is not necessary to suppose that the tribe which settled at Mecca was called Nabathan. It may have dropped that name as being un-Arabic, or it may never have been called by it. The great Nabathan nation possessed wide-spread settlements in various quarters. Many of these had probably their own names, though all styled by foreigners under the generic title of Nabatheans.

Still if the objection be deemed insuperable, it is not necessary to hold that the Meccan Ishmaelites were Nabatheans: they may have been Kedarenes, or any other Ishmaelitic race, in which the traditional descent was kept alive by Jewish aid.

of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.* The Midianites, four centuries after Abraham, still retained that knowledge; and Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, appears to have been a priest of the True God.† The mode, again, in which Balaam, the son of Beor, addressed Balak, the king of the Moabites, and the nature of the rites performed at the interview between them, prove, that however much they may have fallen away from the practice enjoined by the faith of Abraham, they yet preserved some knowledge of its truths. Thus also the whole tenor of the sayings of Job, who was planted in the centre of the Abrahamic races, and of his friends, who were of various Abrahamic tribes, implies a minute acquaintance with traditional and pure religion. It is reasonable to infer, that such knowledge was general, and that it was kept up for many generations amongst the branches of the stock of Abraham.

We gather at the same time, that these tribes manifested a rapid and widely spread departure from the simplicity of Abraham's worship, and the purity of his doctrines. The seeds of this defection were already sown in the family of the Patriarch's father, Terah, who "served other gods."‡ In the third generation from Nahor, we read of the teraphim or images of Laban.§ Intimations occur of the Israelites committing idolatry in their journey to Palestine;|| and they probably did so through the example of some of the Abrahamic tribes inhabiting those regions. One instance is expressly detailed, in which they were induced by the Moabites to join in the worship of their idol, Baal Peor.¶ Similarly we find that many centuries after, the Idumeans of Petra exercised a similar influence, for the Jewish King Amaziah, after he "was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them."** Such indeed is the result which we should naturally expect;

* (*Gen.* xviii. 19.) The expressions used are general, and not confined to the branch of Isaac:—"For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of THE LORD, and do justice and judgment, that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him."

† Compare *Exod.* ii. 16, iii. 1, with *Exod.* xviii. 11 & 12.

‡ *Joshua* xxiv. 2.

§ (*Gen.* xxxi. 19.) Whatever these teraphim were, they intimate at least some departure from the pure worship and belief of Abraham.

|| *Amos* v. 26—*Acts* vii. 42.

¶ *Numbers* xxv. 1, &c.

** *2 Chron.* xxv. 14.

with the same irresistible tendencies towards idolatry as the Israelites, but without the constant checks which repressed them, it would have been wonderful indeed if they had not fallen into gross and debasing Paganism.

Declension into idolatry must, in the end, have displaced the memory both of Abraham and his religion, had not the neighbourhood and intercourse of the Jews, as they revived the knowledge of patriarchal descent, supplied likewise an acquaintance with the purer faith of their common progenitor. Political connexion with the Jews settled every here and there in Arabia, and the frequent passage of the Arab caravans through the borders of Palestine and Syria, would deepen and extend this knowledge. How far it affected the tenets and practices of the Arabs generally, we have no exact means of knowing; circumcision was received amongst them apparently as an Abrahamic rite, and the story of Abraham, grievously distorted indeed, and shorn of its spiritual bearing, but yet possessing a germ of truth, was current at Mecca prior to Islam, and was inwrought into some of the ritual observances of the Kaaba.

The rise of Christianity, and the confirmation given by its missionaries to the main drift of such traditional facts, would impart to them fresh credit. The birth-place of this new religion bordered close upon the residence of the Ishmaelite Arabs, and its political influence soon became paramount in Nabathea and Idumea: both circumstances would expose the inhabitants to the frequent solicitations of the earliest missionaries. Paul himself spent some time in their country.* In the beginning of the third century, we find the governor of Arabia anxious to learn the doctrines of Origen, and sending an urgent summons for him through the Prefect of Egypt. Shortly after, a heresy having gained ground in Arabia, which represented the soul as perishing at death, to be raised again at the judgment day, a numerous synod was assembled, and Origen being again summoned, convinced the innovators of their errors.† In the fourth century, Petra was the residence of a metropolitan, whose diocese embraced the Ancient Idumea and Nabathea.‡ Considering all these efforts, and the zeal of the Anchorites, who are said to have peopled some of these deserts with their solitary cells, it may appear surprising that the

* Galatians i. 17.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vi. 19, 37.

‡ Under the name of *Palestina Tertia*, or *Salutaris*, this metropolitan was subsequently placed under the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

countries about the Aelanitic Gulph were not more thoroughly evangelized, and that their people were not brought more extensively within the pale of Christianity. But there were strong countervailing influences at work, Arab and Jewish, which the evangelists of that day were unable to overcome. These, for the present at least, we have not space to enter upon.

We shall now endeavour to sketch the MERCANTILE progress of the border tribes, and to trace the causes of their decadence.

It has been well remarked by Heeren, that the grand feature distinguishing ancient from modern commerce, was that it confined itself almost exclusively to the dry land, and that the sea traffic was simply a subordinate appendage. A long and uninterrupted continent, in later times the greatest obstacle to commerce, constituted then its chief facility. The desert steppes of Asia formed the mercantile ocean of the ancients—the companies of camels, their fleets; but the barbarous hordes of those wild lands rendered it perilous for a few merchants alone to attempt so arduous a journey, and hence the necessity for *caravans*, to assemble at fixed spots and conventional periods, and travel in a common direction, and by known and determined routes. Thus the marts and main points of traffic became settled and notorious throughout the ancient world. “For like reasons,” says Heeren, “the very course of the caravan was not a matter of free choice, but of established custom. In the vast steppes of sandy deserts, which they had to traverse, nature had sparingly allotted to the traveller a few scattered places of rest, where, under the shade of palm trees, and beside the cool fountains at their feet, the merchant and his beast of burden might enjoy the refreshment rendered necessary by so much suffering: Such places of repose became *entrepôts* of commerce, and not unfrequently the sites of temples and sanctuaries, under the protection of which the merchant prosecuted his trade, and to which the pilgrim resorted.”*

These circumstances operated with their full weight upon Arabia, and even in the times of Jacob, as we have noticed, the Ishmaelite traders in the North of the Peninsula had established a caravan traffic between Egypt and the eastern lands. When the countries to the North and West of Arabia

* (*Heeren's Researches: Africa*, I. 23.) The last sentence bears strongly upon the origin and progress of Meccā. But it will still be a question, which had the priority; the temple or the mercantile station?

became more densely peopled, and civilization advanced, the traffic extended and settled down into fixed channels with established stations.

One great line of commerce took its rise in Yemen, and guided by the north-westerly trend of the coast, tracked through the Hedjâz and thence towards the Mediterranean. Regarding this route, we quote the following passage from the *Researches* of the learned and accurate Heeren:—

This writer (Strabo) mentions at least one of the intervening stations, which the caravans from Arabia Felix usually passed through, and determines the time which the journey occupied. They consumed seventy days in going from Yemen to Petra, and passed in their route a place named *Albus Pagus* (Ἀλευκή κόμη of the Greeks, and the *Havra* or *Avara* of the Arabians). This place is situated on the Arabian Gulph, under 25° N. Lat., on the boundaries of the fertile country of Nejed, belonging to Central Arabia. Hence it is evident, that the caravan road extended along the Arabian Gulph, most probably touched upon Mecca, the ancient Macoraba, and so arrived at the frontiers of Arabia Felix. By this route the caravans would enjoy the advantage of passing through fertile regions in the midst of their journey; while deeper in the interior, they would have had to traverse long and dreary sandy deserts. The number of days' journey agrees very well with the distance. From Mariaba to Petra, is reckoned about 1,260 geographical miles, which, divided by sixteen, the ordinary distance which caravans travel in a day, amount to seventy.*

Another line of traffic, commencing likewise in the southern extremity of Arabia, ran directly North to the Persian Gulph, and thence northward still into Persia, or in a north-westerly direction, towards Syria. Upon this head we shall quote further from the same author:—

This same writer (Strabo) has left us also some few particulars respecting the trading routes of Eastern Arabia. It was the inhabitants of the city of Gerra, on the Persian Gulph, who more especially carried on the caravan trade. They kept up a commercial intercourse with the marts of Hadramaut, the journey to which occupied forty days, the road stretching right across the great sandy desert in the south-east of the Peninsula, and not along the coast. The distance in a direct line from Hadramaut to Gerra is not less than from 650 to 700 miles, and would consequently require a forty days' journey.

Besides this, there existed, as we learn from the words of the Prophet, a direct intercourse between the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula, and Gerra and Phenicia. For, he says, the merchants of Dedan brought the merchandize of the Persian Gulph to Tyre, (*Ezek.* xxvii. 15,) whose route must consequently have run through the north-eastern part of the land. This fact is still further proved by a passage from Isaiah, who when he threatens Arabia with a foreign invasion, forgets not to mention the interruption which it would cause to its commerce. "*In the wilderness of Arabia, ye will be benighted, oh, ye caravans of Dedan! To the thirsty bring out water, inhabitants of Tema; bring forth bread for the fugitives! for they fly before the sword and*

* (*Heeren's Researches: Asiatic Nations*, II. 106.) See also the detail of routes (*App. D.*, III. 488, *et. seq.*), and the valuable map illustrating the lines of traffic. in Vol. I.)

before the fury of war."* The trading caravans of Dedan, which had hitherto journeyed undisturbed, were to be driven from their usual route by the approach of the enemy, and compelled to pass their nights in the wilderness, where the hospitable tribe of Tema, out of compassion, would bring them water and bread. Tema was situated on the western border of the fertile province of Nejed, by which therefore the road passed. From this road the caravans were to be compelled to turn, in order to hide themselves in the desert.†

This commerce afforded a vast field of employment for the Arab tribes. Some traded on their own account, and these generally settled down as the occupants of the emporia or commercial cities in their vicinity. Others, without directly engaging in the traffic, became the carriers of it; their camels were the means of transport, and they received hire both for them and for the protection of the goods by the way. A frontier customs duty was also probably exacted. These continued in their Nomad habits. Both were enriched, but the traders most.

Large commercial stations grew rapidly up. Of those on the north-eastern coast, the chief was Gerra, (the modern Lachsa,) which commanded the Indian traffic of the Persian Gulph, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, as well as of the western lines noticed in the above extract. It was, according to Strabo, a Chaldean or Babylonian colony; and we learn from Agathar-cides, that its Arabian and Indian commerce rendered its people one of the richest in the world.‡ This traffic was far removed from the Meccan Arabs, and did not intimately affect their interests.

The western line along the Hedjâz is that which demands our closest attention. The products of Yemen, its southern terminus, are stated by Herodotus to have been frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and ledanon.§ To these may be added gold and precious stones, as the proper productions of Arabia; and ivory, ebony, and spices, as importations from India and Africa.|| We have seen that the Jews, under Solomon, took advantage of this line of commerce; they also opened it up to the Phenicians, who joined them in their naval expedition in the Red Sea.¶ Four hundred years later (about 600 B. C.),

* Isaiah xxi. 13—15, with Gesenius' commentary. "These passages of the Prophets are of the greater importance, from the seldomness with which caravans are mentioned by historical writers. It is from them, and not from the historians, that may be gathered the extent of the commerce of the ancient world."

† *Heeren* *us above* (II. 107, 108.)

‡ *Idem*, pp. 225—233, &c.

§ *Herod.* III. 107: Cinnamon, however, belongs not to Arabia, but to India (*Heeren, ibid.*, pp. 96—240.)

|| *Heeren, ibid.*

¶ 1 Kings ix. 26 & 27.

the denunciations of Ezekiel against the haughty Tyre, prove that a busy and constant intercourse still subsisted, by which the Tyrian marts, in exchange for Syrian wares, replenished themselves with the rarities of Yemen.* Three or four centuries passed, and we find from Eratosthenes that the Minæans or Arabs of the Hedjâz, were still the carriers of the Yemen goods from Hadhramaut to Ayla (or Akaba); and the same author notices (as we learn through Strabo,) that the journey was one of seventy days, thus wonderfully coinciding with the stages of the same route even at the present day.†

The Roman Empire, gradually extending its irresistible rule to the confines of Arabia, fostered and at first increased the traffic of the Arabian caravans. The Nabatheans of Petra especially prospered. They were enabled to prosecute, in comparative peace and protection, their mercantile projects. Military roads, too, aided the commerce. From Ayla, or Akaba, a great highway led to Petra, branching off in one direction towards Gaza on the Mediterranean, and on the other towards Damascus.‡ Upon these lines arose large and thriving emporia. Like the magnificent Palmyra on the Mesopotamian route, so did stately and luxurious cities, from Damascus southward, spring up under the auspices of Rome. "Modern travellers 'have brought to light the remains of the cities East of the 'Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea (the ancient Decapolis and 'Havra.) The magnificent ruins of Gerasa, (Dsieres,§) 'Gadara, and Philadelphia (Amman,) some of which are little 'inferior to those of Palmyra. Decayed temples, colonnades, 'and amphi-theatres, show the former grandeur and opulence

* *Ezek. xxvii. 19—24*, which Heeren translates "*Wadan and Javan brought thee 'from Sanaa, sword blades, cassia, and cinnamon, in exchange for thy wares. The merchants of Saba and of Ruanna traded with thee; the best spices, precious stones, and 'gold brought they to thee for thy wares. Haran, Canna, Aden, Saba, traded with thee.*" He adds: "Some of these places, as Aden, Canna, and Haran, all celebrated sea-ports on the Indian Sea, as well as Sanaa and Saba, or Mariaba, still the capital of Yemen, have retained their names unchanged to the present day; the site of others, as Wadan, on the Straits of Babel Mandeb, rest only on probable conjecture. These accurate statements of the Prophet, at all events, prove what a special knowledge the inhabitants of Palestine had of happy Arabia, and how great and active the intercourse with that country must have been" (*Heeren's As. Res.*, II. 98.)

† See *Sprenger's Life of Mahomet*, p. 10, where the stages, seventy in number, are detailed. Theophrastus also gives some curious particulars regarding the traffic in frankincense, myrrh, and cassia, with Saba and *Adramotitis*, which corresponds evidently with Hadhramaut. (*Heeren's As. Res.*, II. 98.)

‡ These were the routes still in use in Mahomet's time for the Syrian caravans. Hâshim, the great-grandfather of Mahomet, died at Ghazza (Gaza), when on a mercantile expedition to Syria. His property was brought back from thence. (*Wâchidi*, p. 14—*Sprenger*, p. 30.)

§ See the beautiful daguerreotype views of Jerash, with its wilderness of ruined columns, pillars, and temples, in the illustrated edition of *Keith's Evidence of Prophecy*, published in 1848.

‘ of these cities, when they were the seats of the Indian-
 ‘ Arabian commerce.’* Still farther South was the ancient
 Bostra; and again beyond that Petra, Leuke Come, and the
 other marts of the Nabatheans.

We have already traced the history of the emporium Petra, with its seaport Ayla or Akaba, from the times of the Jewish monarch down to the Christian era. Under the auspices of Rome, Petra rose along with her dependencies to an incredible opulence. Unheeded in the desert, and for centuries forgotten, the stately ruins of the hill-encircled city, with its chiselled rocks, still remain an evidence that may not be gain-sayed, of the truth of history, of the mighty traffic once appropriated by the marts of Petra, of the princely magnificence of her merchants, and of the unerring certainty of prophetic denunciation.† Pliny and Strabo both describe the city, and a friend of the latter, Athenodoras the Stoic, who had visited it, related to him with admiration the excellence of its government under a native prince, and the security with which Roman and other foreigners resided there‡. Its prosperity was, however, entirely dependent upon the caravan trade, which there changed carriage, and passed from the southern into the hands of the northern merchants. Diodorus Siculus, in describing with wonderful precision the habits of the Nabathan Arabs, attributes their superiority over the other Bedouin tribes to this trade. “ Their commercial pursuits,” he says, “ are the chief
 ‘ cause of their greater prosperity. For many of the tribe
 ‘ follow the business of transporting to the Mediterranean
 ‘ frankincense, myrrh, and other costly spices, which are trans-
 ‘ ferred to them by the carriers from Arabia Felix.”§

Strabo also writes that the merchandise of the Arabian Gulph used to be transported from Leuke Come, on the Red Sea, to Petra; thence to Rhinocolura (*Al Arîsh*), a town upon the Mediterranean, and from it to other ports.|| And Pliny notices

* *Heeren's As. Res.*, II. 110.

† No better illustration of the marvellous fulfilment of these prophecies can be given than that by Keith, in the edition of his work above referred to, in which modern skill has been happily pressed into the service of prophecy by the presentation of photographic sketches of the chief scenes of prophesied desolation. In the palmy days of its regal magnificence, who could have foretold that Petra, secured apparently behind its rocky embattlements, would have become utterly waste and desolate, and not Damascus or any other city?

‡ Strabo, XVI.

§ See *Forster's Arabia*, I. 224.

|| *Strabo ut Supra*.

the double route from Petra northward to Palmyra, and westward to Gaza.*

It was thus, that in the early part of the Christian era, the Nabatheans reached the height of their glory, and extended themselves not only to the north, but southwards, towards the Hedjâz. But the power of Rome, which had thus fostered the Arab trade, now produced another consequence, which, eventually, sapped the prosperity of the caravans of the Hedjâz and of Petra.

In very remote times, there is reason to believe, that the Egyptians held a trans-marine intercourse with the nations of India;† and it has been clearly ascertained that at some periods they manned fleets upon the Red Sea, and thus communicated with the shores of Arabia.‡ That there existed a direct intercourse between Yemen and India from an early period is equally certain. Speaking of Muza (or Mocha), the author of the *Periplus* says, that it "was wholly inhabited by Arab ship-owners and sailors, who traded to the opposite port of Barygaza (Broach,) with the productions of their native country."§

So long as this commerce was confined to the Indian Ocean, and did not penetrate the Red Sea, it only supplied material for the caravans of Yemen and Petra, and ministered to the prosperity of the Arab tribes. But the power and energy of the Romans were not satisfied with this mediate carriage. They projected a direct traffic between the ports of India and

* *Hist. Nat.*, VI. 32. "Nabataei Arabiae populus, oppidum includunt Petram nomine in convalle, ** * circumdatum montibus inaccessis. Huc convenit utrumque bivium eorum qui et Syria (al Syriae) Palmyram petiere, et eorum, qui ab Gaza venerunt." (*Vide Heeren's As. Res.*, II. 45, and *Journ. Asiatique*, XV. 20.)

† See *Heeren's Res.*: *Africa*, II. 273, and *As. Res.* III. 407.

‡ *Heeren's As. Res.*, III. 382, 405 and *App. C.*, p. 409. The commerce, according to Arrian (*Periplus*), was conducted by Arabian navigators and traders, between Broach and Zanguebar. In return for frankincense and other Arabian articles, the products of India, thus described by Arrian, were bartered. "Moreover indigenous productions, such as corn, rice, butter (*ghi*), oil of sesamum, coarse and fine cotton goods, and cane honey (*sugar*), are regularly exported from the interior of Ariaka (Concan,) and from Barygaza (Broach,) to the opposite coast. Some particular vessels are purposely destined for this trade; others engage in it only as occasion or opportunity offers." Heeren well observes, that this navigation was entirely independent of the "Græco-Indian commerce," and much earlier than it. Arrian adds: "This navigation was regularly managed," i. e., according to the monsoons, which, by their alternations, facilitated the communication. The 'butter' is no doubt the 'oil of milk' noticed by Ctesias in his *Indica*, c. xxii., and "answers to our *ghi*." (*Heeren's As. Res.*, III. 407. See also an interesting note by Dr. Sprenger on the details of the coasting passage. (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 15, note 2)."

§ *Periplus*, pp. 10—18. *Heeren's As. Res.*, III. 408.

the Red Sea itself; and casting aside the intervening harbours and the Arabian carriers,* they landed the goods of India and of Yemen at Arsinoë or Cleopatris, our modern Suez, or at the other emporia on the Egyptian bank of the Red sea.†

This proved a fatal blow to the caravan traffic of Arabia. The rapidity, the ease, and the economy of a direct communication by sea were soon perceived, and quickly brought into action, while the slow, expensive, and laborious system of the desert route and the camel-carriage fell into complete and irretrievable disuse. The sea-port towns of Yemen alone retained their importance, while the land commerce gradually melted away; and with it the merchant stations decayed, and at length became utterly desert. Such is the tale, which the stately pillars and owl-tenanted palaces of Petra, of Jerash, and of Philadelphia, recite, after the lapse of sixteen centuries, to the wonder-stricken traveller.

Another cause co-operated with this fatal change. The Senile rule of Constantinople no longer held the Arab tribes in check, as the iron sceptre of Rome had done. The Persian monarchy and its dependent, Híra, made frequent inroads upon the Syrian frontier, which often formed an arena for the struggles of the two empires. The Government of Northern Arabia became, in consequence, weak and disorganized. No longer attracted by the gains of commerce, and ever and anon exposed to the inroads of a Persian force, the inhabitants of Petra and the other commercial posts felt the native love of a free and predatory life return with a fresh and unopposed vigour; and thus gladly casting off the restraints and formalities of walls and of settled habits, they again roamed, as their fathers before them, the true sons of the desert.

So great a political movement as the drying up of a full and perennial stream of merchandise, and the abandonment of the towns created by that traffic, and possessed of no independent resources, must have been followed by much distress, and

* Vide *Sprenger's Life of Mahomet*, 15. Strabo, in his account of the expedition of Aelius Gallus, after describing, in the quotation made above, the former course of merchandise to Petra, adds:—"But now it is mostly brought down the Nile to Alexandria; for the products of Arabia, with those of India, are carried to Myos Hormos (a port on the western shore of the Red Sea;) then transferred by camels to Coptos in the Thebaid: and thence to Alexandria by the canal of the Nile." (*Strabo Lib. xvi.*—vide *Forster's Geography of Arabia*, II. 285.)

† We have an incidental confirmation of the European trade in the Red Sea, in the time of Mahomet, in the shipwreck, about the beginning of the seventh century, of a Grecian ship off Jiddah. The wood was employed towards rebuilding the Kaaba, and the Captain, named Bâcum, described as a Grecian merchant, acquainted with architecture, assisted in the work. (*Wâchidi*, p. 27—*Hishâmi*, p. 41—*Tabari*, p. 73. *Sprenger*, p. 84.)

by changes both extensive and radical throughout Arabia. Besides the imposing ruins, which from Petra to Damascus still meet the eye, there were no doubt farther south many other scenes of depopulation and misery. It is possible that the disappearance of such tribes as the people of Ad and of Thamûd (attributed by tradition to divine vengeance,) may be owing to this cause. Both lay to the North of Mecca, in the direct line of the traffic,* and both would suffer from its stoppage. Other calamities of drought or of tempest may have been superadded; and following, perhaps, upon some impious conduct (possibly the contemptuous or injurious treatment of a Christian Missionary,) would be construed by the superstitious Arabs into marks of the wrath of God,† and thus come to be regarded as the cause of the downfall, which was really owing to the failure of mercantile resources. Similar distress, followed by depopulation or change of residence, and habits of life, must have resulted, more or less, throughout Arabia. In Yemen and Hadhramaut, especially, which formed the great southern terminus of the lines both towards the Persian Gulph and the Mediterranean Sea, whole tribes of Arabs, with their herds of camels, used to receive constant employment and support from the carriage of the merchandise, and a large stationary population must likewise have arisen, indirectly dependent on the same trade. When the traffic ceased, the former were left without any business or

* This has been satisfactorily shown by Sprenger. (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 13.) The two tribes were related to one another, both by blood and by position. The Thamûdites certainly inhabited the valley of Hijr, between Medina and Syria. (*Hishâmî*, p. 395.) We have also the testimony of Tabari and Ghazzali, placing the Adites North of Mecca, and near the Thamûdites. We do not at all follow C. de Perceval's theory of the Adites. The Thamudites are apparently the same people as are mentioned under a similar name by Diodorus Siculus, and Ptolemy, the latter of whom places them near the Nabatheans. They are also probably the same tribe as furnished the *Equites Saraceni Thamudeni*, placed under the commander of Egypt, and stationed in Palestine. They lived in abodes hewn out, like those of Petra, in the rocks of the valley of Hijr, where they killed the camel of the Prophet Sâlih, sent to reclaim them. (Coran, VII. 74, &c.) Both he and Hûd, the prophet, rejected by the Adites, were probably Christian evangelists.

† The superstition of Mahomet is illustrated by his passage through this valley, in his expedition to Tabûk. "And when Mahomet reached the valley of Hijr, he alighted there, and pitched his camp, and the people drew water from the fountains. And when it was even, the prophet said, 'Drink not of the water of this place, not even a drop thereof; and perform not your ablutions with it: and the dough that ye have kneaded therewith, give it to the camels, eat not a particle of it; and let no one of you go forth of the camp this night, unless he have a companion with him. And they obeyed, excepting two men; and one of them had his neck wrenched by the way, and the other was carried by the winds and cast upon the two hills of the Bani Tai. And it was told Mahomet, and he said, 'Did not I prohibit you from going out alone, any one without his companion?' And he prayed for the man whose neck was injured, and he was cured, and the Bani Tai returned the other man."

It is said that as Mahomet passed by the valley of Hijr, he wrapped his clothes over his mouth, and urged on his camel, and said, "Enter not the houses of the transgressors, except weeping, for fear lest that happen to you, which overtook them." (*Hishâmî*, p. 396.)

income whatever, and the latter formed a baneful incubus, which the reduced resources of the state were unable to sustain, while the Bedouin carriers betook themselves without difficulty again to a Nomad life. The settled population had no such resource, and they were forced, by the necessities of a daily diminishing capital and daily increasing want, to migrate in quest of a less over-stocked country.

It is to this cause, then, that we attribute the vast emigrations which, early in the Christian era, set northwards, from amongst the teeming population of Arabia Felix. With the result of this migratory movement, the student of the early history of Arabia is familiar. It replenished the desert with new tribes of roaming Bedouins, while it brought to many of the central and northern cities large bands of immigrants, clamorous for a settlement in their vicinity, and ready, if refused, to extort it by force. From the great family of CAHLAN (descended from Cahtân,) the AZDITE branch supplied to Mecca the tribe of the *Khozâa*, and to Medina the *Aus* and *Khazraj*, while to Syria it gave the dynasty of *Ghassan*. Another branch of the same stock sent forth to Hira its royal family of the *Lakhmite* tribe; to Central Arabia the famous Nomad *Kinda*, who long held the supremacy there; to Northern Arabia the *Bani Tai*, and to Tajrân the *Bani Madhij*. The family of *Timyar* again, (descended likewise from Cahtân,) through the stock of *Codhâa*, furnished the *Bani Kalb* to Dûmat at Jandal, and the *Bani Odzra Joheina*, and other important tribes to the North of the Peninsula, to Irack and Mesopotamia. These are but a few of the more remarkable instances of the multitude of tribes, which the great migratory movement cast forth from the South, and caused to take root in the central or northern districts of Arabia. The period of this dispersion occupies, in general, a space, which would naturally fall under the full influence of the commercial change.

While the stations and emporia between Syria and Bâbal Mandab decayed and disappeared, and Yemen and Petra rendered up a part, or the whole of their inhabitants, to the desert, Mecca itself, the important half-way mart upon the great western line, did not escape its share in the calamity. What happened elsewhere, took place here also, though on a reduced scale. The descendants of Adnân, the remote ancestor of the Coreish, were compelled, from time to time, to migrate towards the East. Among these are to be found many of the important tribes of Najd, (as the *Ghatafân*, *Sulaim*, *Hawâzin*, the *Bani Bakr* and *Bani Taghlib*, the *Mozeina*, and the *Bani Tâmmîn*,) which afterwards played a conspicuous part in the history of the

Peninsula. We conclude, that at this period Mecca lost the consequence, which, as the ancient Macoraba, it possessed, and dwindled down into an insignificant village; deserted by so many of its native tribes, it felt the power of successive invaders from the South. But it possessed in its shrine and universally recognized worship, a principle of life and prosperity, which enabled it to survive the fall of commerce. By-and-bye it recovered from the shock, and in the middle of the fifth century, Cussai, a native of the Corcish stock, again enlarged its limits, cutting down the shrubs and jungle, which had gradually encroached, and having reclaimed the most of the Coreishite tribe from their Nomad habits, into which they were falling, re-settled them in their ancient township. Though no longer placed on one of the highways of the world, Mecca still carried on a local and limited trade with Syria and with Yemen, in grain and leather, in spices and in dried fruits, and this commerce contributed, with the national pilgrimage to its shrine, to restore it to a permanent though reduced importance. Such we take to have been the early history of Mecca.*

The importance of Medina (never very great till the Hegira,) was less affected than Mecca, by the downfall of commerce, because it lay some way to the East of the high road of the Syrian caravans, and it possessed a more fertile soil on which to fall back.

Long before MANOMET appeared, Arabia had recovered from the unsettlement which the great change in the traffic of Asia with Europe had occasioned, and her internal relations had adjusted themselves to the lower scale of prosperity on which it was to stand;—until a new and unexpected success should invest her with a lustre unparalleled in her previous annals, and cause the treasures of the world again to flow (not now as the exchange of commerce, but as the tribute of supremacy,) in a grateful and continuous stream towards the cities of the sacred Hejâz.

* There is nothing in Arabian tradition bearing upon the cause to which we have here attributed the migrations from Yemen and Mecca. The ancient mercantile prosperity is, from its great antiquity, unknown to native sources; and besides, the commercial change was too slow, and its early results too gradual, obscure and imperceptible to the looker-on of the day, to become the subject of tradition, which in general seizes only upon tangible events and direct overt acts. The emigrations being occasioned by an impulse long at work, but not patent on the surface at any particular point, were ascribed to other events, which might indeed have been concomitant influences or proximate causes (as the apprehended breach of the dam at Mareb, internal dissension, &c.) but are utterly inadequate, in themselves and alone, to account for so general and continued a movement.

- ART. V.—1. *Three Eras of Ottoman History*, by J. H. Shene, Esq. London, 1851.
2. *Lettres sur la Turquie*, par M. Ubicini. Paris, 1851.
3. *Parliamentary Report on Commerce of Syria*, by J. Bowring.
4. *La Turquie Nouvelle*. Paris.
5. *Turkey and its Resources*, by Mr. Urquhart.
6. *Macfarlane's last Work on Turkey*.

IN spite of diminished splendour, and contracted frontiers, the Empire of Turkey still comprises some of the fairest portions of the world, peopled by some of the most ancient races. The most renowned cities, that have preserved their repute since the earliest annals of mankind, are included within these limits; and no other kingdom possesses such natural commercial advantages, being situated in the centre of the known world, with ports and harbours on five distinct seas, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Red Sea, the Adriatic, and the Persian Gulf. The object of the present inquiry is to give some idea of the state of this magnificent Empire, and to discover an answer to the query so often raised, whether the reforms of the last twenty years are a prelude to a new and vigorous form of Government, or but the last puff of the expiring taper.

The study of this subject cannot but be of some interest both to those of our readers, who have a share in the Government of Anglo-India, and those who have, for purposes of their own advantage, placed themselves under the rule of the Company. The former may indeed be thankful for the facilities experienced here, but unknown in other oriental countries, which have been afforded by Nature and Custom for the management of a vast people. How easy it is to pull the strings of the Indian puppet! The latter will perhaps cease their diatribes against the short-comings of a well-intentioned Government, will blush to rail at petty inconveniences, which meet the merchant, the settler, the traveller, or the missionary,—when they become aware how many advantages they possess, which are denied to others of the same race and calling in another Asiatic Empire.

To the philanthropist, and the lover of the picturesque, the whole length and breadth of Turkey presents an inexhaustible field of pleasure and research:—of pleasure not unmixed with pain, as all around tells of former and perished greatness:—

of research, not the less grateful, because hitherto little explored, not as yet cut and dried by hand-books, and dislocated by hackneyed transits:—all around tells of fallen grandeur, of nationalities in the weakness and infirmity of old age and decline; still Nature has remained the same, and the features of earth, sea, and sky are unchanged, the waters are as blue, deeply blue, as when the thousand boats glided over them, carrying vengeance from Argos to Troy; the eyes of the Ionian girls are as bright, the sinews of the fisherman and mountaineer are as closely strung, as when the East was the centre of civilization, and the western forests were overrun by half-naked barbarians.

The Empire of Turkey is divided by the narrow seas betwixt the Euxine and the Archipelago into two great provinces, or clusters of provinces, the European and the Asiatic, the former known generally as Roumili, the latter as Anadoli: both are sadly reduced by foreign encroachments, and it is only by detailing the provinces now existing, and then running lightly over the history of the Empire during the past century, that we can lay before the reader an exact perception of the state of things as they now exist:—

Roumili, or Turkey in Europe, is divided into fifteen “Eyalets” or vice-royalties:—1. Thrace (Edirne). 2. Silistria (N. Bulgaria). 3. Bogdan (Moldavia). 4. Wallachia. 5. Widin (Bulgaria). 6. Nissa (W. Bulgaria). 7. N. Albania. 8. Servia. 9. Belgrade. 10. Bosnia and Croatia. 11. Roumili (Albania and Macedonia). 12. Yania (Epirus). 13. Salonica (Thessaly). 14. The Islands of Greece, from Tenedos to Cyprus, along the coast of Ionia. 15. Crete.

Turkey in Asia is divided into seventeen Eyalets:—1. Castamoni, on the Black Sea (Paphlagonia and Bithynia). 2. Khodavendighiar, on the Sea of Marmora (Galatia and Phrygia). 3. Aydin (Lydia and Ionia), on the Archipelago, with Smyrna for its capital. 4. Caramania, on the Mediterranean (Lycia and Lycaonia). 5. Adana (Cilicia). 6. Bosok (Cappadocia), the inland provinces of Asia Minor. 7. Sivas (Pontus), also inland. 8. Trebisond, on the Black Sea (Pontus and Colchis). 9. Erzeroum (Armenia), on the Russian frontier. 10. Mosul (Assyria), on the Persian frontier. 11. Kurdistan (N. Mesopotamia). 12. Kharprut (Armenia Minor). 13. Aleppo (betwixt the Orontes and Euphrates). 14. Phœnicia and Palestine. 15. Damascus (Eastern Syria). 16. Baghdad (S. Mesopotamia), on the Persian Gulph. 17. Habsh (Arabia.) In addition to these are the three provinces in Africa—1. Egypt. 2. Tripoli. 3. Tunis.

What strange and conflicting thoughts rise up in the mind, on the perusal of this list of names—names, some of them so great and so renowned, that history seems never silent about them! Recollections of all times, and all nations, press upon our memories, and it seems as if the limits of the Turkish Empire contained within them the cradles of every faith and the germ of every history. Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia have given birth to the three great religions of the world, which even still divide mankind, and mid the ruins of Mosol and Hilloh, by the waters of the Granicus, in the hills of Macedonia, and along the golden horn of Byzantium, we find indelible traces of the four great Empires of antiquity. Within the bounds of this Empire is comprehended the whole map of our Bible history, with the single exception of the latter part of the fourth journey of St. Paul. When the Israelites went down into Egypt, they passed but from one province to that immediately adjoining in the same Empire; when they were carried captive to the banks of the Euphrates, which to them appeared to be the separation of a whole world, they were but transferred to a neighbouring Pachalick. The devout men, who were assembled at Jerusalem out of every nation under heaven, according to the circumscribed notions of those days, were with few exceptions residents of the tracts that now compose Turkey; and this it is which lends to all connected with this falling, this all but lifeless trunk, an interest which never can be felt with regard to aught connected with the young and vigorous, but history-less Empires of the West.

We have described the provinces of Turkey as they existed in the year 1851. Far wider were they formerly, for the last century has been to the Ottoman power an era of unbroken degradation. False principles of external and internal policy, false friends, and false dependents, have so soon reduced that power, which was till lately the terror of united Europe, to so low a state of weakness, that her very existence depends only on the jealousy of her neighbours. Of the four great powers of Europe, each has appropriated already some portion of the spoil, and by a united effort of all, a new kingdom has been brought into existence, and a nation emancipated from the Turkish rule; and even among the acknowledged subjects several millions have, by forced capitulations, or unequal treaties, been placed under the protection of foreign powers, weakening to an unparalleled extent the prestige of the sovereign, and stultifying in practice all attempt at social improvement. All Frank, or European, residents are civilly and criminally amenable to their own consuls only, and all

members of the Greek and Armenian churches are under the protection of Russia. France uses her prescriptive right to be champion of the Roman Church, as a political engine of great magnitude ; while England has lately put herself forward as the protector of Protestants and Jews ; and the absolute power of the Sultan is confined to his own Mohammedan subjects.

How strangely amazed would be those fierce and haughty founders of the Ottoman Empire at the contemplation of the degradation of their descendants—they who had captured the most celebrated city of Christendom, and had twice thundered at the walls of Vienna ! And so soon ; for there is no ancient dominion which, acquired slowly, had the prestige of Time and History to support it. The Ottoman power began, like a small cloud of dust, which, favored by the breeze, at length grew to a whirl-wind, and with irresistible force prostrated all before it : but, like the whirl-wind, it lacked the essentials of stability and substance, and no sooner has the breeze of conquest lulled, than the whole mass falls prostrate to the ground ! Perhaps thought is so wonderful, as the sudden fall of this once irresistible power, except its still more sudden rise and expansion.

In the year 1224, Suleyman Shah wandered from Khorasan to Armenia with only 400 families ; that same Khorasan, which gave birth to the Mogul and Tartar conquerors of India. Moved by a strange restlessness, urged on by an instinctive consciousness of power and conquest, these Caspian Nomads fought their way under the first Osman through Asia Minor to Broussa, a celebrated city of Phrygia. Here was their second encampment in Asia, and even still they have the feeling of their erratic habits so strong in them, that they consider themselves to have no permanent abiding place, but are only encamped in Europe. The son of Osman followed the policy of his father, and, availing himself of the weakness of the Greek Empire, then in its decadence, added province to province, and crossing the Bosphorus, placed a firm foot in the adjoining continent. Sultan Morad led his Janissaries to the Balkan, and defeating the nationalities of Servia, Bosnia, Hungary, and Wallachia, fixed himself at Adrianople, reducing the Greek Empire to the single city of Constantinople. Bajazet, his son, defeated the united forces of Europe under Sigismund of Hungary, who vainly strove to check this restless torrent. He defeated the flower of Europe, at the same time that his lieutenants were adding province after province to the Empire, even to the shores of the Euphrates ; but in the midst of his pride, he received a check, for the steppes beyond the Caspian

Sea had given birth to another swarm of warriors, who swept like locusts the whole length and breadth of Asia, from farthest China and India to the fatal field of Angora, where the imperial Bajazet was defeated, captured, and borne about in a cage by his conqueror, the great Tamerlane.

The Ottoman power was checked, but not overthrown. The descendants of Bajazet re-commenced a career of conquest, defeated the Hungarians at Varna, conquered the whole of Greece, and Mohammed the Second, flushed with victory, laid siege to, and captured the venerable capital of the lower Empire, and made it the seat of his Government.

Europe was startled, but too late, at the new blow. The invaders seemed to have gained new power and fresh lust for conquest. Albania, Epirus, Hungary, and the states of Servia fell before them, the limit of the Empire was extended at the same time East and West, and the same monarch threatened Poland and Persia. Suleyman the Great pushed his arms as far as the Caspian and Persian Gulph, and then turning back, overthrew the Mameluke sovereigns of Egypt, and annexed Syria and the Nilotic provinces to his dominions! Thence, with irresistible force, in spite of Charles V., his arms extended along the whole northern coast of Africa. The conquest of Arabia completed the eastern limits, and the possession of the sacred cities of Medina and Mecca gave the Sultans the title of "defenders of the faithful."

But towards the West there was still room for expansion: the whole of Hungary was annexed; Vienna was twice laid siege to, and only saved by an united effort on the part of Europe: the republic of Venice, which had long occupied the vanguard of the Christian force, became tributary to the Sultan.

Transylvania was threatened by Mohammed IV. and his Grand Wuzir Keuprili; but the bow had been stretched to the utmost, a special providence interfered, and in this campaign the Janissaries gave way before a united force of Germans and French, and for the first time were utterly routed.

The career of victory, that had expanded the Empire from the little principality of Brussa to be the most powerful in the world, had now ceased; there had hitherto been but one check, when Bajazet fell before Timour; but that potentate had retired to the East, and his descendants still sit upon the puppet throne of Delhi, pensioned by the same hand which props the falling house of Osman: so strangely, at the present era, is English influence directly felt in every part of the world. The Janissaries, by their valour and discipline, had won this

Empire, by their corruption and insubordination they lost it, and at this moment a new name in Europe, that of Russia, was beginning to make itself heard, and the power of other European states was daily becoming firmer and more consolidated, while that of Turkey was on the decline. The first defeat lost them Transylvania, the Austrians captured Hungary, and the Venetians began to aspire to Greece; the force and influence of Russia began to appear in the field, and the issue of every struggle during the eighteenth century was prejudicial to the Ottomans.

The army had deteriorated, had lost self-confidence and discipline, and had become more dangerous to their own sovereigns than to their enemies. The Empress Catherine had already planned the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and, leaguings with Austria, would have carried her projects into execution, had not the other great powers interfered to maintain the ancient enemy of Christendom, as the least of two evils.

Let us pause and take breath, and ask ourselves whether there is no other nation that has been thus irresistibly thrust into an arena of Asiatic conquest, that has found itself armed, and in the full vigour of youth, amidst the debris of decaying Empires and disjointed provinces? Is there no other power that has, in the course of one century, made gigantic strides from insignificance to universal Empire? that with one foot on the shore and one on the ocean, has been carrying on successful wars on distant frontiers at the same moment? that with a sword in both hands, has celebrated on the same day the victories of her ships in the eastern seas, and of her legions in the western mountains? That power is our own. The history of the fall of Turkey from its high estate, from the insubordination of its army, from the corruption of every department of the Civil Government, from the want of patriotism and apathy of its citizens, from the falseness of its friends, is one not devoid of interest to any one at all connected with Anglo-India. *Dii omen avertant!*

The evil of the system was, however, fully appreciated, and, in the hour of her need, the Ottoman Empire found men capable of designing a bold deed to strike at the root of the evil by the destruction of the Janissaries; but this was a measure requiring circumspection; it was the legacy of Sultan Selim III. to his nephew Sultan Mahommed, who quietly bided his time, and eventually worked out his grand scheme of reformation, though nearly at the risk of pulling down the entire fabric of the Empire on his head. The whole of his

reign was passed in suppressing internal revolts, or conducting unsuccessful war against Russia. He crushed Ali Pacha of Janina; but Albania gave birth to a more formidable rival in Mohammed Ali of Egypt. The present kingdom of Greece was formed by the powers of Europe out of the rebellious provinces of his Empire; he lost his Trans-Danubian dependencies to Russia; but with a wonderful singleness and firmness of purpose, he carried out at last the object for which he appears to have been specially born, the extermination of the Janissaries. Placing himself and his only son and heir under the standard of the Empire: he called upon the people to destroy these insubordinate traitors, or he threatened by stabbing himself and son, to put an end to the royal line. This threat had the desired effect. The barracks of these Prætorian guards were attacked simultaneously at Constantinople and in the provinces, upwards of twelve hundred were killed, many exiled, while the great mass (as the whole body amounted to 150,000) submitted to the new order of things; every trace of their former lawlessness was effaced, and the supreme power of the Sultan vindicated. It was a bold stroke, worthy of a great barbarian, but it was one essential, not only to the improvement, but the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. From that moment a fresh era is dated.

But in the throes of this new birth, the state was on the brink of annihilation; for, ere a new army could be formed, and be prepared to take the place of the destroyed Janissaries, a sanguinary and fatal war commenced with Russia, ending in defeat; new troubles began to spring up in the South; the ambition of Mohammed Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, began to develop itself by the annexation of Syria and the advance of his rebellious army into Asia Minor; Konieh, the scene of one of the early Turkish triumphs, saw the rout of the Sultan's forces; the enemy was advancing upon the capital, which was only saved by the humiliating assistance of a Russian army on the Bosphorus; a short-lived compromise was made with the Pacha, but in vain; the Sultan and his rebel subjects came again into collision. Their armies met near the Euphrates; but ere the news of this second defeat reached the sublime Porte, the great reformer, one of the ablest and firmest sovereigns of his age, had expired.

His name will be respected hereafter, for through storm and sunshine he clung to his projects for the regeneration of Turkey, which he was not destined to see realized. He was the destroyer of the past, and was odious as such; to his son, Abdul Medjid, the present Sultan, was reserved the more

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pleasing task of constructing the new edifice, and good fortune seems to have attended him. The tenderness of his years, the misfortunes of his father, the precarious position of his Empire, and the dire confusion, which would be caused by its sudden dismemberment, roused the attention of the four great powers : the rebellious Pacha was driven out of Syria, and Turkey for once enjoyed repose.

Then was first broached and carried out the great measure of internal government, known as the "Tanzimat" or "setting in order." It is an imposing consideration to reflect upon, and gives hope for the permanency of the Empire, that there could be found ministers wise and firm enough to concede to the advancement of the age, acknowledge the errors of former Governments, and grant, unasked, a constitution to the people. The proclamation is known by the name of the "Hatti Shurif" of the "Gul-hanah," "the royal letter of the palace of the garden of roses," where the heads of the state, and the representatives of foreign powers, were assembled for the inauguration of the new state of things, in November, 1839. The terms of this proclamation are so remarkable, that we do not hesitate to quote it :—

"THE HATTI SHUREEF OF THE GUL-HANAH.

"Every one is aware, that in the early ages of the monarchy, the precepts of the Koran, and the laws of the Empire, were a rule ever honored. In consequence of this, the Empire increased in strength and greatness, and the population, without exception, reached the highest degree of welfare and prosperity. A succession of different causes, during a hundred and fifty years, has brought about the cessation of that conformity of conduct with the sacred book of laws, and with the regulations emanating from it ; and the previous vigour and prosperity have been exchanged for weakness and poverty ; for it is a fact, that an Empire must *lose its stability, when it ceases to observe its laws.*

"These considerations are constantly present to our mind, and ever since the day of our accession to the throne, the idea of the public well-being, the improvement of the provinces, and the relief of the people, have not ceased to occupy it exclusively." Now, if one considers the geographical position of the Ottoman provinces, the fertility of the soil, and the intelligence of the inhabitants, one must be convinced, that by endeavouring with perseverance to find efficacious measures, the result, which, with God's help, we hope to attain, may be realized in the space of a few years. Full of confidence therefore, in the aid of the

‘ Most High, founded on the intercession of our Prophet, we
 ‘ judge it expedient to seek, by new institutions, to procure for
 ‘ the provinces composing the Ottoman Empire the benefit of
 ‘ a good administration.

“ This must be based on three points : 1. The conditions, which
 ‘ ensure to our subjects the enjoyment of perfect security of life,
 ‘ honour, and property. 2. A regular mode of collecting the
 ‘ taxes. 3. A method equally regular of recruiting soldiers, and
 ‘ fixing their term of service.

“ And indeed are not life and honour the most precious enjoy-
 ‘ ments that exist? What man, whatever repugnance his cha-
 ‘ racter may inspire against violence, will be able to refrain from
 ‘ it, and from thereby injuring the country, if his life and honour
 ‘ are endangered? If, on the contrary, he enjoys in that respect
 ‘ perfect safety, he will not deviate from the paths of loyalty,
 ‘ and all his acts will contribute to the good of the Government
 ‘ and his fellow-subjects.

“ With regard to regular and fixed taxes, this must be settled,
 ‘ because a state, which for the defence of its territory is forced
 ‘ to incur various expenses, cannot procure the funds necessary
 ‘ for its armies and other wants, otherwise than by contributions
 ‘ levied from its subjects. Although the Empire is now delivered
 ‘ from the scourge of monopolies, still one fatal practice exists,
 ‘ known as ‘ *Iltizam*.’ By that system the civil and financial
 ‘ administration of a locality is given up to the arbitrary conduct
 ‘ of an individual, for farmers will think only of their private
 ‘ advantage.

“ Every one in future will be taxed in proportion to his fortune
 ‘ and faculties, and no more. Special laws will fix and limit
 ‘ the expenses of our land and naval forces.

“ Although, as we have said, the defence of the country is an
 ‘ important thing, and it is the duty of all its inhabitants to
 ‘ provide soldiers to that effect, it has become necessary to
 ‘ establish laws for the regulation of the contingents to be fur-
 ‘ nished by each locality, and to reduce the term of service to
 ‘ four or five years, because it is both committing an act of in-
 ‘ justice, and striking a fatal blow on agriculture and industry,
 ‘ to take in one place more men, and in another fewer, than it
 ‘ can furnish, by paying no attention to the amount of popula-
 ‘ tion; and in the same manner, by keeping soldiers for a whole
 ‘ life-time in the service, they are reduced to despair, and it tends
 ‘ to depopulate the country.

“ The trial of every one that is accused will take place in
 ‘ public, according to our divine laws, and after full inquiry ;
 ‘ and as long as no regular sentence has been passed, no one

' shall *secretly or publicly put another to death by poison or in any manner.*

" No one shall be allowed to assail the honour of another.

" Every body shall possess his property of every kind, and shall dispose of it with perfect liberty, without obstacle on the part of any one. The heirs of a criminal shall not be deprived of their legal rights, and the property of a criminal shall not be confiscated.

" These imperial concessions are extended to all our subjects, of whatever religion or sect they may be, and they shall enjoy this without exception.

" As all the functionaries of the Empire receive at present suitable salaries, a vigorous law shall be passed against the traffic of favour and appointment (' Rishwut,') which the divine laws condemn, and which is one of the causes of the decline of the Empire.

" Any one of the ' Ulema' or magnates, who may violate these institutions, shall suffer, without the least distinction of rank or consideration for the individual, the penalty of his guilt established. A penal code will be prepared with this view.

" This imperial edict will be published at Constantinople and in every part of our Empire, and communicated to the friendly powers, that they may be witnesses of the granting of these institutions, which, please God, shall last for ever.

" May the Most High God keep us in His most holy care ! May those, who shall do a deed contrary to these institutions, be the objects of divine malediction, and be deprived of all kinds of happiness for ever !"

It has been no empty promise: fifteen years have elapsed, and the work of centralization and reducing to order has been going systematically on; the fearful abuse of appointing independent Pachas, who for a time ruled absolute, and then perished by the bow-string, has been swept away: the civil and military powers have been entirely separated; something has been done to separate the departments of Civil Government; a regular army has been raised by an understood system of conscription, which, though highly unpopular, is not peculiar to Turkey, and must be enforced; there is room for much improvement in the financial system; so vast a chaos could not be reduced to order in a day, but so much has been done as to give a fair promise of further amendment; there is protection to both life and property; from having been the most arbitrary and bloody of Governments, that of Turkey now perhaps errs on the other side; capital punishment is only resorted

to under law; the bow-string is unknown, and the bastinado, in its old approved fashion, has been abolished.

Before entering into the details of the civil and military Government, as it now exists, we must call attention to the peculiar natural conformation of the Empire; the position of the scattered provinces, open to attack on so many sides, and so facile for approach by sea or land, presents a marked contrast to the compact and fortified appearance of our Empire in India; where the desert and the mountain ranges to the West and North render difficult, if not impossible, all approach to the Peninsula, and the valley of the Indus and Ganges; and, where when held by a great naval power, the long sea-coasts, and numerous harbours, are a source of strength against an invader; and where the different portions of the Empire are so situated towards each other as to be enabled to render easy assistance in defiance of the enemy. The position of the detached provinces of Turkey is precisely the contrary; instead of a Peninsula girt by the ocean, she is, as it were, a sea, surrounded by narrow strips of land, and dotted with islands; the extensive sea-board is exposed at every point; she is liable to invasion, and has no natural protection on any flank. But the very causes of her weakness in warfare are the source of her vast capabilities for commerce. She has no occasion for trunk roads or rails of iron; the Mediterranean is the great high road of her merchants and her produce; the waves of the ocean itself wash her store-houses in the Golden Horn, and waft her argosies from Sinope and Trebizonde on the Black Sea, to Smyrna, Beirut, Alexandria, and Tunis in her own dominions. Three vast rivers intersect her remoter provinces, the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Danube; her coasts are studded with harbours; and so wonderful are the facilities of her situation, that even now the burden of her postal arrangements are conducted by foreign nations, and her earliest rail-road is being constructed by foreign capital; and did not a feeling of independence compel her to look with suspicion on such offers, were her political relations more certain, other railways, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, from Constantinople to the Austrian frontier, would be started, foreign capital would be extensively invested in other objects, and many of the onerous duties of a Government would be undertaken, for her profit, at the risk of her neighbours.

The "Tanzimat" is based upon the principle of a direct centralizing Government, and the great struggle of late years has been to compel some of the more distant provinces to submit to this rule, and become "regulation districts" instead of tributary states. The power of the Supreme Government, inde-

fensible in theory, is year by year developing and extending itself practically ; to assist in this point the regiments of the army are relieved annually, and move from province to province ; the Governors are appointed direct by the Sultan, and are transferred as occasion offers ; the head of the Executive is not allowed to be the farmer of the revenue for his own profits, but the districts are more or less carefully assessed ; certain principles of Criminal Law are uniformly enforced, under appeal to the higher courts. Such measures are no doubt distasteful to the Pachas of the old school, especially to those who had made themselves hereditary ; hence the struggle between Egypt and the Porte, and the war in Monte Negro ; the Sultan tries one year to introduce the "Tanzimat," this would be followed the next year by the revenue laws, and the viceroy would be reduced to a civil commissioner.

The thirty-five "eyalets" have been enumerated above : over each is a "Wali" or "Mutasurrif," with the rank of "Pacha," or noble ; he represents the executive power, has the privilege of calling for military aid when required, and corresponds direct with Government. Each eyalet is divided into "Livas," called also "Sandjac," districts, superintended by "Kaimmakams," or "Muhassils," who, as their name implies, are but the shadow and representative of their superior officer : on urgent matters, they may address the Government direct. In his own immediate district, the "Wali" acts as his own "Kaimmakam," having secondary, as well as primary, powers. This authority, in concert with the military commandant, conducts the conscription, and presiding over a Junta formed by the Judge of the civil court, the "Mufti" and "Moka," and the members of the "Mujlis," the local council,—conducts the criminal trials : with the assistance of a local municipality, he also superintends the finance.

The "Mujlis," or local council, meets on fixed days four times a week, and is composed of the—"Kaimmakam," as ex-officio President ; the Receiver General called "Mal Mudiri ;" the heads of the persuasions, such as the Bishop and Rabbi, as the case may be ; the "Khoja Bashi," or delegate of the Christian community ; and deputies elected on a numerical ratio from the people.

This is certainly a most liberal feature in the administration, one to which it will be long ere we arrive in India. Nothing can be decided upon, which affects the interests of the people, without being submitted to this "Mujlis," establishing the important principle of equality in race and religion. But it does not work well yet, neither having practical efficiency, nor being supported by personal independence.

We were sitting last year with the Pacha of Damascus, at the time that one of these local councils was debating on the rather delicate subject of making up a deficiency in the revenue by an extra tax or benevolence. The delegates of the citizens were there, just the kind of men, whom our large towns of India would produce: their scheme was of course to screw every class but their own. Turning over the subject practically,—a subject not unfamiliar in all its bearings,—we do not think India would gain by the admixture of a popular element in its system, as it is not yet ripe for it.

The “Kaimmakam” or district officer has under his orders a police force, mounted and foot. Each district is divided into “Kazas,” superintended by a “Mudir,” who is generally also a “Mutasullim,” corresponding to our Parganna police and revenue officers: these parties act in concert with the deputies, or notables of the locality. In each “Kaza” are so many villages, over each is a “Muktyar” or “Khoja Bashi,” chosen by the inhabitants.

The “Wali” is assisted in his revenue duties by a “Dufturdar,” or Receiver-General of the province, and the “Mal Mudir” discharges the same duties in the district, superintending all items of finance, as well as the quarantine, customs, and passport department. At the beginning of each financial year, the 1st of May, the accounts of the year are made up, and sealed by the “Wali” and his council, and sent with their vouchers through the “Dufturdar” to the Government. Every disbursement in the province must bear this officer’s seal.

On paper this reads well, and approaches wonderfully to the system in India: the greater infusion of the popular element is to counteract the greater moral turpitude of the local authorities. We were riding through one of the Turkish provinces with an intelligent French priest, who had long lived there, whom we had chanced to meet that morning at the house of the “Kaimmakam,” where he had been called to answer some charge of assault made by the Protestants against the Romanists. “Ah! Sir,” said he, “there is a dreadful thing in this country, of which you fortunately know nothing, called ‘Rishwut.’”—“Know nothing?” replied we, “it has been one of the banes of our life for many years. We can sympathise with you.”

In fact, venality and corruption rule the day, appointments are bought and sold, and justice goes to the highest bidder. Another necessity for local councils happily exists not in India. The Pachas are always strangers, and utterly ignorant of the

languages, as Turkish is not the vernacular of all the provinces: they are never allowed to stay there long, for fear of their taking root; there is no detailed system of record like our own, and consequently each commissioner and deputy commissioner is as much in want of a council, as the noble lords who periodically honour Bombay and Madras with their presence in Government-house.

We pass now to the courts of civil justice. At Constantinople is the pinnacle of the edifice, consisting of a high court of justice and appeal, divided into two "Suddurs" or chambers, one for Roumeli, the European, and the other, for Anadoli, the Asiatic province. Each chamber is presided over by a Chief Justice, assisted by ten and seven puisne judges respectively. These legal fathers rank next after the "Shaikh ul Islam," who occupies the post of Minister of Justice and Religion, uniting the power and dignity of the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and who has the nomination to all appointments. A provincial court of appeal ("Mouliviat"), presided over by a "Moka," embraces one or more cyalets according to size. There are twenty-two of these courts. In each district ("Liva,") or nearly so, is a "Kaza," or court of primary jurisdiction: these are composed of—the "Cazi," the "Mufti;" the "Naib," or additional judge; the "Ayak Naib;" and the "Bach-Katib," officer of court. These courts dispose of all primary cases, and, as stated above, when united to the executive and local council, form a criminal court. In common parlance, they are called the "Mekemeh" in distinction from the municipal council, the "Mujlis" and the "Shorah," or commercial court, to which we shall allude hereafter. In some local sub-divisions there is yet a lower court for trying smaller cases, presided over by a "Naib," with a court officer.

Justice is thus brought home pretty well to the community, but of what kind is the article? Of what capability are the judges? Are their hands clean? And what is the procedure? This is a subject of deep interest to any well-wisher of India: it is worth a trip to Turkey to watch kindred institutions in similar countries, to catch some hints to amend our own. We visited more than one of these courts in the large towns, and found them generally in central spots, large cool rooms, with a fountain in the centre, a venerable looking judge, and most respectable assessors: all the dignity and publicity of justice; but alas! what say long residents with regard to the probity and character of the courts? The "Cazi" openly avows that suitors are in the habit of sending presents to influence his decisions; and why should it not be, for he had bought his place,

and must get the money back, and then the loser can always appeal. What makes it worse is, that these appointments are only *annual*, so it is "catch while you can." Then comes the preposterous mode of procedure; the "Mufti" is the judge of the law, the "Cazi" of the fact; the suitors are obliged to bring their respective cases before the Mufti first, in an abstract form—"If Omar does so and so, how is Zaid affected?" And the "Mufti" gives his "futwa" according to the strict law: his decision is of course grounded on the facts stated, or mis-stated, by each, and then each party, armed with his "futwah," proceeds to the "Me-kemeh" of the "Cazi," who decides the facts. These proceedings have the advantage of brevity, for the cause is soon expounded, the order is inscribed on the petition, and signed. The defendant has always the option of demanding, that his cause be transferred to the higher tribunal: this is the only check on corruption, and incapacity. But the labour of the unfortunate plaintiff is not over yet, for, fortified by his "futwah" from the "Mufti," and his "Ilam," or decree from the "Cazi," he has to move the "Kaimmakam" to execute this decree, and another door is opened for delay, bribery, and denial of justice.

The office of "Mufti" and "Cazi" is filled by parties secreted from the body of the "Ulema," the great hierarchy of Turkey, which may be divided generally into two branches—the judicial, consisting of "Cazis" and "Muftis," and the sacerdotal, consisting of "Imams," the latter being very inferior to the former both in station and influence, for the genius of the Mohammedan religion renders its followers independent of priestcraft. All legal appointments are in the gift of "Shaikh ul Islam," that of the "Mufti" is for life, that of the "Cazi" is liable to constant change. Both have to undergo a long and dreary apprenticeship ere they reach these desirable posts. To each of the large mosques at Istamboul is attached a Madrassa, and there the ten or twelve years of early manhood are spent in acquiring the knowledge of the law, as a "Talib:" the scholar then assumes the title of "Danishmand," and is eligible for the office of "Imam," but should he accept this office, he would forfeit all claim to further promotion. If he clings to the college, and successfully passes further tests, he is styled "Mulazim," and admitted to the first grade of the "Ulema," and is eligible for the office of "Cazi:" should ambition urge him on, and he be inclined to devote seven long years more, and pass higher tests, he comes out as "Mudiri," a rank specially conferred by the "Sheikh ul Islam," and is then eligible to the post of "Mufti" in any part of the Empire; or by remaining at the capital, he

takes his chance for promotion to the very highest offices of his profession, the judge of appeal, or the chair of the "Shaikh ul Islam" itself.

The provincial criminal courts, as stated above, are composed of all the different authorities of the district, the Executive, the "Mujlis," and the "Mekemeh." Their jurisdiction is final, except in capital cases, which must be referred to the supreme court of justice at Constantinople, and the sign manual of the Sultan himself is required to authorize the shedding of blood. The minor penalties are the galleys, imprisonment, and banishment to certain districts of the Empire. No infamy is attached to such punishments, the criminal is considered an object of compassion, rather than aversion. The prisons are very indifferently looked after, and it is a painful spectacle to visit the poor wretches in confinement. At the stairs of the "Seraglio," by which name is universally known the official residence, or cutchery, of the executive officer, we were disgusted and pained by the cries of the prisoners and parties under trial, begging *earnestly for bread*. In some cases, all that is seen is a number of hands in a window, grasping frantically at the morsel of bread, which the passer-by may give. This is very sad. The amount of oppression, felt practically by a people, where the powers of arrest and bail are not carefully watched, is incalculable. The supreme court at Constantinople decides all cases of treason, malversation, and abuse of authority. Already has its power been felt, for one of the "Wuzirs," who had signed the new code, was a few months afterwards banished and fined for embezzlement, and the Pacha of Konieh was sentenced to the galleys, in the very town in which he had long acted as chief executive, for killing a servant in a moment of passion.

The code of laws and procedure is one of the results of the "Tanzimat": the old Mohammedan divisions of criminal law, "Hudud, Kisas, and Diyat," have been abolished in reality as well as in name; it is time that a new code should expunge them from the statute-book of India. The testimony of all parties is admitted, without respect to religion. Up to the date of the new reforms, a code known by the name of "Multeka ul Ubhur," "the confluence of the seas," had been in force; the composition of Ibrahim of Aleppo, who flourished in 1549; it was founded upon the learned dogmas of Abu Hanifa, and Shafi, and was like all Mohammedan codes, remarkable for its strange intermixture of law and morals, being founded on the basis of the Sultan being king and high priest. The instructions about "Hunting" are as precise as those about

"Prayer:" the necessity of purifications is inculcated as strongly as the respecting of the rights of others. This code certainly worked well, and was suited to the people as long as they maintained an isolated situation from other nations, and considered themselves as occupying an entrenched camp in Europe. But when the coldness had relaxed, and the Ottoman power began to lean on its Christian neighbours for support, it became clear, that something further was required. One of the earliest results of the "Hatti Shurif" was a commercial code founded on French models, and a penal code, which became law in 1840. It is a very remarkable document, from the frank confession of former errors, a virtue much to be imitated by other stubborn Governments:—

"*Art. I.* The Grand Signor has solemnly pledged himself not to destroy any human life, *publicly or privately, by poison, or in any other way*, unless the party has been condemned by law. No employé of Government is therefore at liberty to kill any one, whoever he may be. If a 'Wuzir' should take away the life of a shepherd, he will be punished with death.

"*Art. II.* Every excitement to revolt will be punished by the galleys for life.

"*Art. III.* Every Government servant, convicted of oppression, will be punished without reference to his rank or station.

"*Art. IV.* His Highness has promised not to touch the goods and property of any person: no one, therefore, is at liberty to possess himself by force of what belongs to another: any infraction of this law will subject the delinquent to the penalty of restitution of the property misappropriated, and should he be a Government employé, to dismissal and exile.

"*Art. V.* As all the 'Wuzirs' and other dignitaries are well paid, any instance of exaction will be punished by three years of the galleys, and dismissal.

"*Art. VIII.* In each district there will be three independent authorities—1, the courts of justice; 2, the executive police; 3, the revenue officers. They are bound to give each other mutual assistance, without meddling in each other's affairs.

"*Art. X. & XI.* Fatal wounding will be punished by death, as also assassination.

— "*Art. XIV.* This code is of equal force in favour of, and against, all subjects of the Empire, whether Mohammedan, or "Raias" (Christians), without any exception. It is the duty of all to take care that no breach is made of these laws by any one, whoever he may be, at the same time that all may claim their protection."

Unquestionably, as a code, this is a very incomplete and unscientific production, but as a manly acknowledgment of

past errors, as a noble abandonment of all caste privileges and unjust social differences, it is entitled to our profound admiration, and moreover, we speak advisedly, to our humble imitation in British India. If the proud and half-educated Mohammedan could resign the privileges of a code and procedure sanctified by his religion, and stamped by antiquity, and could place himself on a level with the people whom his ancestors had conquered and trodden upon for centuries, the Christian "Raias," conscientiously believing that the best way to improve and purify the courts is to render the highest amenable to them,—how very unworthy must appear to the world the conduct of those who declaim against the extension of the power of Anglo-Indian law to all British subjects, whether the sons of shop-keepers in Cheapside, or sprung of ancient families in Hindustan? Here the wisdom of the Christian Government, as well as the justice, must yield to that of the Turk; but it is a vain struggle, and the dictates of common sense must sooner or later be followed. We trust to hail before long a "Hatti Shurif" from the "Gul-hanah" of the Calcutta council room, proclaiming the entire equality of all subjects, without distinction of religion, or colour, or birth. The first end of the wedge has been inserted by the passing of a late Act.

We cannot hope, nor expect, that in so short a period the principles laid down in this record of rights have been practically worked out: it is long, very long, ere an Asiatic people, accustomed to oppression, can learn their just rights—ere the little petty tyrannies, which we have before us daily in the bazaar, and on the high road of an oriental district, are put down by public feeling. As long as suitors are degraded enough to offer bribes, so long will the corrupt judge dishonour the bench; as long as men will not hesitate by cringing and flattery to gain their own ends, so long will the dwellings of those in power be surrounded by a grasping crowd of exactors. In one of our visits to the Pacha of Jerusalem, we were stunned by cries for "Bukshish," and had to dance attendance amidst a crowd of varlets in the anti-chamber. We submitted to the penance, and bled readily, perhaps gladly, being now convinced, that the errors of our servants in India, which no punishment would check, were not peculiar to them, but were the natural weaknesses of mankind: we paid the coin, and thought of the many venerable figures, who had danced attendance in our halls. A few nights afterward, our head servant was arrested by the "Mutasullim" of the town, on account of a quarrel with one of his dependents: it was "Man, weak man,"

dressed in a little brief authority." We had to visit this dignitary, to smoke the pipe of peace, and submit to his odorous embraces, ere we could continue our journey on the morrow : it was the same story every where : the camels and carriages of merchants rudely seized for the marching of troops, or of people in power : the impressment of forced labour, the arbitrary enactment of price currents : the passport bribe at the city gate, the quarantine hush-money, the custom house douceur. Then in the houses where we lodged on the road, many a tale was told of village oppression, of justice denied by undue influence, many an unjust assessment exposed, many a little act of Asiatic tyranny laid bare, but we feel convinced that these are the inherent vices of the Asiatic system : the evils are to be met with over the whole Indian Peninsula, and no ruler and no system of justice can prevent it. Would to God that it could be done !

We have thus described the above courts, criminal and civil, which are established more or less in the thirty-five eyalets of the Turkish Empire. The Supreme Government quietly, year by year, extends its direct influence, and by degrees the complete centralization will be established. The general features do not differ materially from our own civil, criminal, and revenue courts, and executive power in British India ; but Turkey is liable to an evil through its length and breadth, from which we are free, and which has the effect of paralysing its best efforts at self-government, and must continue to do so. This evil arises, partly, from the weakness of the Empire as regards foreign European powers, and partly from the defectiveness of its own institutions. The courts above alluded to have jurisdiction only over the Mohammedan and Christian subjects of the Porte, but the whole coast swarms with the non-descript subjects or dependents of foreign states, who, though long settled, still consider themselves as under the protection and the flags of their respective consuls, and entirely beyond the power of the local authorities in any respect whatever. Nor do these individuals keep aloof from the ordinary transactions of life, like his Majesty of Delhi, who remains secluded in his own palace. They are everywhere foremost in speculation and in trade, loud in the market place, influential on the exchange, masters of the imports and exports of the country, now the creditors, now the debtors of the Government and its highest officers. These people are of all countries, speaking all languages, but preserving their nationalities, or vaunting the protection, often most profligately extended by the local consuls of the smaller

ART. VII.—*Opinions of Napoleon Bonaparte, of Nations and Persons, as delivered by him from 1815 to 1818, to Dr. O'Meara, R. N. Alphabetically arranged by W. Hough, Major, Bengal Establishment. Calcutta, Englishman Press, 1848.*

THERE are two reasons why this work falls within the legitimate province of a periodical devoted exclusively to the consideration of questions, and the review of books, relating to "India and the East." The first is the simple fact of its Indian origin, its author being a fellow-citizen; and the second is, that a very considerable portion of it relates to the condition and destinies of our Indian Empire. As to the character of the book, we may state in a few sentences, that Major Hough has, with his usual character of a laborious compiler, arranged in alphabetical order the sentiments recorded by Dr. O'Meara as having been expressed by Napoleon; and that he has occasionally subjoined a very brief note, generally in expression of dissent from the sentiment expressed.

At the outset of our notice, we must express our regret that Major Hough has not followed a more trust-worthy guide to the real sentiments of Napoleon than Dr. O'Meara has been proved, as we hold, to be. The manner in which he lent himself to the party who attempted to fasten a charge upon the British authorities of shortening the days of their imperial prisoner, casts a certain degree of suspicion upon his testimony, even in regard to other matters. But, generally, the opinions here quoted are such as agree with the known views and sentiments of Bonaparte, and the probability is that they are substantially those that he expressed.

As for Major Hough's part of the work, when we state that he has laboriously brought together the sentiments scattered over Dr. O'Meara's book, we have accorded him all the commendation that he seems to us to deserve. His style is by no means good, and the opinions that he occasionally ventures to express are, to our thinking, of the crudest.

"Many have formed too great an opinion of Napoleon," says Major Hough; "the way to judge of him is to read his own opinions, and to compare the present and the past state of affairs, and the future prospect of the world under steam power!"* The "too great" in the quotation before us, is without a qualification, and as such, we could have passed it over, as vague and of unlimited signification. But Major

Hough has the misfortune to set off one error by another of greater magnitude. He is conclusive in the following remark: "To compare Napoleon with Cæsar or Cromwell, is giving him too high a *status*." From this we are led to suppose, that the "too great an opinion," which "many" have formed of Napoleon, according to Major Hough, consists in comparing him with the Roman Emperor or the English Protector.

The deliberate opinion then of our author, that Napoleon is an inferior man to Julius Cæsar and to Oliver Cromwell; he admits that he was a great General, and apparently not inferior in soldierly qualities to these heroes. We conclude, therefore, that it is in largeness or soundness of views, and especially in those expressed in the work before us, that our author regards him as falling short.

Every true opinion is the effect of judgment. In passing an opinion, we judge between events and circumstances, but as no verdict can be just if the judge is interested, or influenced by external circumstances, or if he were in want of self-command; so in justice to Napoleon, his opinions ought to be received with a little reserve. Conscious of his awful falling off—an exile from the theatre of his glory, ever fresh to the memory of the injuries inflicted and received,—openly at war with all the nations of the world—Napoleon could not possibly conquer such potent obstacles. The philosopher who gloried in the matrimony of "the frailty of man" with "the security of God," was yet a mortal, with as many virtues as failings. He could rise to the latitude of a great man, but he could not skim beyond it. He was a *man* in short. He could do what the best of his race had done. Little can be expected from an oracle, though "we're inspired," if the deliveries be tinged with the sentiments of those who interpret them. Unlike Vaucanson's mechanical flute-player, who makes no false notes, man has so many enemies to discharge before he can reach the shrine of truth, that it is not risking a vain opinion to say, that the most aspiring mind ought to rest contented, if it were conscious of the justice of its claims to the proud appellation of a JUDGE!—that appellation which is counted among the attributes of our Maker!! We cannot, therefore, be blind to the insufficiency of Napoleon as a judge; and especially when he was called upon to decide on the good and evil tendency of his own actions. When his mind moved under the sphere of *disinterestedness*, no

man could reach him in the originality of his thoughts, or in the correctness of his views. The fewer the ties that link us with the commerce of the world, and the wider the range of our observations, the better we are fitted to sit in judgment over those whose prejudices render them incapable of impartiality, and whose limited information bars their access to truth. The want of experience will make a judge a mere puppet, and the want of moral greatness will make him a tyrant. Either of these alone is inconsistent with the idea of justice! To be just, therefore, we must have few temptations, but vast attainments; the slightest difference disturbs the equilibrium. Napoleon, though possessed of rare talents, such as never fell to the lot of another human being, became so intimately connected with all European movements of his time, that in fact he was not only the type of France, or of Europe, but, as Mr. Emerson says, "the representative of the minds of other men." Such a man, therefore, could ill fit the tribunal of justice, yet his great genius often overpowered all obstacles, and forced through centuries, laying open the womb of Time. Although we are ready to establish it as a rule, that men in Napoleon's situation would make but very indifferent judges, yet we are eager to test how far this general principle would apply to the individual case of the Emperor. With but very few exceptions, his opinions were quite correct. He judged with the greatest precision the most complicated political questions that we meet with in history. Although he was sometimes stifled under over-bearing obstacles, his genius eventually conquered the most potent opposition. It mastered all difficulties in the sequel, and if it could be hidden on one occasion, it broke through all trammels in ten others.

Major Hough says: "Napoleon's opinions as to the expedition of Algiers, the invasion of England, that of India, that of Ireland, that of Russia, of the battle of Waterloo, and other affairs, will be deemed by many incorrect; while his opinion of the Treaty of 1815, as to the Roman Catholic Emancipation, and on some other affairs, seem perfectly correct." While we agree with the Major on the *Emancipation* question and the *Treaty*, we cannot fail to admire his ignorance on "the expedition to Algiers," and the half-dozen others "invasions" that he particularizes. If Major Hough had passed his judgment after due consideration, we could then have met his arguments, and perhaps even confuted them. But, though no traces of reasoning are visible any where within the whole pamphlet, yet that "the opinions are incorrect" is quite cer-

tain. Under such circumstances we must judge for ourselves, and defend those points that are seemingly objectionable. We will start with the Algerine expedition.

After reading the official details of the bombardment of the fort of Algiers, Napoleon observed to Dr. O'Meara: "Notwithstanding that you have succeeded, it was a madness and an abuse of the Navy to attack batteries elevated above your ships, which you could not injure; to engage red hot balls and shells, and even the hazard of losing a fleet and so many brave seamen, against such *canaille*, independently of the disgrace which it would have been to England to be beaten by barbarians, which ought to have been the case. * * * If you have struck terror into them, and that the terms you have made be strictly adhered to for the future, you have done a great benefit to humanity, as well as having shown much maritime bravery and skill; but I do not believe that the Algerines will adhere to the stipulations, that prisoners are not to be made slaves." With this sentiment Major Hough disagrees. Supposing then, that the Algerines, instead of looking like *imbeciles*, at the Admiral's ship, *Queen Charlotte*, had fired on her a brisk volley from the batteries, while she was taking up a position within a few yards of the mole head, what would have been the consequence? Will Major Hough deny that she would have sunk under incessant fire? Is such an event doubtful? Besides, if the Dey had perceived the slightest sign of success, he would have redoubled his efforts, quadrupled his insolence, and obliged Lord Exmouth to wait for succour from home. Undoubtedly this would have sadly answered O'Meara's "winding up with doing something brilliant." Granting that His Lordship had battered and silenced the enemy's guns, as he partially did afterwards, if the "land wind" had not blown and carried him out of the clutch of the Dey, what would have been Lord Exmouth's fate? If the Dey had found the English in jeopardy, unable either to molest him or save themselves, what would have been easier for him than, by re-constructing the batteries, to have settled Lord Exmouth just on the spot where he stood anchored! Such an affair, in the Major's opinion of course, would have been worthy of the lives of a brave English peer and his noble companions—The Martyrdom of heroes in a worthless cause—the sacrifice of invaluable blood before the shrine of a demon! That Exmouth's situation was not an enviable one, nor so safe as, we believe, the Major has taken it for granted, we will illustrate by a short extract from *Miss Martineau's History of the Peace*:—

"The Algerine batteries around Lord Exmouth's division

' were silenced at about 10 o'clock, and were in a complete state of rain and dilapidation; but a fort at the upper angle of the city continued to annoy our ships, whose firing had almost ceased. This was the moment of the most serious danger to our fleet." And what then saved Lord Exmouth?—"a God-send—a blessing, such as cannot be counted upon always, nor are favourable to hazardous attempts." "Providence in this interval," (we quote Exmouth's own words,) "gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind, common in this bay, and my expectations were completed." With these facts before him, let our reader judge for himself, and determine, whether it was not madness on the part of Lord Exmouth to have attacked an elevated battery, without ammunition, and at the mercy of the "land wind."

Napoleon's fears of the infidelity of the Algerines in adhering to the stipulation made by them with the English, would have come to pass, if the current of events had not taken a different direction, and if the Dey had not been swept off clean by the force of French arms. After the bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth, the Algerines were in continued hostility with the Austrian powers; and in 1830, in a fraternal mood, His Highness the Moorish Prince struck that fatal blow on the French consul, which drew from France the whole military prowess of that martial country, and for ever prostrated the strength of those warriors, who routed the Spanish power and dyed the Spanish plains with her noblest blood. It was all over with the Deys, and the descendants of Horac Barbarossa. The "black knights" had their lance broken, and their arms taken. France, sitting opposite to Algiers, on the other side of the Mediterranean, had long maintained sanguinary intentions, till eventually she succeeded in seizing, and securing the prey for ever. Before the Algerines thought of engaging themselves on the English, the hour of vengeance was struck, and Tunis fell!

We doubt very much whether the Dey had sense of honor enough to have stood to his word. "A long experience," says Mr. Charles Knight, "had shewn that although pledges of peace, the release of Christian slaves, and the renunciation of the future power of making slaves, might be extorted from those states by the burning of their ships, and the destruction of their fortifications, they would not continue the less a government of robbers, returning to their old trade in utter want of all other means of existence, all other sources of importance all other relations of confidence between the rulers and the people. It was clear that Algiers, especially, would not come

within the pale of civilization until it was revolutionised." (*Miss Martineau, vol. i. p. 58.*)

We have no precedents, not a single one even, of the fidelity of the Deys, and the sincerity of their oaths. We can safely doubt their honesty in every instance, unless events proved the contrary. However, his intense animosity against those Christians, who resided in his dominions, served to show, that the Dey only waited for an opportunity, when he could rear his head and act with impunity. His Highness, it is clear, was not softened by the treatment he had received from Lord Exmouth. He was full of plans and plots, such as were worthy of the strategy of Hannibal; but without the genius of the Carthaginian chief, they were not destined ever to greet the light of day. From the bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth, down to its overthrow by the French, there scarcely extends a period of fifteen years. Within this time, not considering the hostilities he had to maintain with various powers, the 'Dey,' Major Hough informs us, "harboured no malice against the British, but even observed the Treaty, for nothing under 'THIRTY YEARS!'" But the Major forgets that necessity is often turned into virtue, and that a man of the Major's erudition can hardly discover the translation. We admire Major Hough's simplicity in indiscriminately giving to every motive a charitable aspect; and because a lion bound in a cage betrayed no inclination to injure the spectators, the Major would not care much to let the animal loose at them. All this is a *little* in contrariety to "observing the Treaty for THIRTY YEARS!" As a concluding remark on the "expedition to Algiers," we beg leave to remind the Major, that the orders were not only "to demand to be given up all Christian prisoners of every country," but "the entire abolition of Christian slavery, the delivery of all Christian slaves in the kingdom of Algiers, the restoration of all the money paid for the redemption of slaves by the King of the two Sicilies and the King of Sardinia, peace between Algiers and the Netherlands, and the immediate liberation of the British consul, and two boats' crews who had been detained by the Dey," were also demanded from the Algerine chief by the English Admiral.

• The next opinion of Napoleon charged with inaccuracy by Major Hough, relates to the famous attempt of Napoleon to invade England. On this subject we sum up thus the Emperor's opinion: He was sure of being able to effect a landing; he was sure of being able to revolutionize Ireland; he was sure of capturing London. Let us then weigh the whole matter, and decide the chances in favor and against the success of the Em-

peror's attempt. We will divide the question into four parts: (1) Could Napoleon have crossed the British channel? (2) Could he have landed an army on the English coast? (3) Could he have entered London as a conqueror? (4) Could Ireland have been revolutionized?

1. In the Arabian tales mention is made of magicians, who used to prevent the entrance of the spirits of darkness into the houses of the faithful, by tracing small magical rings over the threshold. Insignificant as these figures themselves were, they had charms strong and powerful enough to keep at a distance the most dangerous of those fiends, whom, according to the Mussulman legends, Solomon the great prophet confined in the under regions. But the All-powerful creator has drawn around Great Britain a line of water as dangerous and as potent as the rings we have just alluded to. Girded by the everlasting sea, she enjoys incomparable blessings from her insular situation. The narrow strait that divides her from continental Europe has proved to her of infinite service, and as a barrier has been far more efficacious than even the Alps and the Pyrenees were to the Empires of Charlemagne and Philip. But Napoleon was ~~not~~ wanting in those great abilities of a necromancer, by which surges were appeased and gales quelled into gentle breezes. Had it not been for the despondency of Villeneuve, Bonaparte might have crossed the channel, and once for all proved to the world, that though the passage was considered next to impossibility, it was not impossibility itself.

While Nelson was in the West Indies, in pursuit of the French, Napoleon planned to bring his grand fleet into the channel, and render all hopes of victory vain by vast universal superiority, to effect the passage of the flotilla, and to land on the English coast that vast army of 130,000 veterans, who afterwards conquered Europe, and marched victoriously through the capitals of the most powerful Empires of modern times. Even if Nelson were to engage the French fleet, and admitting that he succeeded in defeating it, no one can deny that the struggle would allow Napoleon ample time to pass over the channel with his "Army of England." Four hours would have been enough for his purpose. We quote the following from Marshal Ney's Memoir, to illustrate what we have just stated:—

"At a signal given, infantry, cavalry, artillery, were at once put under arms, and ranged opposite to the vessels, on board which they were respectively to embark. A cannon was discharged, and all the officers dismounted, and placed themselves

at the head of their respective corps; a second gun was the signal to make ready to embark; a third, and the word of command, 'Colonels, forward!' was heard with indescribable anxiety along the whole line; a fourth, which was instantly followed by the word 'March!' universal acclamations then immediately broke forth; the soldiers in perfect order hastened on board, each to his appointed place; in *ten minutes and a half* twenty-five thousand men embarked. (*Memoirs of Marshal Ney, vol. ii. p. 260.*)

On the 11th of January, Admiral Mississy made a sortie from Rochfort to the West Indies, and after an absence of three months returned to the same port, not till after he had performed exploits capable of startling even the English Admiralty. But Villeneuve! the unfortunate Villeneuve! with him every thing went wrong. Keenly alive to a sense of his own inferiority, more afraid of Nelson than ever the Saracens were of Cœur-de-lion, his limbs were adapted more to the slow motion of a rocking chair in the recess of some drawing-room, than to the tossing and the roaring of surrounding waves in an ocean. When Mississy was leaving Rochfort for the West Indies excursion, Villeneuve was returning, shattered by rough weather, to the port of Toulon after a shameful trial of would-be enterprise. Villeneuve now gave himself up to fortune. The smallest spark of courage that still warmed his breast was extinguished. But time rolled on. Villeneuve summoned all his abilities, called into recollection his former past promises, but most of all imagining the enraged Emperor before him, burning for revenge, and resolved not to pass over the timidity of the Admiral, Villeneuve took his resolution—"I am off for the Indies positively." And so he left Cadiz with a fatal presentiment of total destruction. His flag was obeyed by eighteen of the line and ten frigates, having on board 9,000 veterans. On the 14th of May, Villeneuve reached Martinique; but without considering for a moment the great responsibility of his position, or remembering for an instant that the success of his master's vast schemes depended solely on the success of his own arms, Villeneuve lingered in that isolated spot for a full month. All was decided. Napoleon's dreams were quashed. Our sympathy for fallen greatness is increased or decreased just as the means to evade the danger were few or many. Misfortune did not take Villeneuve by surprise. Opportunities were perceived, but not made use of. And when the ill-starred Villeneuve met his fate in that terrible day of Trafalgar, he was seen falling, but neither "Freedom shrieked" nor did his country regret his loss. He fell un-

mourned, a victim to pusillanimity, to irresolution. Though Nelson was for the third time mistaken with regard to the enemy's situation, Villeneuve was far from taking "the tide at the flood." He delayed—he staggered—he was undone. When Nelson heard of the departure of the combined fleet from the Spanish port, he warned Europe of its approach. To this precaution Sir Archibald Alison ascribes "mainly the safety of the British Empire." History is not only a stage to reflect events as they occur—it is a tribunal of justice. Its verdict is superior to the voice of a whole age raised at the impulse of passions. History then is the judge who can destine the greatest monarch of the world to derision, if his acts prove his title to it. No *eclat* of a deluded mob is recognised before this impartial judge; it judgeth of events with a candour that makes the verdict immoveable, though centuries may pass over it, and prejudice and ignorance rise against it. Nelson has received from this tribunal the retribution of his victories. It has rewarded him with the grand appellation of the *mightiest sailor of the world*, nor can we doubt for a moment the validity of his pretensions to it. About the time, of which we have just spoken, England was fighting for existence, not for glory; and to no man is she more indebted for her safety than to Nelson. To him she is also indebted for all her glories; and to England, Nelson has given the honour of having produced)

"The greatest sailor since our world began."

Where would have been Wellington and his brilliant victories if Nelson had not won Trafalgar for his country? Waterloo was fought, in part at least, for glory; but on the issue at Trafalgar depended the fate of British Freedom. Never can England pay to Nelson more than his desert.

"He is so far before
That swiftest wing of recompense is slow
To overtake him."

But before we return to the subject, we have to pay a tribute to the memory of a compeer of Nelson. The orders of Napoleon to Villeneuve were "to liberate the Ferrol squadron, make the round of the bay, and taking the Rochfort people with them, appear off Ushant, perhaps with thirty-four sail, and to be joined there with thirty more." The words are Collingwood's, but the thoughts are Napoleon's. History records nothing equal to such a masterly piece of mental victory. The English Admiral, with wonderful precision, anticipated the plan of Bonaparte. This circumstance is mighty enough to immortalise Collingwood, independently of his other exploits.

To anticipate a good General is to do something worthy of a genius that is born to command; but to anticipate a General like Napoleon is to perform a wonder. This wonder was performed by Admiral Collingwood!

But to proceed.

The Brig *Curieux* having brought intelligence to the British Admiralty of the approach of Villeneuve, by the greatest despatch orders were sent to Admiral Stirling to join Sir Robert Calder and engage the combined fleet. A battle was fought off Ferral, and Villeneuve, by a display of activity unusual with him, not only saved his fleet, but even checked the English from advancing. For this repulse, which in itself was an invaluable service to England, Sir Robert was going to be tried, and to pay with his life, like the unfortunate Byng. Although he could not rout the French fleet, he did enough to retard the progress of Villeneuve, and keep England in security. Villeneuve was, on the other hand, quite exhausted after the fight. He verily believed that he did a service to the cause of his country, which ought to satisfy her for the coming fifty years. And it was then natural for him to conclude, that if France raised no monument to commemorate his victory, he could not refuse him the liberty of resting for half a year, as a recompense for five hours' service. Taking then "French leave," Villeneuve sought shelter in Ferral. There was committed that fatal error, which sealed the fate of the resolute Villeneuve, and that of the Empire of France. But how the aspect of the whole affair would have changed if Villeneuve, instead of running headlong into Ferral, had made away for Brest. Perhaps Trafalgar would have been fought off the French coast, and Ganteaume would have then with ease covered the flotilla, and Napoleon would then have had an opportunity to fight a battle on English ground. Well may Thiers ask—"Under such circumstances, could the battle be said to have been a defeat? The defeat would have been worthy of the "invasion of England," and Napoleon would have realised the hopes of wresting the sceptre of George the Third. But events took a different turn, and the whole world may well rejoice at it. Villeneuve was dreaming at Ferral, and Napoleon was dictating to Count Daru, in his chamber at St. Cloud, the plan for the memorable campaign of 1805. Having heard that Nelson had not effected the expected junction with Calder, Napoleon wrote to M. Decrès: "Your friend Villeneuve will probably be too cowardly to venture out of Cadiz. Despatch Admiral Rasilly to take the command of the squadron, if it has not already sailed, and order Villeneuve

MAJOR HOUGH'S OPINIONS OF NAPOLEON.

' to come to Paris, to account to me for his conduct." But Decrès was all in all a kind-hearted man. He could not convince himself of the propriety of torturing one, who was already racked at every joint by "battalions of misfortunes." Villeneuve was now to lose another opportunity. Having ventured out of Ferral into the open sea, it was expected that he would risk another engagement. But contrary to every expectation, Villeneuve dashed off, and made away to Cadiz in precipitation, congratulating himself on reaching the port safely. If Latouche had been at the head of Villeneuve's armament, the fate of Europe might have been different. That bold spirit would never have stopped his flight, till he reached the empyrean of his ambition. Under his management, the French navy would have risen to a proud position, such as would have done honor to the Empire and to the imperial army. But Napoleon was sadly mistaken in his choice of Villeneuve. That Admiral was not only deficient in a sense of duty, but he did not even appreciate fully his master's intention. Napoleon required neither victory nor conquest. He required of his Admiral and his fleet to devote themselves to destruction, and at that cost to purchase the passage of the channel. Villeneuve, knowing well that he had incurred the imperial displeasure, quite dejected in mind, resolved to fight and perish. With this resolution he engaged Nelson off the Cape of Trafalgar, and true to his resolution, he fought and lost a great battle. As a prisoner, Villeneuve was comparatively at ease. The responsibility no longer rested on his shoulders, though disgrace was embossed on his unfortunate brow. With the last cannon shot at Trafalgar, expired the "invasion of England." The sound of the English ordnance resounded over the whole world; it silenced Europe from North Cape to St. Vincent! Liberty heard it from her retreat, and shouted "Death to the Tyrant!" If Villeneuve had possessed the moral courage of Nelson, or if he could have commanded the genius of the unfortunate Latouche, or if he had been attended by *one* of those many virtues which dignify those who are born to rule, England would have bitterly tasted the scourge of the iron sceptre of that man whom Tennyson emphatically called "World-victor." But to the confusion of her enemies, there is a kind Providence that presides over the destiny of England.

What could have been easier for Villeneuve than to have fought Calder with success at Ferral, or to have engaged the combined English fleet at Brest as he did off Trafalgar? If Villeneuve had done this, Ganteaume would have possessed the opportunity of flanking the flotilla. To the inability of Vil-

eneuve, and the genius of Nelson, England is indebted for the uninterrupted peace that she yet enjoys. It was *Nelson*, and not the *channel*, which has left to us as yet the possession of those beautiful and proud lines :—

"Rule Britannia,
Britons never shall be slaves."

2. Could Napoleon have landed with success? The answer is in the affirmative. At the head of the heroes of Arcola, Marengo, and Jena, backed by the efforts of the best marshals of Europe, Napoleon could with ease have conquered the English army, such as it then was, with a reserve of recruits and the police staff. Glorious and great as England is, she has not as yet been tested by any great invasion, her means therefore are untried. Besides, Napoleon's veterans were not as yet exhausted with endless campaigns, nor thinned by incessant wars. They were the conquerors of Holland, and the soldiers who beat out the Duke of York, in the days of the French Republic, from the Netherlands. They were the best warriors of France, who, under the Emperor's command, had defeated 3,000,000 of continental veterans. They had trampled over the pride of Empires and Kingdoms, and when led by consummate Generals, never failed to carry the palm of victory.

"In that world's earthquake, Waterloo," they performed feats of courage without a parallel. They charged the allied army without the support of a single horseman, and even with such a great deficiency, and against such odds, they were closing the day in their favour by a signal victory. Let us listen to Sir-Archibald Alison: "Had the Emperor," says the baronet, "husbanded his horse till the close of the action, and then brought up his columns of the guard, supported by D'Erlou's and Kielle's divisions, and screened on either flank by 5,000 of his formidable lancers and cuirassiers, it is difficult to see how it could have been resisted, *when it is recollected how nearly it had succeeded without the art of such flank protection.*" With men like these, and under the command of a General like Bonaparte, it is not difficult to guess the result of an invasion. No doubt the English nation would have offered a desperate resistance, yet what could courage without discipline, raw lines, and numerical superiority, do against those veterans, who gathered their laurels from the plains of Italy, Germany, Prussia, Austria, and Russia!

3. A defeat near Dover would have paralysed all attempts of defending London. Napoleon would not have lingered a moment on the conquered field; so that the second engagement would have either been fought between Dover and London, or with-

out the environs of the metropolis. The English nation, considering the wealth of their capital, would never have ventured to set London on fire, as the Russians did with Moscow; and in those days, when there were no telegraphs and no railways, what a small army could have been mustered at any one point.

If the English had been once beaten in Kent, the victors then would have been dubiously opposed in Hyde Park or Hackney. England must have fought, and would, near Dover, if she were to secure her existence and save herself a world of calamities. The invaders must not be allowed to move a mile beyond the field they land in; for to drive a French army from London, cannot be effected without the greatest carnage on either side. If, in 1848, the Duke of Wellington considered England "not safe a week after the declaration of war," let the reader judge how safe her position was, when she was to defend herself, with a handful of regular troops, and those too under indifferent commanders, in the face of a French army of veterans, under Napoleon Bonaparte!! We will now quote the words of the late Duke, on the subject of "our national defence:—

"But as we stand now [1848], and if it be true that the exertions of the fleet alone are not sufficient to provide for our defence, *we are not safe for a week after the declaration of war.*" "I shall be deemed foolhardy in engaging for the defence of the Empire with an army composed of such force as the militia.

"I am bordering upon seventy-seven years of age, passed in honour. I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being again witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert."

4. It needs no great argument to prove that Napoleon could have revolutionized Ireland. Unity in religion would have gone far in alienating the Irish from their allegiance to the House of Brunswick. The Emperor had Irish agents in Paris, who pledged their honour to defend his cause, if he could land an army and storm Dublin. The failure of the expedition of the unfortunate Hoche has left yet a tincture of uncertainty over the subject. But who doubts for a moment now-a-days, that every Catholic would have raised the cry of vengeance? Priest, pastor, and peasant would have sallied out in a body, proclaiming a crusade against the Protestants.

We think then, that there was nothing but what was perfectly reasonable in the expectation of Napoleon respecting his invasion of England. The channel, as we have just shown, could have been crossed; the English could have been worsted; London

could have been captured; and Ireland could have been revolutionized. But England would never have submitted to the rule of Napoleon, and what could 130,000 veterans have done against a nation in arms? Napoleon could have satisfied a vain glory of conquering England, but the real aggrandisement to the Empire, which would have been in the union of the two kingdoms, would never have been effected. Napoleon would have found it very difficult to carry back to France one-fourth of the vast army that he marched out. The impossibility of keeping up a direct communication between England and France, would have materially injured the Emperor's interest. In case Napoleon had received that assistance from the English nation, which he counted upon before hand, he would have with the greatest ease subjugated England in one short month, and would have proceeded on with those reformatations which the Radicals and the Whigs so much longed after. Probably, he would have raised a civil war in the country, as he did all over Italy, and by setting different parties at logger-heads, he would have waited for the result, to come in for the lion's share. It is impossible, as Napoleon himself observed to Doctor O'Meara, "to know what would have happened. Neither Pitt, nor you, nor I, could have foretold what would have been the result. Having the Capital in my hands, the Capital, ah Doctor! would have produced wonderful effects." We cannot conclude our notice without the following quotation from a recent able article of one of our cotemporaries:—

"But, do Messrs. Cobden and Bright really believe, that the passage of the British Channel, by a French army of twenty, forty, or even a hundred thousand men, is physically impossible? And if it be not physically impossible, are they so very simple as to imagine that, the order once given, twenty, or forty, or even a hundred thousand French troops would hesitate about making the attempt, even if the preparations on our side to resist the invasion were far more complete than they have been at any given period between the years 1815 and 1852? It is needless to refer the member for the West Riding, and the representatives of Manchester, to the Duke of Wellington's opinion on these subjects,the matter which they are pleased to pooh, pooh, is not considered a dream or an impossibility on the Continent. Plans for the invasion of England appear, on the contrary, to have occupied the thoughts of statesmen and soldiers in all the continental nations, the whole of whom regard the measure as practicable, whether their feeling towards us be friendly or the reverse. The plan submitted by M. Carnot, to the Directory, was noticed in this Journal,

' July, 1808. Now a measure which men hold practicable, some of them are pretty sure to attempt, whenever the inducement becomes adequate, and the opportunity inviting."—*Edin. Rev.*, July, 1852.

We next come to the "expedition of Egypt." We are indeed, sorry, that we cannot find in the whole passage before us a single line that needs explanation, nor can we place it in a better light by any effort of our pen. We are ashamed to defend truisms; for there is a dearth of modesty in advocating a cause whose rights are acknowledged, or vindicating an opinion whose verity has been established by facts. The truth of the Emperor's opinions, expressed in terms too plain to be mis-understood, is so vivid and clear, that we cannot perceive the blemish that the microscopical eye of Major Hough has detected. We therefore proceed onward, promising Major Hough to return to the subject, when he will do us the favour of exposing the errors that are now invisible.

"The invasion of Russia" next claims our attention. There are some points here that require a little clearing up. Napoleon said:—"The first war that you will have with the Russians, they will take India from you." Before we can test the above, we must see England measuring arms with Russia. The preparations of Paul, the intentions of Alexander, are recorded in history. But the future of Russia is yet brilliant, and we are yet to behold what Nicholas can do. Major Hough must, therefore, agree with us in upholding the truth of the Emperor's opinion, till the first war after 1816.

The prediction, that the Russian Emperor, at the head of 600,000 men, would invade Europe, has been in parts realised. But how far the prophecy will ultimately stand the test of events, we do not venture to anticipate. Time will value every saying after the best criterion, and posterity will see the realisation of those *maxims*, that now stand untried by practice. After the death of Alexander, his brother and successor, the Grand Duke Nicholas, entered into a war with Persia; the contest lasted three years, and was closed with immense aggrandisement to the Russian Asiatic dominions. The official announcement of the fall of Abbas Mirza's arrogance was succeeded by a proclamation of war against the Sublime Porte. The struggle with the Turks absorbed the attention of the Russian cabinet for years, but the victorious arms of Paskevitch and Dabiewitch conquered almost the whole of the Ottoman Empire in Europe and Asia, and the Signior of Istamboul, under the dread of the Russian bayonet, signed a treaty. He submitted in time to save his capital from the

wrath of a revengeful victor. If Nicholas had not relinquished his new acquisitions in Europe and Asia, the Russian would have been our next-door neighbour, and Major Hough would have then told a different tale. Though by the system of equilibrium, which now regulates European policy, the Czar could not retain an inch of his newly acquired possession in Europe, yet he has faithfully illustrated his mighty resources!

The formidable insurrection of the Poles in 1830, which brought upwards of 100,000 Russians into the field, proved a source of great expense to the Russian exchequer, and made no small havoc in her vast standing army. Add to this the repeated checks which the ungovernable Georgians have offered to the arms of the Czar, a circumstance productive of no small benefit to the British Empire in India. That Russia has an eye fixed on us from half a century, and that her pity or mercy towards us is not very sincere, we need not be told, after the encroachments which she has continually been making towards Cabul, and the territories bordering on the Caucasus, for the last twenty years. Our possessions in India, therefore, are not yet secure against attempts on the part of Russia, even after all that has been done with the avowed object of counteracting her influence on our North Western Frontier. Dr. McGregor, writing about the time when Runjit Singh ruled the Punjab, says:—"In the event of a war with Russia, the Persians, as well as the natives of Afghanistan, would, in all probability, join its standard; and the Russian army, strengthened, would find little difficulty in reaching the confines of the Punjab. The only barrier offered to their entering Hindustan, would be our ally Runjit Singh, who is well aware of his consequence, in the event of such an invasion." We have seen the Khalsas annihilated, and the dominions of Runjit Singh swallowed up by the British Indian Empire. The barrier being broken down, we are brought side by side to our desperate neighbours, the Afghans. We must not trifle, therefore, with the danger of our position. To secure ourselves from any out-burst of Russian arms, let the Sikh territories be guarded by a force adequate to meet European soldiers with success. For, if at this moment a Russian army of 100,000 men were to appear on the borders of the Indus, it will be no easy work to keep Hindustan uninjured, that is, if we can keep at all. Attacked from without by the lance of the Cossacks, from within by the rebellious arms of native chieftains, England will find it difficult to conquer

both, and if she cannot conquer both, she must give up the country at last.

But how terrible is that warning to the sovereigns of Europe, "that Russia must either fall or aggrandise, and 'it is natural to suppose that the latter would take place.'" The Empire of Peter the Great has kept on progressing since the death of Alexander. She has erased the name of Poland from the map of Europe, and the folly of Abbas Mirza gave her an opportunity to extend her dominions to the Asiatic frontiers. She had captured Adrianople, and had the Grand Signior persisted in his resolution of "extirpating the infidels," the domes of Santa Sophia would have trembled under the roar of Russian cannon, and Christendom might have then had the satisfaction of viewing the symbol of charity and suffering taking the place of the standard of tyranny and oppression—the Cross of our Saviour surmounting the Crescent of Mahomet. But Constantinople, as it is well-known, stands by sufferance. It is a bulwark raised against the encroachments of Russia, and as such, it will stand for centuries to come, at the mercy of France and Great Britain. We are warned against Russia even by L. Kossuth, a man of no common abilities. On his arrival in England, the Ex-governor of Hungary, in answering the address of the Southampton Corporation, thus spoke:—

"The English nation knows well, that in neither social nor political respects can it be indifferent whether Europe be free, or groaning under Russia and her satellites; the English nation is conscious of its glorious position—it knows that, while it can serve its freedom at home, it cannot grant the privilege of Russo-Austrian despots to dispose of the fate of Europe, or England would no more be an European power."

At Winchester the Patriot said:—"As it is, you know the House of Hapsburg, as a dynasty, is gone, it exists no more—it merely vegetates. The Emperor can only act by the will and whim of his master, the Czar. If only the Czar would not threaten every portion of the world where the prayer of liberty rises up from the nation to the Almighty, if the people of England would only decide that Russia should not put his foot on the nations of Europe, if England but only say, stop, and nothing more, the boast of Paskewitch would never be realised."

At Southampton again Kossuth said:—"The principle of all evil in the continent is the despotic and ever-encroaching spirit of the Russian power. There is the pillar which supports

‘ every one who wishes to establish his ambitious sway over the sufferings of the nation, raising himself on the ruins of their liberty. Russia is the rock which breaks every sigh of freedom, and the Russian power is the same which England encounters in her way, at every point—in Pekin and in Herat, at the Bosphorus, and on the Sound, on the Nile, and on the Danube, and all over the Continent of Europe.” “ There is no party in England which can deny it, that the armed intervention of Russia, in the affairs of Hungary, has increased beyond measure the preponderance of Russia in the Continent; while, at the same time, it has violated the sacred principle of the independent right of nations, to dispose of their domestic concerns. The weight of Russian preponderance over Europe will not subside, but will increase.”

These are the words of a truly “ great man.” Our opinion is also backed by innumerable other authorities, but we will pass them over for fear of being tedious to our reader. Enough for the truth of our cause, that we are able to number among those who favour our opinion, a man of such wisdom and acknowledged honesty as M. Louis Kossuth. Russia has preached all over the principle of centralisation, and by the force of her bayonets she has propped the tottering capital of Austria. Her intervention in favour of the House of Hapsburg is a delusion. She has preserved one to overthrow many. Not unlike Cæsar, who swam across the Nile with his commentaries raised aloft, safe from the sea, and caused the destruction of the first library of the world. Or like the fairies, who, for every hour of pleasure that they afforded to their lovers, tantalized them for as many years. The dread therefore of Russian arms is natural. Europe ought to guard against them; liberty ought to fear them; civilisation ought to turn them to a right focus.

Napoleon remarked that the French would be a troublesome neighbour to the English in India. He also spoke of “ intriguing French adventurers,” and the injuries they were likely to do to the British cause, by joining the native princes against it. A few years ago there was not an independent rajah, whose court was not attended by European officers, and whose army was not disciplined after the European tactics. Amidst innumerable turbans and castans, it was not unusual to discover the cocked hat of a French general, or the brilliant uniform of a western field marshal. Nor was it a less frequent sight to behold in an Eastern Durbar, an European general laying before his Royal Highness a plan of new conquests; or in the festival of Dussorah, a hundred thousand native soldiers para-
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ing before a French commander or an Italian count; or seated by his side, an European general, carrying a young prince to proclaim a new reign; or a house guarded by native soldiers, accoutred after the European fashion, proclaiming the residence of a foreign commander-in-chief; or an European field marshal, surrounded by a brilliant staff of native sirdars, haranguing the rajah's body-guard in a day of tumult. These pictures existed in the mind of Napoleon before nature painted them for history. An Avitabili, a Ventura, a Jacob were to fulfil a mission which the Emperor prophesied from the rocks of St. Helena, full thirty years before it was ever dreamt of, or, if ever dreamt of, never believed. With the ruin of Dupliex' power, it was thought that European interlopers would cease to be troublesome. The idea was false. It exploded before facts.

The soldiers under Runjit Singh, and those in the pay of the raja of Gwalior were, in particular, trained and commanded by European generals. To this circumstance, above all others, we attribute the brave and honourable conduct of the enemy's troops at Maharajpur, and the stout resistance of the Sikhs, from the first exchange of shots at Mudki, down to their total annihilation at Gujrat. The Khalsa fought with courage and resolution worthy of the reputation of Ventura and Allard, and of those who served the "Lion of the Punjab." They can boast of having driven before them one of the bravest cavalry regiments that ever wore the British uniform. The steady fire of the Sikh infantry, and the dexterity with which their artillery was served, deserve an honourable mention in history. Thus fought the Sikhs of Runjit with European training, and thus "intriguing French adventurers" cost the English more than "ten thousand British veterans in India." The news of Chilianwallah startled the Directors at Home, and Leadenhall-street was about to put on mourning. It was amidst such confusion that the lamented Duke, old as he was, resolved to come to our relief, if Sir Charles Napier, to whom the office of the Commander-in-Chief of India was offered, refused to succeed Lord Gough.

But Napoleon was deluded by his brilliant imagination, when he attached such a great consequence to the French possession at Pondicherry, as to think its neighbourhood dangerous to the British East Indian Empire. The Emperor believed, that the French would aggrandise as fast as the English did, their Oriental conquest. Napoleon here missed the reality for the shadow. The copy was seized, while the original was allowed to slip through. Dissensions and troubles in France retarded

the progress of French arms; while peace at home and success without, achieved for England that Empire, whose rapid formation, on such a stable footing as that on which the possessions of the East India Company rest now, is without precedent in the history of the whole world. Yet, indirectly the French have been troublesome and dangerous to the British cause in India. From those palmy days of Duplex, down to the parting rays of Baptiste's glories in Gwalior, they never ceased to work on with their infernal machines. So far we applaud, aye, venerate the Emperor's opinion, that in the treaty between the Sikhs and the British Government, after the first Punjab war, "a prudent clause was introduced:—"No European or American shall be allowed to enter the service of the Sikhs without the permission of the British."

To illustrate the effect of the service of European officers to the Sikh government, we quote the following from an author of no mean reputation; one who observed men and manners full well to pass a correct verdict on the subject:—

"Every one was astonished at the precision and celerity of firing on the part of the Sikhs; but had they considered, that these troops were taught the art of war under the instruction of such men as Allard, Ventura, Court, and Avitabili, and that no expense or pains had been spared by Runjit Singh to have an army disciplined after the European tactics, it could never have been reasonably anticipated, that the Khalsa troops would be suffered to recross the Sutlej without a desperate struggle; and yet this opinion was cherished by many."—

Mr Gregor's History of the Sikhs, Vol. VII., p. 48.

Speaking on Indian affairs, Napoleon observed:—"You ought to monopolise the whole of the Chinese trade to yourselves. Instead of going to war with the Chinese, it were better to make war with nations who desire to trade with them. You ought not to suffer the Americans to send a ship there"—(p. 38) If Major Hough considers this opinion erroneous, we consider it so along with him. But the subject is one of the most intricate questions in political economy, and within our narrow limits we cannot do it full justice. We will, however, try to be brief, without being obscure. The opinion just quoted, is that of the protectionists of our time, or of the party whom the able orator, Lord Derby, represents; and whose cause, after the precedent of his lordship, has been espoused by the talented Mr. Disraeli. It is a curious phenomenon in the history of the commercial world, that all mercantile nations, who rose to eminence, were those who favoured pro-

tection. But curiosity lasts only with ignorance. Institutions are dependent on the nature of the time they stand in; they fall if they oppose the tide; but they gather strength if they are consistent with the public opinion of the time, or if they are founded on those principles which have most successfully influenced the time. Different principles have been preached by different ages; and the wisdom of a politician consists in the correct interpretation of the time. What is justifiable at one time, may be considered an unpardonable offence at another. Or to use the words of Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, with a little alteration, "it is clear, therefore, that what is one man's meat *at one time*, may be another man's poison *at another time*."

Considered from every point of view, the opinion of the Emperor was not adapted to the progressive genius of the present century. England needs not trouble herself with monopolising Chinese trade. Her merchants will be forced to seek for opium in the British East India markets, for reasons too simple to need repetition here. It is impossible to conceive with what advantage the Americans can meet the British merchants, without a possession near the Celestial Empire, capable of producing poppies so luxuriantly as Bengal, or the North Western Provinces of India. England, on the other hand, has a firm hold of the vast regions of Hindustan; a country not only in the neighbourhood of China, but alone capable of producing that only commodity, which always commands a ready sale in Chinese markets. It is impossible for the Americans, with such odds against them, to beat out England from Chinese marts. Unless she could wrest from the British Empire the whole of INDIA!

When we come to consider the Chinese exports, we find the table turned against us. England is much more dependent on China, than America is. While we have only succeeded to a very limited extent in our attempts to establish tea plantations in Assam, the Americans have at their door their grand depository of sugar, and a few steps onward, extend the luxuriant gardens of the West Indies, capable of supplying America with all sorts of luxuries. To hinder, therefore, the American from trading in China, we must, as Major Hough has justly remarked, keep a large squadron on the look out, without injuring the trade of America, but not without running into considerable expense. Besides, to oppose such an able body of seamen as the Americans, the English Government must make vast efforts; and even with all that, we cannot be cer-

tain of success. We take leave of the subject with the satisfaction of having found one subject on which we can sympathise with the Major.

We should now speak of the battle of Waterloo, but our space does not warrant our entering upon this theme.

Indeed, we fear we have already gone beyond our limits. We therefore forego our intention of examining, at length, the comparison instituted between Napoleon on the one hand, and Caesar and Cromwell on the other. We must remind the Major, that we have not discussed those objectionable points in his notes, which historians have confuted before the appearance of his pamphlet. The affairs connected with the capture and imprisonment of the unfortunate Captain Wright, have been reviewed by M. Thiers in one of the philosophic pages of the *Consulate and the Empire*, to which we refer the Major.* The poisoning of the sick at Jaffa, condemned by the martial editor, has been defended by Sir Archibald Alison, on the ground of humanity, and not of necessity alone. Authorities ought to have been consulted before any opinion was risked on such subjects as these, which have been the topics of discussion in the pages of histories, that are destined for ages. The Major says:—"At the siege of Acre, Sir Sydney Smith might have shot Napoleon, but he scorned to do so." May we venture to ask the Major for his authority? To win our assent, he must substantiate the assertion by other means than his own declaration in its favour.

And now we conclude with the expression of a hope that, next time we meet with our author, we may have it in our power to commend more, and to censure less.

* Mr. Colburn's Authorized Translation, vol. IV, p. 38.

ART. VIII.—*The Administration of the East India Company; a History of Indian Progress. By John William Kaye. London, 1853.*

IN a country where there are no literary secrets, where the whole details of the editorship and proprietorship of our several periodicals, and of the authorship of the various articles which they contain, are so generally known, or are supposed to be known, to the community generally, it may be supposed by some that there is a reason which should prevent our noticing this work at all. While we do not acknowledge the justness of the supposition, the reason on which it is founded will, to a considerable extent, modify the nature of the notice that we are about to bestow upon the work. Aware that any commendations that we might pen, would not generally gain credit for disinterestedness, we shall refrain from commendation altogether. And it would be unfair to censure where we are not free to commend. But the importance of the work itself, and the mode in which many momentous subjects are treated in it, give our readers a right to be enabled to form their own judgment respecting the merits and defects of a work which, but for the accidental circumstances to which we have alluded, would be fairly entitled to a full notice in our pages. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the presentation of such extracts from the volume before us, as may enable our readers to judge of the quality of the whole.

The work is professedly one designed to supply information which it is desirable for the public to possess *at the present juncture*. Yet the large range of subjects that it embraces, and the amount of historical information that it contains, render it fit to serve more than an ephemeral purpose, and give good hope that it will long survive the juncture that gave rise to its composition. In fact, we doubt not that it will be regarded, henceforth, as one of the standard books that must be consulted by all those who would acquire a correct knowledge of the progress of good government and civilization among the people of India.

Our first extract gives an idea of the difficulties that have had to be surmounted, and the distractions that have had to be encountered, ere much attention could possibly be paid to the improvement of the condition of the people:—

It is little more than sixty years since we began to govern India at all. Lord Cornwallis is the first Indian ruler who can be properly regarded as an administrator. Up to the time of his arrival, the English in India had been engaged in a great struggle for existence. Clive conquered the rich-

est province of Hindostan. Hastings reduced it to something like order. But it was not until Cornwallis carried to India the large-minded liberality of a benevolent English statesman, that our administrative efforts took shape and consistency, and the entire internal management of the country under our rule was regulated by a code of written laws,* intended to confer upon the natives of India the benefits of as much European wisdom and benevolence as was compatible with a due regard for the character of native institutions. During those sixty years, India has never enjoyed any untroubled season of rest. We have continually been engaged in wars and contentions, which have resulted in the extension of our empire, until it has reached the confines of the Afghan dominions; and many who would fain have been peaceful administrators, have been conquerors in spite of themselves. During the sixty years of which I speak, we have been building up our present enormous empire. When, therefore, we come to consider the time at our disposal, and the opportunities at our command, with reference to the ameliorative measures which have emanated from the British Government, we must not take account of the result, as though we had been for sixty years in possession of our present territory, and those sixty years had been years of settled tranquillity, but as though we had all that time to do with an empire immature and imperfect, calling for measures—in the first instance, of defence, then of aggression—which have left neither leisure to consider, nor money to provide the means of domestic improvement.

For let us only just glance at the history of India during the last century—at the reigns of our different chief Governors, from Clive to Dalhousie, and see how they have been consecutively engaged, with but two exceptions, in great and engulfing wars. Think of the wars in Madras and Bengal—the Rohilla wars—the Mysore wars—the Mahratta wars—the Java war—the Pindarree war—the Burmese war—the Afghan war—the Sindh war—the Sikh war—with all kinds of minor wars occupying smaller space in the great history of Indian conquest. Of all our Governors-General, either reared in India, or despatched thither from our English bureaux, Shore and Bentinck alone contrived to surround themselves with an atmosphere of peace during the entire period of their administration. And yet all these warriors and statesmen, who were continually pouring their battalions into the field, were not all of them men, “out of measure addicted to fighting”—men of large ambition, greedy of conquest, unmindful of the blessings of peace and the claims of an industrial people. Cornwallis—Minto—Amherst—Auckland—Hardinge—Dalhousie—were all by nature peace-Governors. Neither Hastings—commoner nor peer—can be justly accused of unscrupulous aggressiveness. And yet, somehow or other, all these rulers have been arrested in their career of eternal improvement, or utterly prevented from giving a thought to it, by the necessity of concentrating their efforts on great schemes of military organisation, for the subjection of enemies who have threatened the security of our frontier, and compelled us to possess ourselves of new territory to enable us to retain possession of the old.

Of late years it has become more and more usual to test governments every where by a pecuniary standard. Whether rightly or wrongly, men are growing to regard that as the best government which is the cheapest; and it appears as if, ere long, all

* Barlow, in the minute of which I have spoken above, always used the word “laws;” but Cornwallis invariably erased it, and substituted the word “regulations.”

the various departments of "state craft" would be absorbed in the one département of Finance; and the Ludovician maxim *L'état, c'est moi*, would become the enunciation of a recognised truth in the mouth of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We speak not now of what ought, or of what ought not, to be, but only of what undoubtedly is. The demand of the age is unquestionably for nothing so much as for cheap government. Judgment in the imposition of taxes, the display of a desire, when possible, to relax the screw, economy in the administration of the public funds, go farther now than at any previous period towards the establishment of the character of a statesman. Hence, revenue matters, which have always held a high place in the estimate of all Indian questions, are gradually assuming more and more importance; and it is not a little remarkable to what an extent, in the recent discussions respecting the Charter question, they have taken precedence. The following extract seems to give a clear view of the principal sources of revenue in this country:—

The people of India will bear a great deal so long as they are used to it. They are very intolerant of change. They do not understand it. They are timid and suspicious. Benevolence and wisdom may go hand and hand in our measures, but the people are not easily persuaded that what we are doing is for their good. There is for them no Parliament and no Pices. They have the vaguest possible idea of the intentions of their rulers. They do not think—they do not inquire—but with childlike haste and impetuosity resent the innovations which are intended to confer benefits upon them. Fiscal changes are especially dangerous. We cannot experimentally without peril on such a people. We may relieve them of old burdens, and impose lighter ones upon them, but the probability is, that the open disaffection of the ignorant masses would compel us to abandon our benevolent projects, with a loss of dignity and an injury to the *prestige* of our authority not easily to be computed. The failure in such a case is not the failure of a party or the failure of a man, but the failure of the paramount governing power in its abstract constitutional integrity.

It is necessary to a right understanding of the subject of Indian taxation, that these considerations should have reasonable weight. If the Government could be administered without money, or if money could be raised without taxation—one or both of which beatitudes some writers would seem to consider attainable—we might leave the land unassessed, the salt untaxed, and cease to cultivate the poppy. But we must assume in this case not only the necessity of taxation, but the necessity of maintaining such taxes as will embrace in their network the largest possible area of population. In such a country, and with such a people, there is little choice left to the financier. Where the millions live almost entirely on the produce of their rice fields, with only a rag about their middle, and a few brass pots for their household goods, there is no very extensive field for the display of financial ingenuity. There are fifty different ways in which the English taxgatherer may get at the poor man. But in India the approaches to the mud hut of the laborer are few; and the taxgatherer must advance by them or keep away altogether. He has been going for a long time along the same beaten roads. The peo

ple have learnt to look for him in certain directions, and even if better paths to their domiciles could be found, they would resent his approach by them. A tax on cultivation is not a good thing—a tax on salt is not a good thing. But the people cultivate the lands, and they eat salt; it would be difficult to find a substitute for these imposts, and if a substitute were found, it is probable that the people would reject it.

The taxes of which I have spoken—the Land tax and the Salt tax—are those which most immediately affect the bulk of the people, and they are those which yield the largest revenue.* Next in importance are the Customs, the Opium sales, and the Abkurree, or tax on spirituous liquors. Besides these, there are the Post office, the Stamp duties, the Mint, the Tobacco-monopoly, and other smaller sources of income entered in the Government returns.

The following seems to us to place, in a clear light, the mode in which the balance between receipts and expenditure has been gradually destroyed:—

It is easy to trace the causes of this continued deficit. In the financial year 1835-36, the Indian revenues yielded a surplus of nearly a million and a half. In the following year, the surplus was a million and a quarter; in the next three-quarters of a million. In the next year (1838-39) the surplus had altogether disappeared, and the awkward word "deficit" appeared in the accounts. Then came the Afghan war. A British army was pushed across the Indus, and the deficit for the year 1839-40 reached the alarming amount of more than two millions sterling. From this time to the year 1848-49 there has been an average deficiency of a million and a half a year.

How these extraordinary expenses swelled the Indian debt may easily be seen. In 1836, the debt amounted to less than thirty millions; in 1850, it had nearly reached forty-seven millions. The debt had been reduced in the former year by the application to that purpose of a portion of the Company's commercial assets, realised on the cessation of their commercial privileges. At the outset of the war in Afghanistan there was an abundance of money flushing the public Treasury. There was the happy surplus of three good years to indent upon. It was not, therefore, until the beginning of the year 1841, that the financial embarrassments of the Indian Government gathered so oppressively around them, that they could only look for extrication to the opening of a new loan. Then they began to borrow money at five per cent. interest; and as affairs beyond the frontier grew worse and worse, and a new war was undertaken to repair the disasters of the old, it was not until the commencement of 1843 that the subscription was closed. During that interval five millions of money had been received into the Treasury of India. The debt then, in 1843, amounted to thirty-six millions sterling. A new four per cent. loan was then opened; but money came in slowly at this rate of interest, and from February, 1843, to October, 1846, only two millions and a half were attracted to the hands of the Government financiers. By this time the Sikh war had commenced, and more money was required. It was necessary, therefore, to stimulate the cupidity of the money-holders by the offer of a higher rate of interest. The five per cent loan was therefore re-opened in October, 1846, and from that time to April, 1851, during a portion of which the second Sikh war was in full

* In saying this, I include also the duty on imported salt, which is entered in the Government returns under the head of Customs.

operation, eight millions and a half were subscribed. The debt had then been swollen by these additions to nearly forty-seven millions. The increase of interest, since 1839, payable on this debt, is ninety lakhs of rupees, or nearly a million sterling per annum *

But the full extent of the evil is not here adequately represented. But for these exhausting wars we should have had a continued surplus, and been able to reduce the original debt. The cost of our military operations far exceeded the amount subscribed to the loan. The aggregate excess of ordinary military charges from the year 1838-39 to 1850-51, amounts to more than twenty millions and a half; and the excess of extraordinary military charges to upwards of seven millions. The Company's financiers, indeed, estimate the cost of these wars at thirty millions. "We have already," they write, "explained the grounds on which we have come to the conclusion that 30 *crores* had been expended in increased military charges since 1838-39, and we have now shown that five and three-quarter *crores* more have been paid for interest on the money borrowed in India."† And when these wars, beyond our north-western frontier, commenced, the country was only beginning to recover from the exhausting effects of another great war beyond our south eastern boundary. The Burmese war in 1824-26, cost fifteen millions of money.

On this great subject of money, we must make room for one other extract. The truth contained in it is not novel, but it cannot be too frequently repeated, or too constantly pressed upon the attention of all who have to do with the administration of Indian affairs:—

This subject of Indian finance is not an attractive one, and I do not wish to dwell wearisomely upon it. But it is absolutely necessary to the right understanding of our position in India that the financial status of the Company should be clearly ascertained. What I wish to be gathered from these statements is this—that the welfare of the people of India mainly depends upon the preservation of peace. The finances of India have continually been in an embarrassed condition, because the Company have continually been, in spite of themselves, engaged in great and engulfing wars. The policy which they have avowed, and honestly endeavoured to maintain, has been pacific to the very core. But they have seldom been permitted to see the disturbance of their Exchequer more than re-adjusted before they have been again called upon to find money to prosecute a new war. Under these repeated pressures they have been compelled from time to time to borrow money at a high rate of interest, and by so doing have created a permanent embarrassment, which has kept them, and still keeps them, poor. So circumstanced, so impoverished, they cannot be generous—they can barely afford to be just. They are compelled to take a financial view of almost every question that is presented to them. They are compelled to repress humane instincts and kindly impulses—to narrow enlarged schemes of policy, and to give themselves up to petty shifts and temporary expedients. They are condemned on the one hand for exacting so much from the Revenue-payers, though they exact barely enough to keep themselves from bankruptcy. And they are condemned, on the other, for not spending more of the Revenue which it is said to be shameful to collect. Indeed, as far as I understand it, the whole drift of the popular

* Interest on debt in 1839-40 Rs. 1,31,50,549
Ditto do. in 1850-51 " 2,22,38,918

† *Company's Finance Letter*, June 3, 1852.

clamor, which in some quarters is raised against the existing Government of India, is that they ought to have less money, and ought to spend more.

There are many things in the Government of India which I would fain see amended—there are many things to be done, and many things to be left undone, before any man of enlarged views and humane desires can look on with complacency and content. But it^{is} were well that it should be clearly understood how, at the bottom of all our misdoings and our short comings, is this miserable want of money. With an overflowing treasury impure taxes might be remitted, and great public works might be completed. The interest alone of the increased debt, which has accumulated since 1839, would have sufficed for the construction of some great material work, which at the same time would have increased our revenue and benefited millions of people, or for the extensive diffusion among them of the blessings of intellectual enlightenment and practical education.

The past history of India is a history of revenue wasted, and domestic improvement obstructed, by war. But I see no reason why we should not be hopeful of the future. Already, as I have shown, is there a marked improvement in the financial returns, and there is every reason to believe that the Company will soon be enabled to reduce their outstanding obligations. The reduction of the debt will release year by year, for purposes of national improvement, sums of money hitherto disappearing, under the name of "interest, without a sign. The good or bad government of India is mainly a question of money, and, therefore, a question of war or peace.

Our next extract shall be from the chapter on the Judicial system. Our readers will be glad to peruse our author's estimate of Lord William Bentinck:—

All through the administrations of Lord Wellesley—of Sir George Barlow—of Lord Minto—of Lord Hastings, and of Lord Amherst, the Cornwallis system of internal administration continued in force, only with such modifications as the mutations of time and circumstance naturally engrafted upon it. But in 1828 Lord William Bentinck arrived in India. Of all the Governors who succeeded Cornwallis, he most resembled that benevolent and upright statesman. As Cornwallis was a reformer, so was Bentinck. He had abundant time to devote himself to measures of domestic improvement for no miserable war was sitting like a curse upon his arm, and paralysing his administrative energies. No honest man ever went out to India and no man ever addressed himself to the solution of difficult problems of government, and the initiation of dangerous experiments, with a larger amount of moral courage. Of some of the acts, which have most rendered his administration illustrious, as the suppression of suttee, and the extension of native agency, I shall speak at another time. I have here only to do with the changes which he introduced into the judicial system of the country. These changes were great and sweeping.

He abolished the Provincial Courts.* These Courts, it must be acknowledged, had, in progress of time, sunk into something very different from what Cornwallis and Barlow had contemplated in their erection. It has been seen how eager they were to raise the dignity of the judicial character—to appoint to these Provincial Courts some of the ablest men in the country. And yet Lord William Bentinck spoke of them "as resting places for those members of the service who were deemed

* The Provincial Courts of Appeal and Courts of Circuit, in the Madras Presidency, were not abolished till some time afterwards.

unfit for higher responsibilities." The fact is that the revenue branch of the service, under successive administrations, had been gradually treading down the judicial. The very evil which Cornwallis and Barlow had sketched so forcibly in their inaugural minute had been asserting itself, with progressive virulence, ever since their removal from the scene of their labors. And now Lord William Bentinck found the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit, which were to have been objects of ambition to the ablest and best men of the Company's civil service, little better than refuges for the destitute and incapable.

I do not doubt that under this degradation of the judicial service, the Provincial Courts had become woefully inefficient. They required picked men to render them efficient, and they had been presided over by the refuse.* As Courts of Circuit they were especially defective. They held a gaol-delivery twice in every year. The period between commitment and trial was infinitely too long. The prisoner was kept, unjustly, perhaps, for months in confinement, and the prosecutor and his witnesses were carried away from their homes, to eat their hearts out around the walls of the Court-house, whilst all their affairs were being engulfed in ruin. Any measure, the effect of which was to increase the number of gaol deliveries, could not fail to be a blessing to the people.

This Lord William Bentinck accomplished. But he did much more than this. He struck at the very root of the system which Cornwallis had initiated, not merely at the mode of procedure. It was a great thing to increase the number of gaol-deliveries, but it was not necessary to this end that the functions of the judge and the tax gatherer should again be combined in the same person. Lord William Bentinck abolished the Provincial Courts, and turned the Revenue Commissioners into Judges of Circuit. They were to superintend both the finance and the criminal justice of their different divisions. They were to look after the Company's coin, and they were to sit in judgment upon gang-robberies,—a blending of Somerset House and the Old Bailey.

I need hardly say that this plan was not a successful one. Some of the ablest and most experienced members of the Court of Directors protested against it; and Lord William Bentinck himself soon found that it was a mistake. So he transferred the duties of the Sessions to the civil judges, and decreed that they should hold a gaol-delivery every month. There was no objection to this arrangement, provided that the judges had sufficient time for the due discharge of the circuit duties without neglecting their other obligations, and if their new duties were compatible with the old. But this was not the case. The civil judges, under the existing system, were also the magistrates. It was necessary, therefore, to divest them of their magisterial duties. So another class of functionaries was to be found to take up these dropped responsibilities; and, accordingly, they were flung to the collectors. The warmest admirers of Lord William Bentinck and his system admit that this was a mistake. The new arrangement worked as badly as could have been expected, and few reasonable men could have predicated anything but failure as the result. The office of thief catcher was of course postponed to that of the financier; and the department of Police was the worst regulated of any branch of the administration. The whole system, indeed, was that of the degradation of the office which ought to have been

* It is probable, also, that the minds of these provincial judges had a tendency to deteriorate, under a system which made them little magnets in their several divisions, perhaps at variance with one another, and each clinging to his own prejudices, without a chance of having them rubbed off by contact with superior intelligence. I am indebted for this suggestion to an intelligent and experienced friend.

dignified and exalted. But instead of this, by the reversal of the Cornwallis system, the protection of life and property was declared to be a matter of minor importance, and the responsibilities of the criminal judge and the police magistrate were flung about from one class of public functionaries to another, as though it mattered not by whom they were assumed as an appendage to other graver duties.

But there were other reforms instituted by Lord William Bentinck, of which too much cannot be said in praise. When Lord Cornwallis projected his scheme of internal administration, he had to look no further than Benares for the limit of its field of operation. Lord William Bentinck found an empire extending nearly to the Sutlej; and yet there was but one Court of final Appeal throughout the whole Presidency of Bengal. Suitors had to travel a thousand miles in search of justice, to brave a new climate, and mix with a new race of men. It could not, therefore, be other than a blessing to the people to establish a Court of Appeal in the North-West Provinces of India. Lord William Bentinck erected a Sudder Court at Allahabad, to which appeals lay from all the local judges. And he relieved the pressure upon those judges, by an extension of native judicial agency, and enlargement of the authority of the native servants of the State.

The following is Mr. Kaye's summing up of the *quæstio verata* respecting the qualifications of the Civil Service of the East India Company:—

It is admitted that there are many defects in the existing system—that justice is administered by men wanting in judicial training, perhaps with no legal habits of mind, and somewhat deficient in ordinary acumen. But there are, probably, even greater wants than these—a want of knowledge of the people—knowledge of their character, of their language, of the habits of their every-day life. There is always, more or less, an imperfect acquaintance with these things. A right knowledge of them is not easy to attain—we only see the outside of the natives, disguised for better or for worse. But this is an evil not peculiar to the condition of the exclusive service of the company, but inseparable from our position as strangers and aliens in the East. Under the existing system, indeed, it is less felt than it would be under any other. If a young man expressly educated for the service, taught perhaps from early boyhood to look forward to an Indian career, proceeding to India at an early age, perhaps to a home whither his father and brothers have preceded him, cannot sufficiently enmesh his interest and his affections with the realities of Indian life, how much less likely is one, coming at a comparatively mature age, fresh from the Inns of Court, to acquire a competent knowledge of the things in which, with all his advantages, the writer is avowedly deficient?*

* I think that Sir Edward Ryan's evidence regarding the appointment of English barristers to Indian judgeships is quite conclusive on the subject. "Do you believe that the administration of justice would be improved in India by the selection of barristers from England and from India for that purpose?—I do not think so; barristers from England, I presume, could not go out until perhaps of the age of twenty-five; they would hardly be barristers till that time. I do not know what would tempt many barristers of that age to proceed to India, because it is quite clear that upon their first arrival in that country they would be quite incompetent to fill the offices of Judges in the interior. The first thing they have to learn, of course, is the native languages, which would not be so easily acquired at that age as at the earlier age at which civil servants proceed to India; they would have no opportunity of acquiring that species of judicial training to which I have before alluded; namely, becoming familiar with the natives in the transaction of business in the various ways in which civil servants obtain that familiarity in the office of the collector. Not possessing this

It was said by Canning, during the debates on the India Charter of 1813, that there could not be anything radically wrong in the system which had produced all the able Company's servants who had given their evidence before the Parliamentary Committees. Forty years later the same remark might be made,—with this pungent addition: The system cannot be radically wrong which has produced the able Company's servants whom the Queen's Ministers have selected from time to time, not merely to govern the Crown colonies, but to extricate them from difficulties into which they have been thrown by the intemperance or incapacity of men who have not been trained in the Indian service. When great colonial embarrassments arise—and they do rise sometimes—it is commonly to the talent, to the temper, to the discretion, to the firmness and to the integrity of some servant of the Company, that the perplexed Minister looks for the saving hand that is to extricate him from his dilemma.

Yet these men are said to be the minions of a corrupt system. The patronage of the East India Company, it is sometimes alleged, is at the bottom of all this vile mess of administrative uncleanness. Justice is put to the most miserable shifts, that the friends of the thirty magnates of Leadenhall street may draw so many thousands a year from the territorial revenues of India; and the conclusion is, that therefore the doom of the Court ought to be sealed without hesitation or delay. I am told by the Chaplain of Newgate that the reason why, if I send a bank note, or a ring, or a watch-chain in a letter, it runs no small risk of being stolen by a letter-carrier is, that "the vacancies in the Post office are filled up by parties recommended to the Post-Master General by members of Parliament."† To this system

knowledge of the languages, nor this familiarity with the manners, and usages, and habits of the natives, I do not see how they could become efficient judges in the interior of the country, especially with reference to this; it is not the knowledge of the science of the law which is so much required in the Mofussil Courts, it is the administrative art which is so required, and that can only arise from familiarity with the people, and a knowledge of the people themselves. The facts that the Court have to deal with; in dealing with facts in a country like that, you are surrounded with infinitely more difficulties than you are here. In the Supreme Court the opportunities and power of dealing with facts are greater than in the Mofussil Courts in one respect; the judge in the Supreme Court, indeed, is acquainted with the native languages, the greatest part of the witnesses are natives, speaking the native language; but before a witness is produced in that Court, he is carried to the office of the attorney, the attorney has under him a principal native manager, that native manager is familiar with the English and the Vernacular languages; he sifts the witness in the office, and he communicates the result of that to the attorney; the attorney communicates it to the barrister. The witness is called in Court after all this preliminary sifting, he is then examined in Court in his own language, by interpreters, who in my time were men of extraordinary ability, he is cross-examined of course in the same way; and after that sifting from the commencement at the attorney's office, and his examination and cross examination, the judge has very constantly the greatest possible difficulty in coming to a conclusion upon the evidence so sifted. Now what would be the position of an English barrister in the Mofussil, totally devoid of all those aids, and without the information which the civil servants acquire by the species of training to which I before alluded?"

† I may as well quote the passage to which I refer, in Mr. Davis's last annual report—"The watchful care of masters over their servants, to enquire, from time to time, into their habits of life and pursuits in private, should apply to the public establishments of the country. The moral reputation of public servants ought to be taken into consideration, but that branch of the public service where we meet with most failures is the Post-office. Post-office cases, involving, as they do, not merely a serious breach of public trust, but cases of domestic misery that baffle description, have engaged my most earnest attention. In more than one little pamphlet I have addressed the dishonest parties among those employed by the Post-office, in the hope,

Mr. Davis attributes the frequent occurrence of a crime "involving cases of domestic misery that baffle description." From this we may learn the great lesson, that a mischievous administration of the patronage of the State may not only be co-existent with, but be fostered and encouraged by, an institution on which the liberties of the country are mainly dependent. And if letter-carriers' appointments are so jobbed between Ministers and Members of Parliament, how would writerships and cadetships fare in the same immaculate hands?

Our English readers will, no doubt, be horrified by the following picture, the accuracy of which will, however, be recognized by all who have spent a few years in India:—

Thus were these murders—systematically, artistically—perpetrated, with an adroit avoidance of detection which seldom or never failed. Human life in India is not of much account. A corpse by the wayside in England fills nearly a whole county with horror and astonishment. In India, even a humane English gentleman passes it by on the other side, and is only so far concerned at the spectacle, that probably his horse has shied at it, as it would at the trunk of a tree. Every one is accustomed to the sight of human bodies drifting down the river—floating islands inhabited by gorging birds of prey; or if you should chance to reside in a villa on the river-side, you are not concerned by the knowledge that the round white balls which dot your lawn like snow-flakes, or with which your little children are playing, are so many human skulls. Still less do the natives of India, by whom the European gentleman is infected, in due time, with this apathy, bestir themselves, body or soul, about these indications of our frail mortality. Death in India comes in many sudden shapes. If a certain Moodoo-sooden, or Rungoolal, is missing from his accustomed place, or does not reach the end of a journey (should any one expect him), his anxious relatives take it for granted that he has been bitten by a serpent—that the cholera has preyed upon his vitals, or a wild beast has eaten him up. No descriptions of the missing one are inserted in the newspapers, and no members of the detective police are employed to discover the cause of his disappearance. Somehow or other he has been absorbed. "*Mur-gya*"—He has gone dead!

The measures for the suppression of thuggee are now universally known; but not so those that have been recently adopted for the suppression of dacoitee. Mr. Kaye's whole chapter on this subject is peculiarly interesting. The following extract will give some idea of the thorough organization of the robber-gangs:—

Upon this subject, in its general bearings, important as it is, I cannot

by some such appeal to their better feelings, to correct their errors, and if possible prevent the crime. I should like still more to be done in this way, so far as it can, without offence and with hopes of success; but I greatly fear that some portion of this unenviable distinction in servants of the Post-office, namely, that a greater number are convicted and transported in that than any other department, arises in some measure from the manner of their appointment. As far as I can learn, but I speak only from rumour, the vacancies in the Post-office are filled up by parties recommended to the Postmaster-General by members of Parliament. It is easy to imagine that for services rendered to these gentlemen they are glad of any opportunity of doing a kindness for great zeal and activity in serving them. Hence there may not be such a rigid inquiry into the past life and habits of the men recommended as seems essential in a duty so important."

now afford to enlarge. But this is the proper place in which to speak of the effects of our present system upon the great crime of dakoites. It is a distinguishing feature of the practice of these professional depredators that they adapt their ways, with wonderful precision, to the legal machinery which is brought to bear upon them—that they even turn the very engine which is designed for their destruction, into an instrument of defence. They adapt their organization to our own, and the more intricate it is, the greater are their chances of evasion and escape. “The English,” writes an officer of great intelligence and experience in the intricacies of these criminal leagues, “having divided the country into districts and thannas, the robbers have made it a fundamental maxim and *sine quâ non* to attach themselves by divisions to thannas, in order to bribe every man of real and actual influence over the villagers to enter into a league with their paymasters—their principle being to sacrifice much in order to retain a little in certainty and safety. Now the two classes which have supreme actual influence among the village population are the thannadars (with their myrmidons) and the revenue-farmers (with theirs). These then are the persons held in the pay of the dakoits. To ensure regularity in this necessary particular, a robber-division is attached to a thanna, and a sub-division to a particular farm. This robber-division is under a sirdar (or chief) of robbers; and it is among the first of his duties to pay monthly, with his own hand, the shares respectively of the thannadar and the revenue farmer.”*

Nor does the corruption, as I have already intimated, stop here. “The sirdars,” says another writer, an intelligent and zealous magistrate, “are men who travel in their *palkis* (palanquins), and arrange all these little affairs, first with the local police, next with the magistrate’s amlah, and eventually with the sessions amlah and the law officer.”† “In short,” to use the comprehensive words of another civil officer, the highest authority on such a subject in Bengal, “the whole plan has been got up to meet our rules of evidence, and it is carried on with the help of our ministerial and police amlah.”‡ Whatever we have done, indeed, the dakoits have turned our doings to their own uses—our revenue system, our police system, our judicial system, have all been impressed into their service. Whatever may have been our administrative organisation, they have adapted to it, with consummate skill, the organisation of their criminal leagues, and out-manœuvred us at all points.

Nor did the triumphs of these astute criminals stop short even at the doors of the Sessions Court. They reached to the judgment-seat. So protected by the amlah, it would have been hard if the dakoits could not have brought into court any amount of false evidence to secure their acquittal. It never, by any chance, happened, that all, or even the most influential, members of a robber-gang were arrested; and they who were at large never failed to exert themselves to obtain the liberation of their more unfortunate comrades who had fallen into the grasp of the law. False witnesses were readily obtainable from among their own people, willing and able to swear him off. The manner in which this evidence was got up was often very clever and interesting. “It is quite out of my power,” writes Mr. Wauchope, magistrate of Hooghly (of whose services I shall come to

* *MS. Correspondence*.—The same writer thus calculates the number of robbers located within one thanna (or police division):—“I calculate to every thannadar four revenue-farmers resident in a thanna; on every revenue-farmer’s farm four *sirdars* (or chiefs), with their respective divisions of robbers. To every sirdar four *naib-sirdars* (or captains), and to each *naib-sirdar* four burglar gangs, and to every burglar gang five men each. Thus, $1 \times 4 \times 4 \times 4 \times 5 = 1,280$ members of the depredational league in one thanna.”

† *MS. Correspondence*.

‡ *Ibid.*

name, he went by a certain nickname in the gang—and by that nickname Mr. Wauchope called him. Astonished and alarmed by this display of knowledge—all his secret history thus laid bare by one whom he had thought to cozen in the old way, by hard lying—the unhappy man felt that he was at the mercy of the English magistrate, and cried out, “Pardon me, my lord; I am ready to tell you all I know.”

It was plain that this was the kind of man to deal with the old Bengal dakoits, of whom it was truly said that “they would never confess unless they saw that they were in the hands of a man from whom there was little or no hope of escape.” So Mr. Wauchope was recommended for the office of Special Commissioner for the suppression of dakoitees, and Government sanctioned the appointment.* But although the man was ready, the Act was not. A question had arisen, in the course of the preceding year, as to whether Act XXIV. of 1843 could be brought into operation against the dakoit bands of Lower Bengal; for although the wording of the two first sections was of a general character, and seemed to include in their provisions all kinds of dakoits practising in the Company's territories, the preamble only specified certain tribes of professional robbers; and to these, therefore, the operation of the Act, strictly interpreted, might be limited. The principal judicial authorities were at variance on the subject, and the supreme Government had expressed its unwillingness to alter the existing law, unless it were clearly shown by a judicial decision that its provisions were insufficient. It was proposed, therefore, that the legality of the application of the Act in question to the case of ordinary dakoits should be tested by certain trials in the Hooghly Court, and the decisions of the Sudder thereupon. This, however, did not go far to solve the ambiguity. One man was tried under the doubtful Act, and the Sudder Court sentenced him to be transported for life. But it was understood that the judges were not all of one opinion on the subject; and it was possible, therefore, that the next case might meet with a different fate.

We know few subjects that would make a more interesting article than Mr. Wauchope's dacoit-suppressing experiences, and we hope to be able, ere long, to gratify our readers with such an article.

The following is Mr. Kaye's view of the employment of natives in the higher judicial offices:—

The administration of civil justice is at present almost entirely in the hands of these natives officers. Appeal lies from the lower to the higher grades. But in respect of all suits above 500*l.*, whether tried by the Principal Sudder Aamin, or by the European Zillah Judge,† the appeal is only to the Sudder Court, or chief tribunal. The Principal Sudder Aamins are thus placed on a level with the highest European functionaries, except

* The appointment was made on the 26th of April, 1852, experimentally for one year, to be reported on at the expiration of that period.

† In all such cases, whether original suits or appeals, the European Judge is competent to withdraw the case from the court of the Principal Sudder Aamin, and dispose of it himself—but in either case the appeal lies only to the Sudder. Very few original suits, however, are decided by the European Judges. It would appear from official statistics, that under the Government of the North-Western Provinces, in 1849, only twenty original suits were so decided, whilst nearly 45,000 were decided by the Native Judges.

the Sudder Judges, with this reservation, however, that the European Judge has the power of withdrawing any suits from the native courts, and trying them in his own.

In the dispensation of criminal justice, the natives of India have less share, but they are not wholly excluded from it. A class of Deputy Magistrates has been established, the members of which are sometimes vested by the local Governments with the same powers as are possessed by the European Magistrates. In this capacity they are competent to pass sentences extending to imprisonment for three years.

Beyond this the power of the European Magistrates does not extend. All cases demanding severer punishment are sent to the Sessions Judge, who is empowered to sentence to fourteen years' imprisonment. If this extent of punishment does not appear to meet the criminality of the case, it is sent, with a written letter from the Sessions Judge, stating his opinions, to the chief criminal court, or Sudder Nizamut Adawlut. If the Sudder Judges concur in the opinions of the lower court, and the offence is not one demanding the punishment of death, it is sufficient for one Judge to try the case. If he dissents from that opinion, or capital punishment seems to be demanded, the case is heard by two Judges on the bench.

On the whole, it may be said that the extended employment of native agency in the administration of justice has worked as well as there was reason to expect—but not so well as to lead any unprejudiced observer to believe that in not throwing open the doors of office more unreservedly to them any great mistake has been committed.* It appears to me that nothing can be sounder in theory, or more beneficial in practice, than the system by which a people, long deprived of power, are gradually restored to it. The process of restoration can hardly be too gradual. We need look for no better proof that the Court of Directors, when reviewing the famous 87th clause, did not look too disparagingly upon the qualifications, and too grudgingly upon the claims of their native servants, than the fact that the passage I have quoted, though written twenty years ago (and those years have witnessed great improvement in the moral and intellectual character of the class of Government *employés*), is as applicable to the present state of things as if it had been written to-day.

The admission of the natives of India to the highest offices of the State is simply a question of time. "I believe," said a distinguished member of the Company's service,† before the Committee of the House of Commons, "that our mission in India is to qualify them for governing themselves." "I

* Mr. Halliday, who has had the best opportunities of observing the working of this system of native agency, and whose testimony is entitled to great weight, when asked by the Committee of the House of Commons, "Is the impression upon the minds of the natives of India generally, that the law as it is, is impartially and honestly administered by the authorities who administer it?" replied, "Speaking of the native courts, that is to say of the courts presided over by natives, without desiring to attribute to them faults, I must say that at present, owing to the long experience of the natives of the corruptibility of their own countrymen, and their great want of confidence in them, as compared with the confidence they have acquired in the Europeans, there is not generally in the minds of the natives such a complete reliance upon the impartiality and incorruptibility of the courts under Native Judges as could be wished; but I believe it will grow up in the course of time, especially as the courts themselves within my observation and knowledge have manifestly improved in regard to integrity and trustworthiness, and as the natives know and see them to improve, their suspicions of course will be lulled, and they will gradually acquire in them the same confidence that they have in the courts presided over by Europeans."

† Mr. Halliday.

say, also," he continued, "that the measures of the Government, for a number of years past, have been advisedly directed to so qualifying them, without the slightest reference to any remote consequences upon our administration." Long before it became their duty to review the clauses of the Act of 1833, the Court of Directors had continually exhorted their servants in India to prepare, through the agency of improved systems of education, the natives of the country for higher official positions than they had yet been qualified to hold. And these exhortations had not been thrown away. What the ultimate effect of their great educational measures must be, it is not difficult to conjecture. Our mission will be fulfilled sooner or later. The only question is a question of time.

In the meanwhile, though the administrative agency to which the internal management of the country is entrusted is not without inherent defects, it seems to be a matter of extremest difficulty to suggest a safe substitute for it. There has been an outcry raised of late against the Company's Courts and the Company's Judges; but some of the best authorities are of opinion that the natives of the country have unlimited confidence in both.* There may, perhaps, be some local exceptions, and instances of occasional malversation have, from time to time, been made public. But in almost every case in which a civil servant of the Company has been charged with corrupt practices, a brother civilian has been the accuser. There is no effort to screen the delinquent, but rather an earnest desire, on the part of the general body of the service, to bring his offences to light. As to those judicial inconsistencies and other *betisés* which have been cited so freely from the records of the Company's Courts in Madras, it appears to me that nothing could be easier than to cite from the records of any courts an equal array of unintelligible decisions. I have a great respect for the English Bench, and the utmost faith in the honesty and ability with which justice is administered in this country; but if incomprehensible decisions, startling sentences, and furious inconsistencies are to be cited as proofs of incapacity and corruption, it would not be difficult to fill a volume with such proofs called from the Assize Intelligence contained in a six months' file of a London Journal.†

We must now bring our notice to a close; not because of any want of passages to extract, but from want of space to hold more extracts. Mr. Kaye has done good service in bringing together so complete a record of progress and improvement.

* Take, for example, the following passage from Mr. Halliday's evidence before the House of Commons:—"Have they (the natives) complete confidence in the administration of justice in those (the Company's) Courts by the English Judges?" "As far as regards the integrity of the Judges, their confidence is complete; they have little or no notion of the possibility of corrupting an English Judge; it scarcely ever enters into their imagination. They may, perhaps, have sometimes a difference of opinion as to the acuteness and intelligence of some of the Judges; and I dare say that, as compared with acuteness and intelligence of the Native Judges, those qualities in the English Judges are often in the minds of the natives at fault; but in the integrity, and in the honest and earnest desire of the English Judges to do justice impartially between man and man, the natives have the highest possible confidence." —[*Mr. Halliday's Evidence.*]

† The fact is, that the printed report of a case seldom fairly represents its merits, even when it is given with much amplitude of detail for the amusement of newspaper readers. Every man has read reports of cases which he has heard decided, and admitted that he should never have known the reason of the decision if he had not been himself in court.

He has religiously eschewed all theory, and confined himself to plain historical details. He puts it beyond a doubt, that a great deal has been done towards introducing improvements into every department of the Company's Government. Whether more might not have been done under another system, is a question that he has not undertaken to answer.

POSTSCRIPT TO ART. III

AFTER the article on the "Company's Government" was written, we received a copy of Mr. Campbell's more extended work, *India as it may be*. We regret that in this more expanded scheme for the good Government of India, there should be several material errors, especially in the figures, and that many of the views should be *extreme*. That Mr. Campbell has laid himself open to attacks from various quarters, no one who considers the positions which he has taken up on education, on the success of Missionary efforts, on plans for conversion of the natives, on the rights of the Crown to over-ride all the treaties entered into by the Company, on the military establishments, and on other minor matters, will hesitate for a moment to deny. We much prefer this clever author when describing things as they are, to the same author when showing us what they may or ought to be.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

A Glossary of Indian Terms, for the use of the various departments of the Government of the East India Company. 2 vols. 4to.

THE Court of Directors does not interfere, in the person of any of its members, in the Government of India. They are satisfied to delegate local superintendence to their governors, and in cases where special knowledge is required, to take the advice of specially instructed persons ; to consult their lawyer in legal matters ; in questions of oriental philology, to repose with confidence on the profound learning of Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, the Librarian at the India House, Sanscrit Boden Professor at Oxford, author of a Sanscrit Grammar and Dictionary, and in short, *clarum et venerabile nomen*.

It was with no little interest, that on the receipt of these goodly quarto volumes, we anticipated the valuable and curious information we should find in the preface, regarding the origin and object of the work ; the nature of the Indian terms, to the collection of which it was consecrated, with some notice of the sources from which they were derived ; of the numerous languages contained in it, and some specimens, perhaps, of the recondite lore which the learned Professor has accumulated through so many years of oriental study. A little disappointment was therefore pardonable, when we found there was no preface, no opening remark, except the title, from which we learn that the Glossary is *for the use* of the various departments of the East India Company.

It still remained to be seen how far this announcement was realized in its pages. We opened the volume at random, and our eyes fell on the following unpromising official terms.

Chawbuck—a whip, a lash used at the Cutcherry Courts as an instrument of punishment.

Chawbuck Swaur—floggers or users of the lash.

Chawks—A kind of guards.

These words furnished much food for reflection, not on the nature of the system in which the lash is made to appear so prominent an instrument, but on the value of those Sanscrit studies, which, under the auspices of the learned Professor, have been introduced at Haylebury, and of which the practical results are, we presume, here developed. In fact it is scarcely possible to conceive a less successful example of lexicography than is here displayed. *Chābuk*, as Shakspeare and Forbes spell it, means *active*, *alert*. Its second meaning is *horsewhip*. *Chābukaawār* means a *skilful rider*, and is the term usually applied throughout India to a rough rider or jockey. We ought to add, for the benefit of learned orientalists, that a rough rider is not usually valued in proportion as

here perhaps our list of undisputed claims to admission ends, and it may be questioned whether agricultural, botanical, and medical terms, names of coins, weights and measures, of castes, of festivals, and of deities, have properly any place in such a compilation. Yet, as far as concerns the first, how shall we get a perfect official vocabulary for all those provinces where the revenue system enters into the utmost detail, without recording agricultural terms? How, without some botanical terms, shall we identify the agricultural products? How, again, will the list be complete without such of the terms of medical jurisprudence as are commonly used in criminal trials? If, however, we admit certain botanical terms, we do not want a botanical dictionary, still less do we want such vague information as is to be found in the Glossary, as, "*cyry*, a green fruit of an aromatic flavour;" or "*zukkoom*, a tree."

Some notice of coins, weights, and measures *must be* admitted, but it may be questionable whether the exact value of each should be stated, or a mere general mention made of the *name* of each. A more difficult question is that regarding castes, religions, religious festivals, and deities, the last three of which, excepting as giving rise to official holidays, can scarcely be placed under the head of official terms, however desirable it may be to collect and record all facts concerning them. The same thing might be said of castes. We once investigated the castes in a particular locality, and found there were upwards of two hundred. Mr. Elphinstone, in his history, has stated that there are a similar number in the neighbourhood of Puna; the same thing may be probably true of other places, and as those of different languages rarely hold communion with each other, the number is endless. Yet to record the affiliations of castes, as has been done in the Supplemental Glossary by Sir H. Elliot, for Upper India, and to carry that scheme throughout the whole territory of India, would be so valuable a work, that we could wish it included in our scheme.

Doubtless, the originators of the Glossary did lay down some definite plan, marking the boundaries of the proposed work, but as this is not put forward, there are no means of judging how far it corresponds with the above. It is not, however, for want of such a definition of its limits that the plan has fallen to the ground. It is not because there are many omissions in the lists furnished to the compiler, a few specimens of which we have given under some of the heads into which the subject may be divided. Neither can it in justice be said that the compiler is responsible for those omissions. But what he is fairly responsible for, and what vitiates the whole execution of the work, is the mode of spelling which he has adopted, and which reminds us a good deal of those early Indian State papers where Bhouslay was written the Bouncello, and Shao Rajah the Sow Roger. We are not intolerant. Our expectations are not extravagant. We do not expect in our own day to see the Greek Vulcan usually called Hæphæstus, or the Greek Jupiter, Zeus. As little do we expect or

wish to see *sepey* popularly written after Gilchrist's method, or *budgerow*, after that of Jones. When custom has adopted and sanctioned a word, let its award be conclusive ; but where there is no custom, where the object is to represent in a dictionary the true sounds and spellings of several hundreds or thousands of words, there is no excuse for wilfully leaving the right path, and for ignoring the labours of all other lexicographers. More especially is this the case, when the word in its native character is not given ; when, in short, there is no check on the luxuriant fancies of a compiler, or on the number of sounds which he may call on one over-worked letter to represent. We give below some specimens taken from only a few pages of the Glossary, which will enable our readers to judge for themselves, whether they will adopt the new method, or hold by one of the old ones. The English translation is only intended to identify the words.

Purdese, stranger.

Perdah or *Purdaw*, curtain.

Savary for *Sawarree*, suite.

Shaher, city.

Shakar, hunting.

Sheed, witness.

Shukesteh, writing.

Sonott, see *Sonaut*.

Cofferman means an infidel, but generally used for a negro. (*Glossary*.)

Cyry, a fruit.

Chubdar, staff bearer.

Kowl, *Quol*, *Cowl*, agreement.

Khurch, *Khirsch*, *Kurich*, *Khurchee*,

Khurcha, expense.

And elsewhere, *bazee curch*, *kurch*, or *kherch*.

The last example exposes, in the most satisfactory manner, the utter looseness of the system, if system it can be called, of the learned compiler of the Glossary. Here are no less than six different ways of spelling the same short word, most of them with a magnanimous disregard of the spelling of the original. In the same spirit are *ultungau*, *kidmutgar*, *teridge*, and a host of others.

Then there is that confusion, which is of all others the easiest to avoid, of *c* for *k* and *g* for *j*.

Geeta, song, poem.

Gehennum, hell.

Gentoo, a hindoo.

Guire bekenny or *Guire balauny*, the resumption of an allowance of laud, &c.

So again with the common Canarese word, *geni*, spelt *gueni* or *gueny*, and the terms, *cuy kanum patam*, and *cuy kanam kar*, instead of *kai*. We are tempted to exclaim of the whole thing—*Cui bono*?

We will conclude with one further illustration, in which not even the learned Professor's Sanscrit studies could save the common word *Bhumi*, earth, from dismemberment, as in the instance *Boomie Jummed aloo* and *Vuccaloo Jummed aloo* : the former of which distinctly means a slave *adscriptus glebæ*, and the other one who is personal property.

We have now done with these somewhat tedious illustrations. Nor shall we pursue the subject any further than to remark, that in a vocabulary of words drawn from so many languages, it is incumbent on the compiler to affix to each word the language to which it belongs. Nothing of this sort has been done, and the reader is left to explore

these matters for himself. Whatever faults, however, the Glossary might have possessed, whether in the exclusion of valuable, or the admission of worthless materials, they were all capable of correction, and the blank column for remarks invited such assistance; but the faulty mode of spelling has ruined the whole undertaking, for no one surely would take the trouble to contribute words which are liable to be so distorted, and which when distorted, the contributor himself can scarcely recognize. We could ourselves supply several hundred terms to the Glossary, terms fully as appropriate and official as "*Caaba*, the temple of Mecca," and such like; but we can assign no place for them among the singularly spelt words of the learned Professor, and if adopted by him, they must in the process of adoption lose all trace of their original spelling, and become no longer recognizable.

Fortification; for Officers of the Army and Students of Military History, with Illustrations and Notes. By Lieut. Henry Yule, Bengal Engineers. Edinburgh and London. 1851.

THE author of this volume, instead of spending the period of his furlough in idle and most wearisome lounging at Bath, or at the United Service Club, devoted a portion of his leisure to the discharge of the duties of a Professor of Fortification in the Edinburgh Military and Naval Academy. We believe that the volume before us was originally intended to serve as a text-book for his class; but we are much mistaken if it is not destined for a very much wider range of usefulness. It cannot be needful to point out the important uses to every officer, to whatever "arm" of the service he may belong, of an acquaintance with the principles of Fortification. Nor is there any danger in this case, of "a little knowledge" proving "a dangerous thing." The smallest amount of knowledge, provided only it be accurate so far as it goes, is abundantly better than none at all. But a very considerable amount of knowledge of this art is easily acquired, and easily retained; its possession can scarcely fail to be advantageous to the soldier at some juncture or other, and the want of it may entail upon him failure and disgrace, and the life-long heavy thought, that his incompetence has been the cause of death to many brave men. We trust, therefore, that now, when something like a proper degree of attention is beginning to be paid to the general education of the officers of our armies, the principles of this useful art will, ere long, be far more generally known than they have hitherto been. To those who are about to start on a military career, and to those, at whatever stage of such a career, who wish to make amends for past neglect, we can cordially recommend Mr. Yule's volume, as containing all the matter that is needful for them, and as containing it in the most attractive form that the subject admits of.

But it is not only to military men that this book will prove useful. We are all interested in studying the history of the past and the present ; and howsoever it is to be with the future, it is certain that a main ingredient in past and contemporaneous history is the history of war. Now, without a knowledge at least of the meaning of the terms belonging to the art of Fortification, it is impossible for any one to understand much of what every one reads : and without a good deal of knowledge more than this, it is impossible to form an intelligent judgment on subjects respecting which we do all form a judgment from day to day. And to all who are desirous of attaining so much knowledge of these matters as will give an additional zest to their study of history, we can safely say that their purpose will be best served by the perusal of the more popular chapters of the work before us.

If some knowledge of the principles of fortification be necessary, in order to the intelligent study of history, it is no less evident that history itself is at once the test and the illustrator of the soundness of these principles. Every instance of success, and every instance of failure, is equally valuable to the teacher of this art, and in proportion as a teacher is able to collect from all quarters illustrations of his principles, and to expound the causes of success through means of attention to these principles, or in spite of inattention to them, and the causes of failure through neglect of them, or notwithstanding attention to them, will his teaching be both pleasing and profitable. And we are bound to say that we do not at this moment recollect a finer example of the way in which a naturally dry subject may be rendered interesting, by the exhibition of its principles applied in actual practice, than is afforded by the volume before us. The author shows a great extent of various reading, and a great readiness in bringing out from the treasures of his knowledge that which is most appropriate to the elucidation of the matter in hand. It would not be difficult to give instances of this felicity of illustration, but we rather refer the student, be he civil or military, to the book itself.

Not the least attractive feature of the book is the amount of biographical matter that it contains, and the admirably executed portraits with which the chapters are headed. Altogether, every thing is done that can be done, if not to construct a royal road to this branch of knowledge, at least to skirt the way with flowers, and render the student's progress as pleasant as the nature of the case admits. As a fair specimen of our author's style, we shall extract at length one of these biographical notices :—

Nicholas, surnamed Tartaglia, (the Stutterer,) a celebrated mathematician and speculative philosopher, was born at Brescia about 1500. He has told us his early history, and how he got his nickname, in one of the dialogues contained in his book called *Diverse Questions and Discoveries*. His father filled the humble office of letter-carrier to their honours the magistrates of Brescia, and was generally known as " Little Mike the Postboy," (Micheletto Cavallaro). If he was entitled to any other name his son was not acquainted with it, the father having died when the latter was six years old, leaving his family in poverty. When the French sacked

Brescia in 1512,* their house was plundered of what little it held, whilst the widow, with her children, took refuge in the cathedral. This did not save them from the violence of the troopers, and little Nicholas got five severe wounds in the head and face, one of which broke his jaws and disfigured him for life. It was long before he could speak plainly again, and hence he acquired from his playmates the soubriquet which he afterwards adopted as a surname. Before his father's death, the child had a few months' schooling; and, when fourteen years old, he went of his own accord to a writing-master. The fees being payable by instalments according to progress, when Michael had achieved the A, B, C, as far as K, his funds were expended, and he could pay for no further tuition. "After that," he says, "I had never another master, but ever worked in company with that daughter of Poverty whose name is INDUSTRIA."

In that good company Tartaglia studied to such good purpose as to reach the highest rank among the mathematicians of his time. After teaching at Verona and Vicenza, he became professor of mathematics in his native city, and afterwards at Venice, where he died in 1557. His fame mainly rests on his discoveries in algebra. In the solution of cubic equations he was the real inventor of the method known as Cardan's rule. It was communicated to the latter under a solemn promise of secrecy, but published by him in a work of his own notwithstanding.

The Essay on Fortification forms one of the books of the collection of questions above mentioned, and consists of two series of dialogues. In the first, held with His Reverence Gabriel Tadini, Knight of Rhodes and Prior of Barletta, the latter questions Tartaglia as to the possibility of the art of fortifying reaching a higher pitch of perfection than it had then attained, as exemplified in the defences of Turin. Of these he exhibits a plan, showing the place as a square bastioned fort, with cavaliers in the middle of the curtains.

Tartaglia gives the knight to understand that he sees very little merit in this trace, and that it is deficient in six properties, which he considers essential to good fortification. These are: 1st, That the curtains should be so traced that they can only be battered obliquely. 2nd, The contour should be such that any possible site of an enemy's battery must always be nearer to some one of the bastions than to the curtain which it is intended to breach. 3rd, That an assailant at any point should be exposed to an artillery fire from at least four distinct works. 4th, That the curtain should be so constructed that, if breached, in ruins it will be a greater obstacle to the enemy than before. 5th, That the place should be secured by some contrivance for enabling a very moderate guard on the curtain to baffle any attempt at escalade, with heavy loss and disgrace to the assailants. 6th, That to supply the garrison with food, there should be such an arrangement of works as shall allow of ground being cultivated under the guns of the place, and protected from annoyance by the enemy. The series concludes with pledges on Nicholas's part to produce plans and models showing how all these desirable objects can be attained.

In the second set of dialogues, Dr. Marc Antonio Morosini expresses natural curiosity to learn how the conditions are to be fulfilled. Tartaglia proceeds to explain one of his projects meeting the first three conditions—the poorest of all his designs, he says, since he would follow the shopkeepers' practice in showing his worst wares first. The trace is *en tenaille*, having bastions at both salient and re-entering angles, with cavaliers in the middle of the curtains; and on each side of the inner bastions along the curtains are thrown up a number of small oblique traverses, each armed with a falconet bearing on the space between the salients. There is a covered-way, wide enough for two carriages to pass each other, and a glacis with its crest only two feet lower than the curtain. He enlarges on the covered-way as a novelty. Though not found in Albert Durer, it is in Francesco di Giorgio's designs. Signor Morosini commends the plan as ingenious, but odd-looking. "Illustrious sir," replies Tartaglia; "had Nature from the beginning

* Under Gaston de Foix. "And as the miseries that war draweth with it are infinite, so the whole cite for vii. dayes together was exposed to the covetousnesse, to the lust, and to the crueltie of souldiers; things sacred as well as prophane being parcel of the praye: and no lesse the lives than the goods of men committed to the discretion of spoylers."—Fenton's *Guicciardini*, book x.

made men without nose or ears, till by chance one was turned out in the possession of both, assuredly he would be considered by the rest as a very odd fellow. And so with my system. But be it as you will; in fortification we want strength, not symmetry."

The fulfilment of the paradoxical 4th condition is to be sought for in breaking the height of the escarp into two by a sort of berm wide enough to receive the ruins of the upper half of the wall when it is breached,* which he considers will render ascent more difficult instead of facilitating it; whilst the loose stones struck by the shot from the flanks will fly about, dealing destruction among the assailants. How No. 6 is to be accomplished is not explained, and there appears nothing else in the tract worth mentioning.

Tartaglia does not appear to have professed fortification as an engineer, but merely to have taken up the subject speculatively, as he did many others. Many of the articles in his *Quesiti* are devoted to the theory of gunnery, though, as he says, he had never fired gun, bombard, musket, or arquebus; others are on the composition of gunpowder, on tactics, on surveying, and on mixed mathematical subjects. He also published the first Italian translation of Euclid, and many other mathematical works.

One of his books treats of the method of raising sunken ships, and in it he gives one of the earliest descriptions of a diving-bell. He does not appear to provide any means for replenishing the bell with fresh air.

There is even a quiet humour in some of our author's remarks, which renders his work still more attractive. For example, in speaking of various instances in which shells have been fired from holes dug in the earth, he says in a note—"They turned the earth into a piece of ordnance. So have I seen, beside the hot springs of Jumnotri, the Himalayan mountaineer excavate a tiny hollow in the hill side, fill it with the fragrant weed, and use all earth for his tobacco-pipe!"

We take leave of Mr. Yule with the expression of a hope, that the success of this work may be in proportion to its merits, and that this success may stimulate him to fresh efforts in the literary field.

*The Present State of the Cultivation of Oriental Literature, by
Professor H. H. Wilson. London, 1852.*

A LECTURE delivered before the Asiatic Society of London, by the man of his day the most competent—a man who, in profound Sanskrit scholarship is far ahead of Sir W. Jones, while in his translations from the Sanskrit Drama, he has shewn how a love of the *Belles Lettres* can be combined with a love of philology. The Professor in this lecture gives us a *coup d'œil* on the discoveries relative to the Assyrian inscriptions—Zend and Tehlevi—Persian and Arabic literature. We extract the information he gives us relative to India:—

Thanks to the enlightened policy of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which encourages every feasible attempt to render the various languages

* The escarps of Fort William, at Calcutta, are constructed somewhat after this fashion.

of India acquirable by their servants, and to make the various races of India known to all the world in their past as well as present social condition, through their literature, their institutions, their laws, their traditions, their remains, we make a better figure in all that relates to the Hindus especially, than in what concerns the Mohammedan people, whether natives of India or of other countries of the East. In this country the publication of the text of the Rig-Veda, the first and most important of the four Vedas or Scriptural authorities of the Hindus, constitutes an epoch in the history, not only of the Hindu religion, but in that of the religious systems of the whole ancient world. The first volume is printed, the second is advanced; it will be completed in two, or at most three, more volumes. The second Veda also, the Yajur-Veda, is in progress. The Rig-Veda is printed entirely at the cost of the Company, and they contribute liberally to that of the Yajur. They have, it is true, been obliged to avail themselves of the service of German scholars as editors, the Rig-Veda being printed at Oxford under the editing of Dr. Maximilian Müller, and the Yajur under that of Dr. Albrecht Weber, at Berlin; but they are entitled to the credit of preserving these venerable works from destruction, and of placing them within the reach of European erudition, as without their aid it is not likely that these Vedas would ever have been printed. Of the third, or Sama Veda, a portion, constituting its text, was printed by the Oriental Text Society some years since, from a MS. furnished by the Rev. Mr. Stevenson; and a translation, by the same, was published by the Translation Fund Committee. But a more carefully prepared edition, with a German translation, and a copious glossary, has been more recently published at Göttingen by Professor Benfey. The fourth Veda, the Atharva, has not yet found an editor. Supplementary works, illustrative of the texts of the Vedas, have been published on the Continent, particularly the Nirukta, an original glossary and comment, by Professor Roth, of Tübingen, who is the author of several learned dissertations on the literature and history of the Vedas, published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and other literary periodicals. In his "Etudes sur les Hymnes du Rig-Veda," and his "Essai sur le Mythe des Ribhavas," Professor Neve, of Louvain, has speculated upon the early periods of Hindu society in a strain which, although perhaps not always incontrovertible, is recommendable, by its general correctness and its animated eloquence, to the perusal of those who do not make the subject a study, but who would willingly receive some information respecting it. There still remains, however, a vast body of literature subsidiary to the texts of the Vedas, the investigation of which is essential to their being rightly and thoroughly understood, and which offer a field not easily exhausted to the diligence of rising Sanscrit scholars. When, however, the texts of the Rig and Yajur-Vedas are completed, we shall be in the possession of materials sufficient for the safe appreciation of the results to be derived from them, and of the actual condition of the Hindus, both political and religious, at a date coeval with that of the yet earliest known records of social organisation—long anterior to the dawn of Grecian civilisation—prior to the oldest vestiges of the Assyrian empire yet discovered—contemporary probably with the oldest Hebrew writings, and posterior only to the Egyptian dynasties, of which, however, we yet know little except barren names; whilst the Vedas give us abundant information respecting all that is most interesting in the contemplation of antiquity. They give us also reason to think that all speculation with regard to the origin of the religious systems of the ancient world, has been hitherto constructed upon unstable foundations; and (limiting their results within a narrower sphere) they establish the important fact, that the belief and practices of the people of India in the present day have no warrant from those writings upon which they have hitherto maintained them to be based. The religion of the Vedas and that of the Brahmanical Hindus of the present day are totally different things. Enough has already assumed a European garb to justify these assertions, although we must have the whole before us before we can venture to affirm positively, before we can justly appreciate all the results which a thorough acquaintance with the originals is likely to establish: a few years will probably enable us to form a safe and sound judgment. The first part of the Rig-Veda, the portion of the text in print, has been translated and published by myself. M. Langlois, of Paris, has published a French translation of the whole. German criticism is not

satisfied with either of our performances, and we shall no doubt soon have a version in that language, more congenial to the speculative spirit which renders German scholars such unsafe guides, in spite of their unquestioned learning and indefatigable industry.

Sanskrit literature in other departments has not been very assiduously cultivated in this country. The text and translation of a drama—the *Vikramorvasi*—have been printed—the text by Professor Williams, the translation by Mr. Cowell. A very useful work, a Dictionary (English and Sanscrit), has been published by Professor Williams, which will be a great help, not only to the study of the language, but to translators of European works, and of the sacred Scriptures especially, not only into Sanscrit, but also into the vernacular Indian dialects, which depend entirely upon Sanscrit for the expression of new and unfamiliar ideas. At Paris, the excellent edition of the *Ramayana*, edited by Professor Gorresio, and published at the expense of the King of Sardinia, is completed in five handsome volumes, to which the editor has added two of his Italian translations. The text of the *Mimamsa Sūtras* of Jaimini, very handsomely printed, is in progress at Berlin, edited by Dr. Goldstücker, who has also engaged to publish a translation of the *Mahabharata*, and, in concert with myself, a new edition of my Dictionary, to be published at Berlin. At Breslau Professor Stenzler has reprinted the text of the *Laws of Yajñavalkya*—the text of the work well known in India as the *Mitakshara*, the chief legal authority everywhere, except in Bengal; and from Leipzig we have just received a new Sanscrit Grammar by Professor Benfey. An interesting series of works has been printed at Athens, in which we have the two most perfect forms of speech brought into friendly contact, Sanscrit and Greek; and the language of Homer and Herodotus is employed to interpret that of Bhartri Hari and Vyasa. A Greek gentleman, a man of letters, Demetrius Galanus, lived many years and died at Benares: during his residence there he amused his leisure with the study of Sanscrit, and the translation of several Sanscrit works into classical Greek. On his death his papers were sent to Athens, where the translations of the *Balabharata Itihāsa Samuchchaya*, the *Bhagavat Gita*, and *Satakas of Bhartri-hari* have been printed under the care of M. Typaldos, the Superintendent of the Public Library. The metamorphosis of Sanscrit into Greek presents nothing strange or unnatural. As illustrative of the present religious practices of the Hindus I may notice a series of delineations by Madame Belnos, published under the patronage of the Court of Directors, representing the attitudes of the Brahmans in the performance of their daily devotions; attitudes we have most of us often witnessed, but of which a definite notion could be formed only through such a graphic description as this work supplies.

He then proceeds to give us some notices of the inscriptions found in India, and the following particulars respecting India:—

Besides the laudable efforts which are being made in India to preserve the memorials of antiquity, very meritorious activity prevails there in the promotion of Sanscrit literature. Foremost amongst its results we may place the completion of a voluminous Sanscrit Lexicon, by Raja Radha Kant Deb, a native gentleman of Calcutta, of the highest respectability, and well known as combining a devoted attachment to the institutions and religion of his country, with a liberal participation in all public measures for improving the education of his countrymen, by the efficient cultivation of the English language, and European literature and science. Opposed in some respects, to the party which Radha Kant represents, is an association in Calcutta called the *Tatwa-bodhini Sabha*, or *Truth-expounding Society*, following out the views of Raja Rammohun Roy and other reformers, and promoting them by the publication of original monotheistic works, the *Vedas*, the *Vedānta*, and other philosophical systems. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, the venerable parent of all Asiatic Societies, begins, it is to be feared, to exhibit symptoms of advanced age; but the Journal continues to be published, and often contains papers of much interest. With the aid of the Bengal Government also the Society proceeds with the *Bibliotheca Indica*, a collection of original texts in an economical form, thus conferring upon Oriental literature an inestimable boon, by

placing within the reach of orientalists in Europe works which, as long as they exist in manuscript only, are either not procurable at all, or are to be consulted only by a distant and expensive journey to London and Oxford, Paris, Berlin, or Vienna. The example thus set by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta is about to be followed by that of Paris. At Benares, also, the most commendable activity is exhibited in connexion with the improvements of native education, under the intelligent and experienced supervision of Dr. Ballantyne, the Principal of the Benares College. To this we owe the publication of the text and translation of an original Sanscrit Grammar, the *Laghu Siddhanta Kaumudi*, and the announcement of the publication of the great source of all Sanscrit grammar, the aphorisms of Panini, with the most celebrated commentaries. The main object of Dr. Ballantyne's labours is, however, to familiarize the rising generation of the Brahmans especially, with the philosophical doctrines of Europe, in concurrence or contrast with their own metaphysics and logic; and with this view he has published *Lectures on the Nyaya, Vedanta, and Sankhya systems*, comparing their doctrines with those of Aristotle, Whateley, Berkeley, and Mill, and the *Sutras*, or dogmatic principles of the six philosophical systems of India, both texts and translations; the object being two-fold—to make, on the one hand, those Brahmans, who study Sanscrit solely or principally, aware that the subjects to which they attach most value are as well or better understood in Europe, and, on the other, to render those who are studying English conversant also with their own philosophical systems: the two classes will then be able to discuss and compare their respective notions, to the improvement of both, instead of being, as they are at present, mutually unintelligible. It is only by being doubly armed that the native English scholar can hope to exercise any influence whatever upon his countrymen, or extend beyond his own person the benefits of enlightened cultivation. To expect to accomplish the diffusion of knowledge in India through English alone, were as reasonable as to expect that a cripple deprived of the use of both his legs, should hobble along upon a single crutch.

Although not altogether idle, European scholars in India have not of late done much for Oriental literature; yet there is much to do, especially in consequence of the recent accessions to our territory; and grammars and dictionaries of the dialects of the Punjab and frontier districts are essential to the due discharge of public duty. The only recent contributions to the literature of these regions are a Dictionary, English and Punjabee, by Captain Starkey, and the translation of the *Vichitra Nataka*, one of the scriptural books of the Sikhs, by Captain Siddons. In the south, a new edition of Major Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary is in progress, as is a new dictionary of Telugu, by Mr. Charles Brown. To Mohammedan literature an important contribution has been commenced by J. R. Sprenger, in a new and authentic life of Mohammed, of which the first part is published. The slackness of European exertion is in some degree compensated by the activity of native scholars, who are beginning to make abundant use of the agency of the press, of which they have learned the application from their English masters. Through the whole extent of the Company's territories printing-presses have been set up, not only for the circulation of intelligence, or for missionary and educational objects, but for the multiplication and diffusion of standard literature. A great impulse has been given to the publication of Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani contributions, by the use of lithography, which is better suited to the characters of those languages than moveable types. Of the productions of the lithographic press, in little more than a twelve-month, there have been recently sent to the library of the India House one hundred and thirteen works, executed at Agra, Delhi, Benares, Mirut, and Cawnpore. On former occasions, proportionably numerous works have been sent from Bareilly and Lucknow. Some of these are translations of English books; but the far greater number are the works that are most highly esteemed by the natives, the compositions of celebrated writers on grammar, logic, metaphysics, medicine, poetry, law and religion. The Mohammadans especially have published a number of controversial works, in explanation and vindication of their creed, and various collections of their most venerated traditions. The dispatch of books I have just alluded to included no fewer than three editions of the Koran, two with interlinear translations in Urdu. Now I remember the time when the Maulavis of Calcutta

looked upon the printing of the Koran as a profane desecration of the sacred volume, and were as jealous of its being translated into any vernacular dialect, as the Church of Rome ever was of the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. In Bengal and the South of India a like active multiplication of popular works, chiefly poetical, and translations from Sanscrit, is taking place. There is nowhere much attempt at originality, but the constant employment of the press indicates a state of mental fermentation, which, like the Indian churning of the ocean, may in due season bring jewels to the surface—the gems of creative fancy and independent thought.

He then presents us with some information regarding China, and concludes with some remarks on the importance of the study of Oriental subjects by educated men in Europe.

Index to Books and Papers on the Physical Geography, Antiquities, and Statistics of India. By George Buist, L. L. D., &c. Bombay, 1852.

IN point of real practical utility, this is one of the most important publications that we have had an opportunity of welcoming to existence for a long time. Every day there are multitudes of persons enquiring where they can get information on this subject and that ; and racking their brains in vain attempts to recollect where they read some article which they wish to refer to. This *Index* will materially aid all enquirers into Indian subjects. Editors especially are laid under a deep obligation by Dr. Buist, and will have occasion to feel gratitude to him almost every day of their lives.

The plan of the *Index* is admirable. It is intended to contain references to all the works relating to the Physical Geography, Antiquities, and Statistics of India that exist, and also to all articles on these subjects that are to be found in the *Asiatic Researches*, the *Journals of the Asiatic Societies of London and Bengal*, the *Gleanings in Science*, the transactions of the various Societies which publish, or have published, transactions, the various periodicals of the three Presidencies, and the *Selections from the Public Records and Correspondence*, now published by the several Governments. It will be seen at once that this plan is very comprehensive, and that its full execution would be a task of exceeding magnitude. To say that the execution is not perfect, is only to express in other language the truth that human powers are circumscribed. It is not assuredly in the spirit of carping that we proceed to point out a few of the defects that have struck us in the course of our examination of the *Index*.

These are of three kinds :—1st—The admission of matters that do not seem properly to fall within the design ; 2nd—The omission of references that ought to have been inserted, and 3rd—Mistakes in respect to those that are inserted.

The matters that have struck us as not properly coming within the range indicated by the title, are either such as do not relate to India

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

at all, or such as, relating to India, cannot be considered as connected either with its Physical Geography, its Antiquities, or its Statistics. As examples of the former class, we may, confining ourselves to the first letter of the alphabet, instance the following :—

- Africa**, Expedition to the coast of. Lond. As. Trans., vol. i. 161.
- Eastern, Commercial and Geographical view of. Dr. Bird. Bom. Geo. Trans., 1840, vol. iii. 112.
- Observations during a voyage of research on the east coast of, from Cape Guardafui south to the island of Zanzibar. Capt. T. Smee and Lieut. Hardy. Ibid. 1841—1844, vol. vi. 23.
- Remarks on the N. E. coast of, and the various tribes by which it is inhabited. Lieut. C. P. Rigby, 16th Regt. Bo. N. I. Ibid. 69.
- Altai Mountains**, in Central Asia. Lond. Geol. Trans., vol. i. 550.
- Amirantes and Seyshelles Islands**, Major Sterling's account of. Bom Geo. Trans., vol. ii. 22.
- Anthology**, Persian. Lond. As. Trans., 1818, vol. vi.
- Apples of Sodom**.—Dr. Robertson on. Edin. Phil. J., 1842, vol. xxxii. 20.
- Araba Wadi**, a deep valley running betwixt the top of the Gulf of Akaba and the Dead Sea ; 105 miles in length, and about ten in width ; summit level above the sea 495 feet. Wilson's Lands of the Bible, vol. i. Lond. Geo. Trans.
- Petermann on the River Jordan. Lond. Geo. Trans., 1848.
- Carless' Survey of the Gulf of Akaba. (see Carless).
- Coal found in. Newbold. Bl. As. Trans.
- Assal Salt lake** of, on the N. W. coast of Africa, near Tadjourra ; an old volcanic crater ; water 500 feet above the level of the sea, nearly converted into salt. Harris's Highlands of Æthiopia, vol. i. Bom. Geo. Trans., vol. vi. 324 (see Kirk, Barker.)
- Assyria and Persia**. Ancient history of. Lond. As. Trans., vol. v. 217.
- Travels in. Layard. Lond. 1849, 2 vols. with atlas and plates.
- Astronomical**—Method of calculating the moon's parallaxes in latitude and longitude. As. Res., vol. i. 320.
- Remarks on artificial horizon. Reuben Burrow. Ibid. 327.
- Correction of the lunar method of finding longitude. Reuben Burrow. Ibid. 433.
- Eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. Reuben Burrow. Ibid. vol. ii. 483.

This list might be still further much extended, without going beyond the bounds of the first letter of the alphabet. With respect to matters admitted that do relate to India, granting that Botany, Natural History, and Meteorology may be included under Physical Geography, and that History and Biography may come under the designation of Antiquities, and that a great host of miscellaneous matters may be introduced under the designation of Statistics, it would, we think, be difficult to reduce under any of these heads such entries as the following :—

- Act**, Copy-right, Notice of, *Friend of India*, 1841, 675 ; 1842, 738, 755, 772 ; 1845, 803 ; 1847, 196.
- Apprenticing. Ibid. 1846, 723 ; 1849, 580. Bombay Times, November 21, 1846, Feb. 9, 1848, May 21, and June 1, 1850.
- Of the Governor-General in Council. Calcutta Review, in 1847, vol. vii. viii. 329 ; 1848, vol. ix. 113, 319 ; 1849, vol. xi.
- Asphaltic**, Mastic, applied to roofing, &c. (see Goodwyn.)
- Auckland**, Lord, Governor-General of India, Introduction of scientific conversations at Calcutta, great advantages of. Bl. As. Trans. 1836, vol. v. 682.

This last entry is evidently made in a quizzical spirit, and we cannot deny that the temptation was strong to "take a rise out of" our Calcutta *savants*, when they gravely chronicled (as we suppose from the reference they did) the "great advantages" of Miss Eden's tea-parties !

As to the omissions, still keeping ourselves to the first letter of the alphabet, we notice that under the heading "*Aborigines of India*," no reference is made to the many excellent articles respecting the various tribes that have appeared for the last twenty years in the pages of the *Calcutta Christian Observer* ; and which taken altogether, give the best account of these tribes that is any where to be found ; that while our own articles on the "*Acts of the Governor General in Council*," on "*Mr. Adam's Reports on the State of Education in Bengal and Behar*," on "*Mr. Kaye's History of the War in Afghanistan*," on the "*Annals of the Bengal Presidency*," on the measurement of the Indian "*Arc of the Meridian*," on the "*Bengal Artillery*," on the "*Astronomy of the Hindus*," on Mr. Hoisington's "*Oriental Astronomy*," and on "the Court and Camp of *Aurungzebe*," are duly registered, (though not in all cases with strict accuracy), no notice is taken of the articles which we find, by reference to the table of contents of our past numbers, on the following subjects, viz., "*Amirs of Sindh*," the "*Administrations of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Ellenborough*," "the *Algebra of the Hindus*," "the Life and times of *Akbar*," or on "the Black *Acts*," though all these subjects would seem to be quite as well entitled to be referred to, as others that are selected for reference. We have no right to expect that the Index should serve the purpose of a Biographical or Geographical Dictionary, but yet we should have expected that it would have directed us to information regarding such men as the following, which are the first that occur to us, Acharjya (Bhaskar), Alompra, Albuquerque, and such places as Agra, Aurungabad, Ahmedabad, Assaye.

In speaking of the inaccuracies that have struck us on a cursory perusal, we shall not confine ourselves to the first letter of the alphabet. Passing over mere typographical errata—which however are rather numerous—and such mistakes as *Ærolites* for *ærolites*, *Arsinœ* for *arsinoe*—and mistakes of names,—such as the author of the work on *Oriental Astronomy* reviewed in our pages some years ago, transformed from *Hoisington* into *Anderson* ; and Smith, Lieut. W. Baird, instead of Lieut. R. Baird,—we notice one or two more important mistakes :—

• *Ava*, Capital of Burmah, Symes' embassy to, 1 vol. 4to., republished Chambers's Miscellany, 12mo.

It should be not *Chambers's*, but *Constable's Miscellany*.

Bat, extraordinary cave near Maulmain, crowded with—issue out in the evening in a thick column, which extends unbroken for many miles. *Calcutta Christian Observer*, February 1807, reprinted *As. Jl.* 1832, vol. xxiv. 10.

Now the *Calcutta Christian Observer* did not exist until 1832 or

1833. It ought probably to be the *Calcutta Observer*, of which we think we have heard.

The last of these slips that we shall mention is one that we are somewhat surprised to find a man of so extensive information as Dr. Buist committing.

Shore, Sir John, afterwards Lord Teignmouth. *Notes on Indian Affairs*, Lond, 2 vols. *Account of Nepaul*, As. Res. vols. ii. 307, 383; iv., 181, 331; vi. 2.

That Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, after the example of the estimable Captain Cuttle, pretty extensively "overhauled Indian affairs," and made sundry "notes" on them, is probably true; but the author of the notes on Indian affairs was his younger son, a Bengal civilian, who never attained a place either in the Baronetage or the Peerage.

Take it for all in all, this is a valuable work, and will not fail to call forth the gratitude of multitudes of the students of Indian affairs towards its indefatigable author. He regards it merely as a beginning, a foretaste of what he will provide for us, if life and health be vouchsafed to him. With reference to the magnitude of the task that he has undertaken, and the satisfactory progress that he has made in its execution—with reference to the multitude of the official engagements in the midst of which he has contrived to find leisure for so extensive research—and (as we are sorry to learn from his preface) with reference to the frequent indisposition by which these researches have been interrupted, he might apply to himself the language of the immortal Bacon—"Nonnihil hominibus spei fieri posse putamus ab exemplo nostro proprio; neque jactantiæ causâ hoc dicimus, sed quod utile dictu sit. Si qui diffidant, me videant, hominem inter homines ætatis meæ civilibus negotiis occupatissimum, nec firmâ admodum valetudine (quod magnum habet temporis dispendium), atque in hoc re plane protopirum, et vestigia nullius secutum, neque hæc ipsa cum ullo mortalium communicantem; et tamen veram viam constanter ingressum, et, ingenium rebus submittentem, hæc ipsa aliquatenus (ut existamus) provexisse."

The Bombay Calendar and Almanac for 1853. Bombay Times' Press.

THERE is probably no country in the world which is so prolific of almanacs as India, and certainly there is no department of literature on which we can better challenge comparison with our European contemporaries. The work before us,—for it is really a work of very considerable magnitude and importance,—is, to our thinking, an admirable specimen of what a year-book of information ought to be. In addition to the usual ephemeris, and all the lists generally given in publications of this sort, it contains a great amount of infor-

mation on subjects of interest and importance. The chronological table is not a mere register of dates, but a brief compendium of Indian history. The account of the Home Government of India, and the paper entitled "Bombay under seven administrations, from 1819 to 1848," we can scarcely regard without feelings too near akin, we fear, to envy. They would have suited our own pages admirably. As we have not been fortunate enough to obtain them, we shall content ourselves with extracting a single passage from the former of them, in corroboration of views we lately expressed with reference to the double Government, and the relation that subsists between the "Board" and the "Court."

We have already exposed the childish, but it seems indispensable, cumbrance of "previous communications," by which harmony betwixt the Board of Control and the India House is secured. "My darling," said a doting mother to a spoilt daughter, "you really must learn to do what I bid you, at all events before people. I let you have your own way at home, but really before people you must promise to be obedient."—"Well, mamma, I will promise to do what you bid me; but then you must promise not to ask me to do any thing, but what I would like to do at any rate," was the reply. "We mean to send you," says the Chairman, "a despatch like the draft I enclose, tell us what you think of the previous communication."—"Oh," says the President, "just strike out the first half, and alter all the rest, and it will do nicely." This is duly attended to, and a despatch framed accordingly, with which, of course, Cannon Row is content.

We have not seen the previous Numbers of this series of Almanacs; but if the author goes on, varying the contents, as he promises to do, from year to year, he will in the course of a short time produce a series of year-books of great and permanent value.

A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, from 1835 to 1851. By J. Kerr, M. A. Part II. Calcutta, 1853.

WE reviewed the former part of this *Review* at such length, that we need do no more than acknowledge the receipt of the second part. It contains a clear and distinct history of the Government Colleges, viz., the Hindu and Sanskrit Colleges, and the Madriassa of Calcutta; the Hoogly, Dacca, Kishnaghur, Benares, Agra and Delhi Colleges; the Medical College, Calcutta, and the Rurki Engineering College. Mr. Kerr has done well in abstracting a succinct account of these important institutions from the voluminous reports of the Council of Education, and those who desire information respecting them will find it in this volume.

Formulary, or Compendium of Formulæ, Recipes and Prescriptions, in use at the Park Street Dispensary, attached to the Calcutta Native Hospital. By Duncan Stewart, M. D., &c., &c. Calcutta, 1853.

THIS little work cannot fail to be useful to all medical men, both in their hospital and domestic practice. It contains a list of medical preparations, in the state in which they ought to be kept in readiness by the apothecary. Instead of writing the prescription at length, the physician has only to indicate the formula to be employed. As an example of the saving of time that will thus be effected, we need only quote a single prescription. In the ordinary way, the medical practitioner who wished to order an "Aperient Digestive Pill," would require to write as follows :—

R^{co}.

Extr. Colocynth Comp.....	3j.
Scammony Gum Resin.....	3ss.
Extract Rhubarb	gr. xv.
Oil of Lemon	℥iv.
Liquor Potassæ	℥vj.

Div. in pil. xxiv.

SIGN. One pill daily.

Instead of this, with Dr. Stewart's Formulary in his hand, he has only to write "Form. I." and the thing is done. The amount of time saved in this way will appear no trifle, if it be considered that in some of our dispensaries there are from 250 to 300 applicants for medicine every morning.

The Judicial System of British India, considered with especial reference to the training of the Anglo-Indian Judges. By an Indian Official. London, Pelham Richardson, 23, Cornhill, 1852.

The Administration of Justice in Southern India. By John Bruce Norton, Esq., Barrister at Law. Madras, 1853.

THESE two pamphlets refer to a subject which is too important to be discussed in so little space as we could afford in our present issue. We therefore simply acknowledge the receipt of them at present, and hope to be able to do some justice to them and their subject three months hence.

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, Nos. VII, VIII., IX., X.

Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Home Department.) Published by authority, No. I., Papers on the Proposed Railway in Bengal.

WE are glad to perceive, that the publication of the selections from the records of the Bengal Government goes on so well. We last noticed No. VI., and now we have before us Nos. VII.—X., containing Dr. O'Shaughnessy's report on the construction of the Electric Telegraph (No. VII.) ; Mr. Oldham's report of the examination of the districts in the Damuda valley and Beerbhoom (No. VIII.) ; Dr. Falconer's report on the teak forests of the Tenasserim provinces (No. IX.) ; and Mr. Simms's report on the establishment of water-works to supply the city of Calcutta (No. X.). Of these, we hope to make Nos. VII. and IX. the subjects of articles ; No. VIII. does not seem to require particular notice ; at present we therefore confine ourselves to a short notice of No. VIII.

We need not say a word as to the exceeding desirableness of supplying Calcutta with water. Mr. Simms recommends that a supply should be brought from the river above Pulta Ghaut ; that the water should be raised by a steam-driven pump from about the middle of the river, and delivered into two reservoirs on the bank ; that it should thence be conveyed, through a canal, alongside of the Barrackpore road to Ballygatchea ; that there it should be filtered, stored in a reservoir, and thence " forced by steam power into mains ' leading through the city, with a pressure that would deliver it into ' elevated cisterns in each house." Mr. Simms adopts an estimate which represents the population of Calcutta at 230,000, and allowing thirty gallons a day for each person, with ten per cent. for contingencies, this would require 7,590,000 gallons, or 1,214,400 cubic feet of water per day. Now, although we do not profess to be able to solve the insoluble problem of the population of Calcutta, we are pretty confident that the double of the number assumed would be much nearer the truth, and that it would not be safe in a matter of this kind to estimate the population much under half a million.

The following is Mr. Simms's estimate of the expense :—

Works at Pulta Ghaut and Ballygatchea, and aqueduct, the whole	
13½ miles 	£159,861
Mains and Pipes through the city, 142 miles, 1 furlong, 142 yards ..	510,336
Total outlay in the first instance ...	670,197
Annual expenditure ...	55,480

In order to meet this expenditure, Mr. Simms assumes that the population would be willing to pay as much for their water as they

now pay to their bhisties, and he supposes that the occupants of every house of two or three stories would, in this way, pay eight rupees ; those of every house of one story, four rupees, and those of every hut, four annas per month, thus :—

6,000 two and three-storied houses, averaged at per mensem,							
eight rupees	...	...	...	..	...	Rs.	48,000
9,000 one-storied houses, average four rupees	...	...	...	...	...		36,000
51,000 huts, average each four annas	..	...	...	..	...		12,750
							<hr/>
							96,750
							12
							<hr/>
							1,161,000

Or £116,100 per annum.

Now the working expenses being £55,480, this leaves £60,620, or upwards of nine per cent., as return for the original outlay.

We know how easy it is to make out an estimate on paper, shewing almost any desired result ; according to an oft-quoted saying of a great man, that “ nothing is so false as figures, except facts.” But still we think, that a reasonable hope might be entertained that the undertaking would pay, and we think that if a Company were formed, the Government might safely guarantee a return to them of four-and-a half or five per cent. on their capital for the first twenty years. There would be no difficulty in raising the sixty-seven lakhs of rupees on these terms, and the blessing conferred on the inhabitants of the “ metropolis of Asia ” would be inestimable. We trust that this matter, which has been so often discussed, will not be again allowed to go to sleep without “ action taken.”

The Government of India has now followed the good example set by the subordinate Governments, and has produced the first No. of selections from its records. It consists of six reports ; one by Mr. Simms, two by Major Kennedy, two by Mr. Turnbull, and one by Major Baker. There is a fine spirit of energy apparent in all these reports, which seems to us to afford good security for the vigorous prosecution of the work of railway communication in India. We should mention that this, like the Bengal selections, is profusely illustrated with maps and plans, and that the “ getting up ” is as creditable to all concerned as the publication itself is to the Government.

Bengali Books published in 1852.

Naba Nari. Lives of nine Hindu females, by a native.

Niti Bodh. Chambers' Moral Class Book, translated by a native.

Klaiv Charitra. Life of Lord Clive, by a native.

Vividartha Sangraha, or Penny Magazine, edited by a native.

Robinson Crusoe. Adventures of Robinson Crusoe.

Shakspeare Upakhyaedn. Lamb's Tales from Shakspeare, by a native.

- Sarabali*, a History of India, by a native.
- Arunoday*, or Line upon line, a simple Historical Account, of Genesis, Exodus, &c. &c., by a lady.
- Shuketihas*. Parrot Tales : moral stories, by a native.
- Parsa Itihas*. Persian Tales from the English of W. Keane's.
- Meghdhut*. The Cloud Messenger, a poem from the Sanskrit by a native.
- Phalmani o Karuná*. The history of a native woman, by a lady.
- Gyandarunadoy*, a Magazine containing much information on Vedantism and general knowledge, by a native.
- Ishwabilokana*, a weekly Magazine, by a native.
- Vaesa Bastu*, 2nd part Combes' Constitution of Man, by a native.
- Pashvabali*, Natural History, by a native.
- Bharatbarshya Naksha*. Map of India, by Rajendra Mittra.
- Lala Manjan*, a Puranic work, by a native.
- Agathos*. Wilberforce's Agathos, or Sunday Tales.
- Punditbargeshu Nibedanpatra*. Letter to Pundits.
- Bhadrarjun*, a Hindu Drama, by a native.
- Asiabhut Rámayan*, a Puranic book, by a native.
- Kusámabali*. Selection from Bengali poetry 1st part, by a native.
- Sangit Málá*. Songs by a zemindar of Rangpur.
- Hasararasamrita*, a Puranic work, by a native.
- Vyakarán Darpan*, a Bengali Grammar in poetry, by a native.
- nthabali*, a list of 1,400 Bengali books.
- oday*, a weekly paper, by a native.
- ibali*, a selection of historical and moral articles for youth.
- Gita Pustuk*, a hymn-book for Native Christians, by Church Missionaries.
- Nutan Panjika*, by Sanders, Cones and Co., 6,000 copie sold.
- Sukumar Bilás*, a Poetic tale, by a native.
- Patibrita Upákhyán*, a Prize Essay on the duties of wives to their husbands, by a pandit.
- Yog Vashista*, a philosophic poem on the Ramayan, by a native.
- Galileo Charitra*. Life of Galileo, translated by the Rev. K. Banerjya.
- Bhagavat Gita*, a new translation of this philosophical poem, by a native.
- Práarthana Nidarsan*. Manual of Prayers for Native Christians.
- Gurutatva*. Exposure of the Mantras and deceits of the Gurus, by a native.
- Bhagavat Puraner Ekadas Skanda*. One section of the Bhagavat Purana.
- Vyakaran*. Sanskrit Grammar in Bengali by Ishwar Chandra.
- Kirti Bilás*, a Drama.
- Mahadeva Stotra*. The praises of Mahadeva.
- Samacharan Vyakaran*. Samacharn's Bengali Grammar.
- Sangit Bilás*, a collection of popular songs.
- Kusumaboli*, 2nd part. Selection of Bengali poetry.

Gyan Pradip. Moral Tales, part 2.

Prarthanā pustak. English Prayer-book, revised translation.

Atma Tatva Vidyeā, a Vedantic work.

Vedānta Darshan. Ditto.

Lalita Madhav. On Krishna's worship, by a Vaishnavite.

Nīl Madhav. Ditto.

Bhāktā Mala. The devotees of Vishnu.

Svabhāb Darpan. On Natural Theology.

Such is a list of Bengali works published within the last twelve months, fifty-two in number, original publications *never before in print* and these chiefly by *natives*. There are others also, not in this list. This indicates that the native mind is at work in its own language, that it is awaking from the sleep of ages, from the stupor arising from the times when Musulmans used every effort to extirpate the vernacular and to establish the Persian—a foreign element; but Persian, after four centuries of forced rule in Bengal, has disappeared here, whereas the once despised Bengali is assuming its proper influence.

To notice these books in full would occupy some dozen pages. We bring them forward at present as illustrations of the tendencies of the native mind, and as suggesting that the friends of Christian education should take their due share in the publications of the Vernacular Press.

ERRATA IN ART. I.

Page	Line	For	Read
8	5 from bottom	Ayesha!	Ayesha;
11	33 ditto top	Ibn Batūla	Ibn Batūta.
14	40 ditto ditto	revelation	revelation."
15	21 & 22 ditto	<i>In the Arabick quotation read the second line first.</i>	
17	6 from bottom	dialectical peculiarities	and dialectical peculiarities,
18	5 ditto top	noticed, as the traditions	noticed in the traditions;
"	22 ditto ditto	REPEATED	REPEATED.
"	7 from bottom	(اضينا عنه)	رضينا عنه
19	23 & 24 from top	<i>In the Arabick quotation read the second line first.</i>	
20	9 from bottom	bedeutende	bedeutende.
33	8 ditto ditto		so."
36	12 ditto top	the	be.
42	15 & 16 ditto	<i>Erase the marks of quotation.</i>	
47	2 ditto ditto	Omeva	Omeya.
57	36 ditto ditto	Before محمد insert	فال
"	last line	fear	"fear"
63	15 from top	collected.	collected."
64	13 ditto ditto	Ibn	Abu.
65	20 ditto bottom	showed	shouted.
68	21 & 22 bottom	{ order, commencing with anticipatory and genealogical notices;	{ order: commencing with anticipatory and genealogical notices,
69	6 ditto bottom	himself.	himself."

